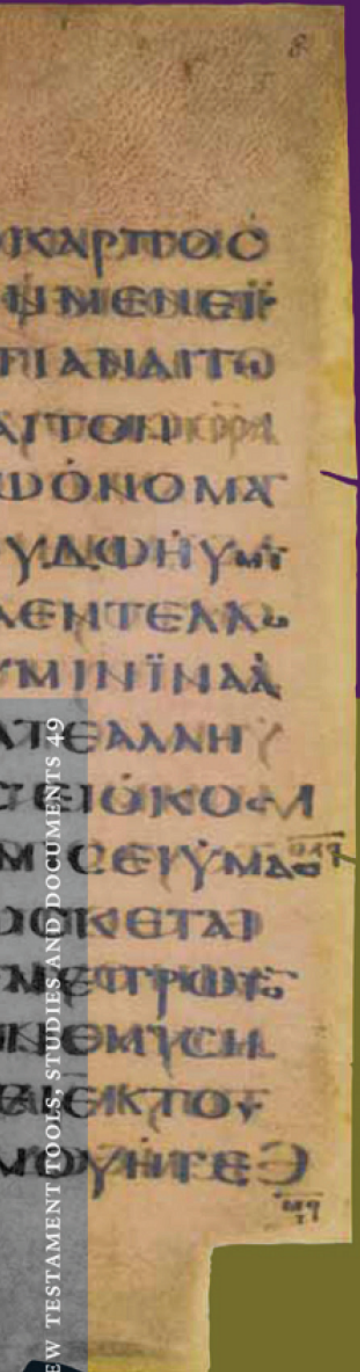
The Text of Marcion's Gospel



DIETER T. ROTH

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The Text of Marcion's Gospel

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By

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To Colleen, Christian, and Michael

Contents

Preface

This monograph is a revision and significant expansion of my 2009 Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Edinburgh entitled "Towards a New Reconstruction of the Text of Marcion's Gospel: History of Research, Sources, Methodology, and the Testimony of Tertullian." I would like to express appreciation, especially to my primary supervisor Larry Hurtado and my secondary supervisor Paul Foster, but also to my internal examiner Paul Parvis and external examiner Ulrich Schmid, for the way in which they shaped and honed my initial work on the text of Marcion's Gospel. I am also thankful for my fellow Ph.D. students in Edinburgh, in particular my NT colleague Chris Keith and church history colleague Sebastian Moll, for their stimulating conversations about early Christianity and their encouragement of this project. Finally, I am grateful to Bart D. Ehrman and Eldon Jay Epp for accepting this work in their series New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents and to E.J. Brill for publishing it.

Abbreviations

This volume uses the standard abbreviations found in Patrick H. Alexander et al., *The SBL Handbook of Style For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1999), supplemented by Siegfried M. Schwertner, *Internationales Abkürzungsverzeichnis für Theologie und Grenzgebiete* (2d ed.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1992). In addition, the following abbreviations are employed:

Adam.	Pseudo-Origen *Adamantius Dialogue* (*ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΝ ΟΡΘΗΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ*).
ANatG	Aus Natur und Geisteswelt
CCERChs	Cahiers du Cercle Ernest-Renan [Cahier hors-série]
CEA	Collection des études Augustiniennes
ECTT	Eastern Christian Texts in Translation
FN	*Filologia Neotestamentaria*
FR	*Fortnightly Review*
IGNTP	*The Gospel According to St. Luke* (ed. American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project; 2 vols.; The New Testament in Greek 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1984–1987).
JSSSup	Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement
OECS	Oxford Early Christian Studies
NTTRU	*New Testament Textual Research Update*
STA	Studia et Testimonia Antiqua

The following sigla, employed by Sources chrétiennes for the manuscripts and editions of Tertullian's *Adversus Marcionem*, are also utilized:

M	*Codex Montepessulanus*
F	*Codex Florentinus Magliabechianus*
X	*Codex Luxemburgensis*
G	*Codex Gorziensis*
R1	*Beati Rhenani edition princeps, Basileae, 1521*
R2	*Beati Rhenani edition princeps, Basileae, 1528*
R3	*Beati Rhenani edition princeps, Basileae, 1539*
θ	*consensus codicum M F X et Rhenani editionum*
β	*consensus codicum F X et Rhenani editionum*
γ	*consensus codicum F X*

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Any serious study of the NT text and canon in the second century must at some point interact with Marcion's Scriptures, i.e., his ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ and ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΚΟΝ, his one Gospel and ten Pauline letters.[1] More specifically, Marcion's Gospel plays an especially important role in the discussions concerning the state, use, transmission, and collection of the canonical Gospels in the second century.[2] As such, there are several elements of contemporary research that are directly dependent upon our knowledge of Marcion's Gospel text. First, and most obviously, the on-going debate concerning the relationship between and relative priority of Marcion's Gospel and Luke can only take place based on some conception of the Gospel that Marcion utilized.[3] Second, the related question of the existence of redactional stages of Luke, including debates about the existence of some type of *Ur-Lukas*, is also directly related to scholarly knowledge of Marcion's text. Third, since Marcion's Gospel represents a text that is clearly in some manner related to Luke *and* prior to the middle of the second century, Marcion's Gospel figures prominently within

1 Elements of this introduction appeared in summary form in Dieter T. Roth, "Marcion's Gospel: Relevance, Contested Issues, and Reconstruction," *ExpTim* 121 (2010): 287–94 and idem, "Marcion and the Early Text of the New Testament," in *The Early Text of the New Testament* (ed. Charles E. Hill and Michael J. Kruger; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 302–3.

2 François Bovon observes, "An understanding of the life and fate of the Gospels during the second century is decisive for a better knowledge not only of the patristic period, but also of the text of the Gospels themselves," and that "from a New Testament point of view, the quarrel between Marcion and Tertullian over the Gospel of Luke is extremely relevant" ("Studies in Luke-Acts: Retrospect and Prospect," *HTR* 85 [1992]: 176, 177).

3 In this work, whenever reference is made to "Luke" without qualification it refers to canonical Luke. At the same time, however, references to passages in Marcion's Gospel or the attestation to a passage in Marcion's Gospel in a source are made in the form, e.g., "Luke 3:1." This nomenclature is used out of convenience in order to indicate "the verse in Marcion's Gospel that corresponds to the verse in Luke 3:1" and does not presuppose either that the reading of canonical Luke 3:1 was that of Marcion's Gospel or that the reading in Marcion's Gospel is necessarily derived from the reading in Luke's Gospel. In addition, out of convenience language of the "omission" of a passage in Marcion's Gospel is occasionally used; however, this is to be understood as synonymous with the passage "being attested as not present" and not necessarily reflecting the view that Marcion excised something from Luke.

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scholarly inquiries into the textual history of Luke.[4] Finally, understanding Marcion's place and role in the history of the formation of the Fourfold Gospel could be advanced with a firmer basis for evaluating whether the content and readings of his text reflect a historical context prior or subsequent to the existence of this collection.

Over the past ninety years the trajectory of most scholarly work on Marcion and Marcion's texts has been set by the monumental work of Adolf von Harnack.[5] Despite its tremendous value, shortcomings in Harnack's reconstructed text of the Marcionite Scriptures, as well as advances in critical methodology, textual criticism, and patristic studies have led to the recognition that new reconstructions of Marcion's Scriptures are a scholarly desideratum. For example, Barbara

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4 J.K. Elliott advocates that "we ought to work more systematically on the writings of Marcion and Irenaeus to learn what they can reveal about the Biblical texts and specifically the New Testament text-types which they were using and quoting" ("The New Testament Text in the Second Century: A Challenge for the Twenty-First Century," *NTTRU* 8 [2000]: 12). The necessity for further work on this question can clearly be seen in the varied, if not diametrically opposed opinions, expressed, e.g., by Adolf von Harnack, who concluded that apart from tendentious alterations Marcion's Gospel was "ein reiner W [Western] Text" (*Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott: Eine Monographie zur Geschichte der Grundlegung der katholischen Kirche* [2d ed.; TU 45; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1924], 242*) and Barbara Aland, who more recently stated: "Certainly the basic text was not the 'Western' " ("Marcion-Marcionites-Marcionism" in *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, [ed. by Angelo Di Berardino; trans. Adrian Walford; 2 vols.; Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 1992], 1:523). I have reflected further on this question in Roth, "Marcion and the Early Text," 302–12.

5 The 1st edition of *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott: Eine Monographie zur Geschichte der Grundlegung der katholischen Kirche* was published in 1921 and the 2d edition in 1924. Hereafter *Marcion*[1] refers to the 1st ed. and *Marcion* to the 2d ed. In the preface to *Marcion und seine kirchengeschichtliche Wirkung: Marcion and His Impact on Church History* (ed. Gerhard May, Katharina Greschat, and Martin Meiser; TU 150; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002), V, May and Greschat observe, "Das Erscheinen von Harnacks Buch hatte, weil er das Thema nahezu erschöpfend zu behandeln schien, die Marcionforschung zeitweilig fast zum Stillstand gebracht. Seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg ist das Interesse an Marcion zunehmend gewachsen." Harnack is still invaluable for Marcion studies, and some truth remains in Helmut Koester's statement "All further research is based on Harnack's work" (*History and Literature of Early Christianity* [vol. 2 of *Introduction to the New Testament*; trans. Helmut Köster; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982], 329). At the same time, scholars are advancing beyond Harnack's portrait of Marcion. Cf., e.g., David L. Balás, "Marcion Revisited: A 'Post-Harnack' Perspective," in *Texts and Testaments: Critical Essays on the Bible and Early Church Fathers* (ed. W. Eugene March; San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 1980), 95–108; Gerhard May, "Marcion ohne Harnack," in May, Greschat, and Meiser (eds.), *Marcion und seine kirchengeschichtliche Wirkung*, 1–7; and Sebastian Moll, *The Arch-Heretic Marcion* (WUNT 250; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010).

Aland expresses the sentiment, "Wichtiges Forschungsdesiderat ist eine neue Gesamtrekonstruktion der marcionitischen Bibel."[6] Confirming Aland's view is Gerhard May's comment "die Aufgabe der Rekonstruktion von Markions Bibel [ist] bis heute nicht befriedigend gelöst"[7] as well as Karlmann Beyschlag's contention that the reconstruction of Marcion's Scriptures "die Hauptaufgabe der heutigen Marcionforschung bildet."[8]

In recognition of this lacuna, recent monographs arising from doctoral dissertations have focused on critically establishing Marcion's *Apostolikon* and have brought much light to this "half" of Marcion's canon.[9] Unfortunately, the most recent works engaging the text of Marcion's *Euangelion* by David S. Williams and Kenji Tsutsui, and to some extent Joseph B. Tyson and Matthias Klinghardt, have not been nearly as helpful and are quite limited in their usefulness for critically reconstructing Marcion's Gospel text or drawing any firm conclusions

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6 Barbara Aland, "Marcion (*ca. 85–160*)/Marcioniten," *TRE* 22:1 (1992): 90. Kurt and Barbara Aland had previously expressed the sentiment: "Although past generations have produced a whole range of studies on the text of the New Testament used by various Church Fathers, there is not one of them which would not be worth doing over, beginning with Marcion and continuing with Justin and Irenaeus. For Marcion, Adolf Harnack's collection would still be the basis, but it could be improved and developed throughout" (*The Text of the New Testament* [trans. Erroll F. Rhodes; 2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989], 172). Similar thoughts are expressed by J. Neville Birdsall, "The Western Text in the Second Century," in *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Origins, Recensions, Text, and Transmission* (ed. William L. Petersen; CJAn 3; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989), 9–10; Matthias Klinghardt, "Markion vs. Lukas: Plädoyer für die Wiederaufnahme eines alten Falles," *NTS* 52 (2006): 491; and Gilles Quispel, "Marcion and the Text of the New Testament," *VC* 52 (1998): 349.

7 Gerhard May, "Markion in seiner Zeit" in *Gerhard May: Markion: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (ed. Katharina Greschat and Martin Meiser; VIEG 68; Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2005), 8. Although appearing here for the first time in print, May noted that the article was written in 1992. Cf. also Gerhard May, "Marcion in Contemporary Views: Results and Open Questions," *SecCent* 6 (1987–1988): 133. Martin Hengel expressed a similar sentiment with his contention that one of several pressing questions for NT textual criticism is "Wie sah der 'gereinigte' Text Marcions wirklich aus?" ("Aufgaben der neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft," *NTS* 40 [1994]: 342).

8 Karlmann Beyschlag, "Marcion von Sinope," in *Alte Kirche I* (vol. 1 of *Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte*, ed. Martin Greschat; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1984), 71.

9 Cf. especially Ulrich Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos: Rekonstruktion und historische Einordnung der marcionitischen Paulusbriefausgabe* (ANTF 25; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995). An attempt to reconstruct part of the *pre*-Marcion Pauline text was set forth in John J. Clabeaux, *A Lost Edition of the Letters of Paul: A Reassessment of the Text of the Pauline Corpus Attested by Marcion* (CBQMS 21; Washington, D.C.: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1989).

concerning that text.[10] This regrettable reality is due either to the works ultimately focusing on issues other than the reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel text or to problematic approaches employed in their studies when they do consider elements related to such a reconstruction. Thus, a need for a new, critically and methodologically controlled reconstruction of Marcion's *Euangelion* remains.

Before offering an actual reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel, several preliminary issues must be addressed. First, it is important to bear in mind what, precisely, is being attempted in this study. Drawing upon recent developments in NT textual criticism, there is no attempt here to reconstruct any supposed "original text" of Marcion's Gospel.[11] Rather, I am attempting to provide the most accurate possible reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel based upon the attestation of the sources that contain the evidence for readings found in it. In other words, this reconstruction seeks to offer the *best attainable text for Marcion's Gospel according to the sources*. For this reason, before actually attempting to reconstruct this attested text, it is necessary to consider the sources themselves and especially the methodology employed in utilizing those sources. These important issues are initially addressed in chapter three, where an overview of the data found in the sources is provided along with the methodology used in this study, and continued in the introductory sections to the chapters devoted to (a) particular source(s).

10 Cf. David S. Williams, "Marcion's Gospel: Reconsidered" (M.A. thesis, The University of Georgia, 1982), with the most salient aspects of his thesis found in his article "Reconsidering Marcion's Gospel," *JBL* 108 (1989): 477–96; Kenji Tsutsui, "Das Evangelium Marcions: Ein neuer Versuch der Textrekonstruktion," *AJBI* 18 (1992): 67–132; Joseph B. Tyson, *Marcion and Luke-Acts: A Defining Struggle* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006); and Klinghardt, "Markion vs. Lukas," 484–513. The reasons for this negative evaluation are discussed in greater detail below. For brief comments on Jason Beduhn's monograph that appeared as this volume was in the final stages of editing, cf. chapter 2, n. 197. Other planned or forthcoming works are referenced in chapter 2, n. 200.

11 For the challenges involved with the term "original text" in NT textual criticism, cf. Eldon J. Epp, "The Multivalence of the Term 'Original Text' in New Testament Textual Criticism," *HTR* 92 (1999): 245–81 and Michael W. Holmes, "From 'Original Text' to 'Initial Text': The Traditional Goal of New Testament Textual Criticism in Contemporary Discussion," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis* (ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes; 2d ed.; NTTSD 42; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2013), 637–88. On the nature and goal of NT textual criticism, cf. also Eldon J. Epp, "Textual Criticism and New Testament Interpretation," in *Method & Meaning: Essays on New Testament Interpretation in Honor of Harold W. Attridge* (ed. Andrew B. McGowan and Kent Harold Richards; SBLRBS 67; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 79–84.

Second, this overview of the sources reveals the large amount of data that must be analyzed for a full reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel text. The data include 438 verses referenced by Tertullian; 114 verses for which readings are attested, along with pericopes and verses attested as omitted, in Epiphanius's *Panarion*; 75 verses to be considered in the Pseudo-Origen *Adamantius Dialogue* (also referred to as Περὶ τῆς εἰς θεὸν ὀρθῆς πίστεως or *De recta in deum fide*); and 33 verses from ten other sources. The rather large size of this data set perhaps can be best appreciated by means of a comparison with the data available for Marcion's *Apostolikon*. Ulrich Schmid's work on the epistles revealed the need to analyze 260 citations and allusions in Tertullian, 40 scholia in Epiphanius, 35 citations in the *Adamantius Dialogue*, 9 citations in Origen, and 7 citations in Jerome in order to offer a reconstruction of those texts.[12] Thus, there are nearly twice as many data for Marcion's Gospel text that must be sifted before a new reconstruction of this document can be attempted, a task to which chapters three through eight are devoted.

Third, before either of the above two issues can be discussed, a consideration of the history of previous studies of Marcion's Gospel is, from several vantage points, absolutely essential.[13] The strengths, and particularly the

12 Cf. Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 115n30, 210–35, 237–39, and 240–42.

13 Previous overviews of research on Marcion's Gospel in works focusing on his *Euangelion* can be found in August Hahn, *Das Evangelium Marcions in seiner ursprünglichen Gestalt, nebst dem vollständigsten Beweise dargestellt, daß es nicht selbstständig, sondern ein verstümmeltes und verfälschtes Lukas-Evangelium war, den Freunden des Neuen Testaments und den Kritikern insbesondere, namentlich Herrn Hofrath, Ritter und Professor Dr. Eichhorn zur strengen Prüfung vorgelegt* (Königsberg: Universitäts Buchhandlung, 1823), 245–83; Albrecht Ritschl, *Das Evangelium Marcions und das kanonische Evangelium des Lucas* (Tübingen: Osiander'sche Buchhandlung, 1846), 5–20; Adolf Hilgenfeld, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Evangelien Justin's, der Clementinischen Homilien und Marcion's: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der ältesten Evangelien-Literatur* (Halle: C.A. Schwetschke, 1850), 391–94; Gustav Volckmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions: Text und Kritik mit Rücksicht auf die Evangelien des Märtyrers Justin, der Clementinen und der apostolischen Väter: Eine Revision der neuern Untersuchungen nach den Quellen selbst zur Textesbestimmung und Erklärung des Lucas-Evangeliums* (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1852), 1–24; Adolf von Harnack, *Adolf Harnack, Marcion: der moderne Gläubige des 2. Jahrhunderts, der erste Reformator, die Dorpater Preisschrift (1870): kritische Edition des handschriftlichen Exemplars mit einem Anhang* (ed. Friedemann Steck; TU 149; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 121–26. Though helpful in some respects, the more recent summaries by John Knox, *Marcion and the New Testament: An Essay in the Early History of the Canon* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942), 78–83; Williams, "Marcion's Gospel: Reconsidered," 3–14; R. Joseph Hoffmann, *Marcion: On the Restitution of Christianity, An Essay on the Development of Radical Paulinist Theology in the Second Century* (AAR.AS 46; Chico, Calif.; Scholars, 1984), xi–xiii; Tyson,

weaknesses, of the methods employed in previous attempts to reconstruct Marcion's Gospel must be highlighted as part of the rationale for attempting a new reconstruction. Further, an accurate overview of the full range of prior work has become particularly necessary since there has been no extensive history of research in works dealing with Marcion's Gospel in nearly 150 years.[14] Finally, since several flaws in earlier studies are due to a lack of an accurate understanding of the *status quaestionis* at various points in the history of research on Marcion's Gospel, it is only by engaging previous scholarship on Marcion's Gospel that one can hope to avoid such errors.[15] Therefore, the ensuing chapter is devoted to the history of research, not only to make available a comprehensive survey for contemporary scholarship engaged in various questions relating to Marcion and to his Gospel, but also to provide the proper context in which a new reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel must be undertaken.

Marcion and Luke-Acts, 83–85; and Matthias Klinghardt, "The Marcionite Gospel and the Synoptic Problem: A New Suggestion," *NovT* 50 (2008): 5–7 and idem, "Markion vs. Lukas," 485–91, must be used with caution due to some significant inaccuracies (cf. n. 15).

14 In many ways Harnack's recently rediscovered *Dorpater Preisschrift* (*1870*) was the last work to provide extensive interaction with previous scholarship on Marcion's Gospel, even if brief summaries have occasionally appeared more recently (cf. Judith Lieu, "Marcion and the Synoptic Problem," in *New Studies in the Synoptic Problem: Oxford Conference, April 2008: Essays in honour of Christopher M. Tuckett* [ed. Christopher M. Tuckett, et al.; BEThL 239; Leuven: Peeters, 2011], 741–44). Significant, though not exhaustive, bibliographies of works dealing with Marcion more generally can be found in May, Greschat, and Meiser (eds.), *Marcion und seine kirchengeschichtliche Wirkung*, 313–22 and especially Harnack, *Marcion: L'évangile du Dieu étranger: Contribution à l'histoire de la foundation de l'Église catholique* (trans. Bernard Lauret; Patrimoines christianisme; Paris: Cerf, 2003), 488–561.

15 Perhaps the most obvious example of this phenomenon are the several significant omissions, misunderstandings, and mischaracterizations of the mid-nineteenth century research in Germany as presented in recent, shorter discussions of the history of research on Marcion's Gospel. On this issue in particular cf. Dieter T. Roth, "Marcion's Gospel and Luke: The History of Research in Current Debate," *JBL* 127 (2008): 513–27. In addition, problems with Tsutsui's methodology (discussed below in chapter 2.8) are directly related to his lack of engagement with the most recent works dealing with the reconstruction of Marcion's Scriptures.

CHAPTER 2

History of Research

2.1 Ancient Witnesses

As background to the following discussion it is important to note that there are no extant manuscripts of any of Marcion's works and all that is known about his Gospel is found in the writings of his adversaries. The church fathers agreed that Marcion's Gospel was simply a mutilated version of Luke;[1] however, none of these fathers had an interest in merely compiling or setting forth the differences between the texts.[2] For example, Tertullian and Epiphanius both indicated that they were interacting with Marcion's Gospel in order to refute him on the basis of his own scripture, and were therefore primarily interested in the content of Marcion's text to the extent that it could be used against him.[3] Similarly, in the *Adamantius Dialogue* the claims and comments of the Marcionites Megethius and Marcus, including "citations" from their Gospel, are presented in the context of being refuted by their orthodox opponent.[4]

1 This fact has been recognized throughout the history of research. Cf., among the more prominent of Marcion's opponents: Irenaeus, *Haer*. 1.27.2 (similarly, 1.27.4, 3.11.7, 3.12.12, and 3.14.4); Tertullian, *Marc*. 1.1.4–5 and 4.2–6, *Praescr*. 38; and Epiphanius, *Pan*. 42.9.1 (similarly, 42.10.2 and 42.11.3). Hippolytus's comment apparently calling Marcion's Gospel "Mark" in *Haer*. 7.30.1 is generally recognized as an error (cf. Harnack, *Marcion*, 240*n1). It should be noted, however, that Tertullian, e.g., also attested that Marcion's disciples continually reshaped their Gospel, which would mean that it was not a static text (cf. *Marc*. 4.5.7). The same claim is made in the *Adamantius Dialogue* concerning ongoing alterations in the *Apostolikon* (cf. *Adam*. 96,4–8 [2.18]). For references to the critical editions of ancient sources used in this work, cf. the notes in chapter 3.

2 Tertullian only rarely made explicit reference to variations in Marcion's Gospel from Luke (cf., e.g., *Marc*. 4.22.16; 4.25.14; 4.29.13; and 4.38.7), though Epiphanius's list of 78 scholia on Marcion's Gospel do sometimes explicitly comment on what Marcion παρέκοψε or ἀπέκοψε (cf. *Pan*. 42.11.6). In these, and all such statements, however, it is important to remember, as Lieu helpfully puts it, "the New Testament that provides a context for Marcion's activity is the New Testament as they [Marcion's opponents] knew it" ("Marcion and the New Testament," in *Method & Meaning: Essays on New Testament Interpretation in Honor of Harold W. Attridge* [ed. Andrew B. McGowan and Kent Harold Richards; SBLRBS 67; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011], 402).

3 Cf. Tertullian, *Marc*. 4.1.2 and Epiphanius, *Pan*. 42.10.1–3.

4 Cf., e.g., *Adam*. 22,5–8 (1.10); 26,20–21 (1.12); 32,5-6 (1.15); and 36,14 (1.17).

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2.2 Questioning the Ancient Consensus

The first attempts to reassemble Marcion's text came in the context of challenges to the traditional view that Marcion had edited Luke to create his Gospel. As early as 1689 Richard Simon raised questions about the reliability of some elements in Tertullian's testimony concerning Marcion's Gospel,[5] though it is generally agreed that J.S. Semler was the first scholar to question the consensus of the early church that Marcion had mutilated Luke. He initially did so in the notes to his 1776 German translation of Simon's *Histoire critique du texte du Nouveau Testament*, but addressed the issue more expansively several years later in the preface of another translated volume.[6] Following Semler, J.F.C. Loeffler and Heinrich Corrodi supported the rejection of the traditional position, and in the ensuing decades several other scholars, with their own nuances, followed this new line of thinking.[7] At the beginning of the nine-

5 Cf. Richard Simon, *Histoire critique du texte du Nouveau Testament, où l'on établit la verité des actes sur lesquels la religion Chrêtienne est fondée* (Rotterdam: Reiner Leers, 1689), 127–28. A major component in Simon's discounting the value of Tertullian's testimony was that Tertullian, despite stating that Marcion mutilated Luke, appears to accuse him of excising passages found in Matthew. For discussion of this issue cf. Dieter T. Roth, "Matthean Texts and Tertullian's Accusations in *Adversus Marcionem*," *JTS* 59 (2008): 580–97 as well as the brief comments in Lieu, "Marcion and the Synoptic Problem," 737–38.

6 Cf. Richard Simon, *Richard Simons Kritische Historie des Textes des neuen Testaments* (trans. Heinrich Matthias August Cramer; preface and notes by D. Johann Salomon Semler; Halle: Bey J.J. Gebauers Witwe und Joh. Jacob Gebauer, 1776) and Thomas Townson, *Abhandlungen über die vier Evangelien: Erster Theil mit vielen Zusätzen und einer Vorrede über Markions Evangelium von D. Joh. Salomo Semler* (trans. Joh. Salomo Semler; Leipzig: Weygandschen Buchhandlung, 1783), preface of 62 unnumbered pages. Semler had also addressed the issue in his *Paraphrasis Epistolae ad Galatas cum prolegomenis, notis, et varietate lectionis latinae* (Halle: Carol Hermann Hemmerde, 1779), 13–18.

7 Cf. Heinrich Corrodi, *Versuch einer Beleuchtung der Geschichte des jüdischen und christlichen Bibelkanons* (2 vols.; Halle: Curts Witwe, 1792), esp. 2:169–73; Josias F.C. Loeffler, "Marcionem Paulli epistolas et Lucae evangelium adulterasse dubitatur," *ComTh* 1 (1794): 180–218; Johann Adrian Bolton, *Der Bericht des Lukas von Jesu dem Messia: Uebersetzt und mit Anmerkungen begleitet* (Altona: Johann Heinrich Kaven, 1796), XXII–XL; Johann E.C. Schmidt, "Ueber das ächte Evangelium des Lucas, eine Vermuthung," *MRP* 5 (1796): 468–520 [where Schmidt advocated that Marcion's Gospel was the original Luke] and idem, *Handbuch der christlichen Kirchengeschichte* (7 vols.; 2d ed.; Giessen: Georg Friedrich Heyer, 1824–1834), 1:257–63, 383 [where Schmidt changed his position to contend that Marcion's Gospel and Luke were redactionally related (p. 262) or perhaps that Marcion's Gospel was based on Matthew (p. 383)]; Leonhard Bertholdt, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in sämmtliche kanonische und apokryphische Schriften des alten und neuen Testaments* (5 vols.; Erlangen: Johann Jacob Palm, 1813), 3:1293–95; Johann K.L. Gieseler, *Historisch-kritischer Versuch über die Entstehung und die*

teenth century J.G. Eichhorn provided an extended discussion on the issue and a summary of the various objections that had been entered against the traditional viewpoint.[8]

2.3 Reaffirming the Traditional Position

Although some scholars had previously objected to the conclusions of these critics,[9] it was the studies by August Hahn and Hermann Olshausen that, for a few decades at least, reestablished the traditional position that Marcion had in fact edited Luke to create his Gospel.[10] Hahn's work was particularly important in that he provided the first attempt to present comprehensively Marcion's Gospel as reconstructed from the available sources. Even those who disagreed with his conclusions recognized his important contribution

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frühesten Schicksale der schriftlichen Evangelien (Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1818), 22–25 [N.B., Hahn's arguments convinced Gieseler to change his position; cf. Gieseler, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte* (4 vols.; 4th ed.; Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1844), 1:194]; and Friedrich Schleiermacher, *Einleitung ins neue Testament: Aus Schleiermacher's handschriftlichen Nachlasse und nachgeschriebenen Vorlesungen, mit einer Vorrede von Dr. Friedrich Lücke* (vol. 8 of *Friedrich Schleiermacher's sämmtliche Werke: Erste Abtheilung, Zur Theologie*; ed. G. Wolde; Berlin: G. Reimer, 1845), 64–65, 197–98, and 214–15 [Schleiermacher's *Einleitung* is based on lectures he delivered in 1829 and 1831/1832]. One of the earliest references to Loeffler's dissertation in support of the rejection of the traditional position in an English language publication is found in Marsh's notes to Johann David Michaelis, *Introduction to the New Testament: Translated from the Fourth Edition of the German and Considerably Augmented with Notes and a Dissertation on the Origin and Composition of the Three First Gospels* (trans. Herbert Marsh; 4 vols.; London: F. & C. Rivington, 1793–1801), 3:2.159–60.

8 Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (5 vols.; Leipzig: Weidmann, 1804), 1:40–78. Cf. also his slightly expanded handling of the issue in *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (2d ed. of vol. 1; Leipzig: Weidmann, 1820), 1:43–84.

9 Cf., e.g., Gottlob Christian Storr, *Ueber den Zweck der evangelischen Geschichte und der Briefe Johannis* (Tübingen: J.F. Heerbrandt, 1786), 254–65 [his discussion is found unaltered and on the same pages in the 2d ed. of 1810]; Michael Arneth, *Ueber die Bekanntschaft Marcions mit unserem Canon des neuen Bundes, und insbesondere über das Evangelium desselben* (Linz: C. Haslinger, 1809), esp. 41; John Leonhard Hug, *An Introduction to the Writings of the New Testament* (trans. Daniel Guildford Wait; 2 vols.; London: C. & J. Rivington, 1827), 1:72–74 [the translation is of the original 1808 German edition]; and Peter Alois Gratz, *Kritische Untersuchungen über Marcions Evangelium* (Tübingen: C.F. Osianderschen Buchhandlung, 1818), esp. 83.

10 Cf. Hahn, *Das Evangelium Marcions* and Hermann Olshausen, *Die Echtheit der vier canonischen Evangelien aus der Geschichte der zwei ersten Jahrhunderte erwiesen* (Königsberg: Aug. Wilh. Unzer., 1823), 104–215, 358–77.

in correcting Eichhorn's over-reliance on Epiphanius[11] and for the first time more sufficiently compiling the data for reconstructing Marcion's Gospel.[12] Nevertheless, David Schulz's critical review revealed the major problems with the text offered by Hahn: (1) The citations found embedded in the discourses of the sources were usually assumed to be completely accurate quotations, and (2) Passages of Luke over which Tertullian passes in silence were considered present or absent in Marcion's text based on assumptions of whether the passage would have agreed with or contradicted Marcion's teaching.[13] These problems played a prominent role in the 1840s when the debate about Marcion's Gospel was reignited and then raged with considerable furor into the 1850s.

2.4 The Prolific (and Problematic) Period of the 1840s and 1850s[14]

2.4.1 *F.C. Albert Schwegler (1843)*

Schwegler's 1843 review of the 4th edition of W.M.L. de Wette's *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die kanonischen Bücher des Neuen*

11 Cf., e.g., David Schulz, review of J.G. Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* and W.M.L. de Wette, *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die kanonischen Bücher des Neuen Testaments, TSK* 2 (1829): 588.

12 Albrecht Ritschl, who in 1846 strongly argued against Hahn's conclusions, stated that it is he "deren Verdienst es ist, auf eine vollständig genügende Art die Data zur Herstellung des Marcionitischen Textes zusammengestellt zu haben" (Ritschl, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, 15–16). Hahn provided a continuous Greek text of Marcion's Gospel in Ioannis Caroli Thilo, *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti: e libris editis et manuscriptis, maxime gallicanis, germanicis et italicis, collectus, recensitus notisque et prolegomenis illustratus* (Leipzig: Frid. Christ. Guilielmi Vogel, 1832), 1:401–86 [though printed as vol. 1, it appears that it was the only volume published]. Cf. James Hamlyn Hill, *The Gospel of the Lord: An Early Version which was Circulated by Marcion of Sinope as the Original Gospel* (Guernsey: John Whitehead/T.M. Bichard, 1891; repr. New York: AMS, 1980) for an English translation based primarily on this text.

13 David Schulz, "Review of Eichhorn and de Wette," 591. Cf. also G. Fr. Franck, "Ueber das Evangelium Marcion's und sein Verhältnis zum Lukas-Evangelium," *TSK* 28 (1855): 299 and Harnack, *Marcion*, 177*–78*.

14 The work on Marcion's Gospel during this time period is also discussed in Roth, "Marcion's Gospel and Luke," 514–21. Though there is overlap with this article in both the material and discussion, certain details provided in my article are not repeated here, and some of the focus on methodology here does not appear in my article. Many of the following debates were located within a larger discussion concerning the Synoptic Problem as discussed in, e.g., R.H. Fuller, "Baur versus Hilgenfeld: A Forgotten Chapter in the Debate on the Synoptic Problem," *NTS* 24 (1978): 355–70.

Testaments marked the beginning of the most intense period of investigation of Marcion's Gospel in the modern era.[15] Schwegler believed that the theory that Marcion had edited Luke based on his theological proclivities was completely untenable.[16] Therefore, Schwegler concluded that Marcion's Gospel was "eine ältere, unabhängige, in paulinischen Kreisen fortgepflanzte Evangelienschrift," because even though such a text is not attested by any other ancient witnesses it "verwickelt sich aber wenigstens nicht in so zahlreiche, unauflösliche Widersprüche und Schwierigkeiten, wie die Hypothese vom verstümmelten Lukas."[17]

2.4.2 *Albrecht Ritschl (1846)*

Albrecht Ritschl advanced this line of thought in his 1846 work *Das Evangelium Marcions und das kanonische Evangelium des Lucas*.[18] In the preface he set forth the thesis of his monograph: "dass das Evangelium Marcions nicht eine Verstümmlung des Evangeliums des Lucas, sondern der Grundstamm desselben ist."[19] Therefore, Ritschl contended that one ultimately should conclude that Luke has *added* that which was missing in Marcion's Gospel rather than conclude that Marcion *excised* anything from Luke.[20]

Methodologically, Ritschl proposed that the evaluation of Marcion's Gospel be based upon a criterion of connection (*Zusammenhang*), which assumed that redactional activity, because it introduces foreign material, can be recognized as destructive of the original connection in or between pericopes.[21] Though the other scholars involved in the debates during this era expressed some reservations about this criterion, overall they tended to be disposed favorably to Ritschl's approach and continued to invoke it in the discussions.[22] Despite the support of other scholars, however, Ritschl's criterion must ultimately be viewed as a failed attempt for objectivity in reconstructing

15 F.C. Albert Schwegler, review of W.M.L. de Wette, *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die kanonischen Bücher des Neuen Testaments*, 4th ed., *ThJb*(*T*) 2 (1843): 544–90. An only slightly edited repetition of the arguments presented in this review appeared in idem, *Das nachapostolische Zeitalter in den Hauptmomenten seiner Entwicklung* (2 vols.; Tübingen: Ludwig Friedrich Fues., 1846), 1:260–84.

16 Schwegler, "Review of de Wette *Lehrbuch*," 577.

17 Ibid., 590.

18 Reference to this work was made in chapter 1, n. 13.

19 Ritschl, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, v.

20 Cf. ibid., 73–130. The final sections of the work contain a comparison of Marcion's text with that of Justin Martyr (pp. 130–51) and deal with Marcion's *Apostolikon* (pp. 151–71).

21 Ibid., vi, 56.

22 Cf. the discussions below of Baur, Hilgenfeld, and Volckmar.

Marcion's Gospel. First, in his 1846 work Ritschl offered two examples from the Synoptic Gospels of how his criterion provided objective and assured results. The only problem is that the examples were used to prove that Mark was written subsequent to Matthew and Luke, a position that Ritschl embraced at the time, but had rejected by 1851.[23] Given that Ritschl himself no longer would have been convinced by his own examples a few years later, one may rightly question just how useful or objective Ritschl's criterion really was. Second, in 1855, G.Fr. Franck published a particularly devastating critique in which he observed that not only is the criterion rather subjective, but also that the idea underlying it is fundamentally flawed. A lack of connection would more likely be the case in an original text rather than a text that had been redacted, precisely because a redactor often smoothes and improves the flow and connection of pericopes in a work.[24]

2.4.3 *F.C. Baur (1846–1847)*

Shortly after Ritschl's work appeared, F.C. Baur built on Ritschl's thesis in comments on Marcion that were printed in identical form in two publications, an article and a book.[25] Despite the occasional critical remark concerning the manner in which Ritschl had applied his methodology,[26] Baur generally

23 Ritschl's examples were Mark 9:5–6 where Peter's response is said to have come from Matt 17:6 and Mark 12:34 where Jesus' words are thought to have been inserted into Luke 20:20–39 before v. 40 (*Das Evangelium Marcions*, 57–58). Ritschl embraced Markan priority in his article "Über den gegenwärtigen Stand der Kritik der synoptischen Evangelien," *ThJb*(*T*) 10 (1851): 480–538. In the fifth of seven observations on the debates concerning Marcion's Gospel Eduard Reuss stated "Das System von einem vor-marcionitischen Ur-Lucas und nach-marcionitischen kanonischen steht und fällt mit der Behauptung dass Marcus den letztern ausgeschrieben habe" (*Die Geschichte der heiligen Schriften Neuen Testaments* [4th ed.; Braunschweig: C.A. Schwetschke & Sohn (M. Bruhn), 1864], 245). Although he may have overstated the point, it is true that the view of the order of and relationship between the Synoptic Gospels is not unrelated to the debates concerning Marcion's Gospel.

24 Franck, "Ueber das Evangelium Marcion's," 305–6, 311, and 351. This point was already made in a general way by Volckmar, "Ueber das Lukas-Evangelium nach seinem Verhältnis zu Marcion und seinem dogmatischen Charakter, mit besonderer Beziehung auf die kritischen Untersuchungen F. Ch. Baur's und A. Ritschl's," *ThJb*(*T*) 9 (1850): 123 and was reiterated by Theodor Zahn in *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons* (2 vols. Erlangen: Andreas Deichert, 1888–1892), 1:683.

25 F.C. Baur, "Der Ursprung und Charakter des Lukas-Evangeliums," *ThJb*(*T*) 5 (1846): 459–93 and idem, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien, ihr Verhältnis zu einander, ihren Charakter und Ursprung* (Tübingen: Ludw. Fr. Fues., 1847), 397–427.

26 Cf. Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, 398–401.

embraced Ritschl's work and agreed that Ritschl's criterion demonstrated that Marcion's text was original and Luke's text secondary. In fact, Baur concluded that Marcion's Gospel was merely the text Marcion had at hand and that all the differences between it and Luke can only be seen as interpolations by a later hand.[27]

2.4.4 *Gustav Volckmar and Adolf Hilgenfeld* (*1850*)

The position of Ritschl and Baur was challenged in 1850 by Gustav Volckmar and Adolf Hilgenfeld.[28] The thesis of Volckmar's article was that Schwegler, Ritschl, and Baur, despite rightly criticizing the erroneous and prejudicial elements in earlier studies, were wrong in their view that Luke is "eine vermehrte und corrupte oder vielmehr 'katholisirte' Ausgabe" of Marcion's Gospel.[29] In part one of his article Volckmar gave attention to the opening sections to Marcion's Gospel and concluded "dass der Text des Marcion weit entfernt die Grundlage für unser Lukas-Evangelium zu sein, gerade von der Eigenthümlichkeit dieses abhängig ist."[30] Though Volckmar believed that based on this section alone the fundamental relationship between Marcion's Gospel and Luke had been revealed,[31] he continued in part two of his article to discuss additional passages that he believed essentially, though with a few exceptions, served to confirm his point.[32]

At the same time, though disagreeing with Ritschl's conclusions on the relationship between Marcion's Gospel and Luke and noting potential pitfalls in

27 Ibid., 404, 424.

28 Volckmar, "Ueber das Lukas-Evangelium," 110–38 and 185–235 and Hilgenfeld, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, 395–475. Prior to the appearance of these two works, D. Harting sought explicitly to vindicate the patristic view in *Quaestionem de Marcione Lucani Evangelii, ut fertur, adulteratore, collatis Hahnii, Ritschelii aliorumque sententiis, novo examini submisit* (Utrecht: Paddenburg, 1849). For comments on Harting's work cf. Johannes Friedrich Bleek, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (trans. by William Urwick from the 2d ed; 2 vols.; Clark's Foreign Theological Library 4th series, 24; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1864), 1:145.

29 Volckmar, "Ueber das Lukas-Evangelium," 116.

30 Ibid., 138.

31 Ibid.

32 In part two, Volckmar discussed Luke 11:29–35; 11:49–51; 12:6–7; 13:28–30; 13:31–35; 16:16–18; 20:1–19; 21:18; 20:27–39; 19:28–44; 8:19–21 [N.B., the citation is incorrectly given as "XIII, 19 ff." on p. 195 of the article]; 24:25–27; 10:22; 4:38–39; 7:29–35; and 19:9. Yet, Volckmar also considered Luke 13:1–9 to have been added after Marcion; 12:6–7 and 21:18 possibly to be later additions; and the reading in Marcion's Gospel in 8:20 potentially to preserve an original reading (ibid., 187, 191–92, 200, 208).

the application of Ritschl's method, Volckmar nevertheless was largely sympathetic with Ritschl's methodology.[33] Volckmar was aware of the way in which the arguments concerning the inclusion or omission of a passage in Marcion's text often invoked problematic or circular reasoning,[34] and so he commended Ritschl by stating that it is to his credit that

> er [Ritschl] zum ersten Mal den Marciontext nicht blos nach den angegebenen Lücken, sondern nach dem, was er [Marcion] stehen gelassen hat, in seinem Zusammenhang betrachtet hat.[35]

Hilgenfeld entered the debate concerning Marcion's Gospel in the third section of his larger work on Justin and Clement. He began by working through a new reconstruction of Marcion's text since he was dissatisfied with the efforts of both Hahn and Ritschl. He rightly criticized those texts as having been significantly influenced by preconceived notions of the relationship between Marcion's Gospel and Luke, particularly as it related to passages concerning which the sources are silent.[36] Despite this recognition and his attempts to avoid the same pitfalls, Hilgenfeld nevertheless was not able completely to steer clear of the same types of problems.[37] Hilgenfeld ultimately came to the conclusion that though Marcion did edit and omit elements of Luke, and that in general, therefore, Luke is to be seen as the original document, there are nevertheless original elements in Marcion's Gospel.[38] Hilgenfeld thus set forth the view that Marcion knew and edited the Gospel according to Luke, but also that Luke received its present form after an additional, though minimal, redaction.[39]

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33 Ibid., 123–24.

34 Cf. the critical comments in ibid., 121.

35 Ibid., 124.

36 Hilgenfeld observed that whether a passage on which the sources were silent was viewed as present or absent in Marcion's text was strongly influenced by whether one held the "mutilation" or "Ur-Lukas" hypothesis concerning Marcion's Gospel (*Kritische Untersuchungen*, 394). Hilgenfeld's reconstruction with comments is found on pp. 398–442.

37 Cf. the criticisms in Volckmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, 20–21.

38 Hilgenfeld, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, 456, 471–74. Hilgenfeld argued that verses or pericopes whose absence is original include Luke 5:39, 13:1–5, and 19:18. In addition, verses in Marcion's text that contain original readings include Luke 10:22, 11:2, 13:28, 16:17, and 18:19 (ibid., 469–71).

39 Ibid., 474.

2.4.5 *F.C. Baur and Albrecht Ritschl (1851)*

The impact of the work of Hilgenfeld and Volckmar was felt immediately, evidenced by two facts in particular. First, both Baur and Ritschl promptly revisited the issue of Marcion's Gospel in 1851.[40] Second, and more importantly, in these publications both scholars altered their previous position, Baur through revision and Ritschl through retraction.

Baur now admitted that Marcion, because of his theological system, altered numerous passages in the Gospel that he had before him in order to create the text we now call Marcion's Gospel.[41] He was also convinced, however, that this reality could not account for all the differences one sees between Marcion's Gospel and Luke and that Marcion's Gospel often preserved original readings, either in the absence of verses or in the wording of verses.[42] Most significant among these was Baur's new contention that Luke 4:16–30 and the entirety of chapters 1 and 2 were not originally part of Luke but only added after Marcion.[43] Thus, Baur's conclusion now became that Marcion's Gospel was an older version of Luke from which Marcion excised and to which Luke added.[44]

Ritschl's reaction to the works of Hilgenfeld and Volckmar was rather different. At the outset of the section on Luke in his article addressing the current state of Synoptic Gospels scholarship, Ritschl wrote,

> Die von mir vorgetragene Hypothese, dass nicht Marcion das Evangelium Lukas geändert habe, sondern dass sein Evangelium eine Vorstufe des kanonischen Lukas sei, sehe ich als durch Volckmar und Hilgenfeld widerlegt an.[45]

Ritschl continued by observing that Hilgenfeld's arguments had not returned the discussion to the traditional view since Hilgenfeld had argued that Luke received its present form after Marcion, and Baur's arguments carried

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40 F.C. Baur, *Das Markusevangelium nach seinem Ursprung und Charakter, nebst einem Anhang über das Evangelium Marcion's* (Tübingen: Ludw. Friedr. Fues., 1851), 191–226 and Ritschl, "Über den gegenwärtigen Stand," 528–33.

41 Baur, *Das Markusevangelium*, 191. According to Baur, examples of passages that Marcion changed can be found in Luke 8:19; 10:21, 25; 12:8–9; 11:29, 32, 49–52; 13:31–35; 18:31–34; 20:37–38; 21:21–22; 22:30; 22:35–38; 24:25, 27, 32, 44, 45; 22:16; 15:11–32; 20:9–18; 18:37; 19:9 (ibid., 192–95).

42 Baur listed these passages as Luke 1–2; 4:16–30; 5:39; 10:22; 12:6, 7; 13:1–5; 16:17; 19:28–46; 21:18; and possibly 11:30–32, 49–51; 13:28–35; 22:30 (ibid., 224).

43 Ibid., 212–14, 219.

44 Ibid., 225.

45 Ritschl, "Über den gegenwärtigen Stand," 528–29.

Hilgenfeld's work further by positing a more radical revision by the same author who wrote the book of Acts.[46] Ritschl himself, however, was not convinced by either of these positions, and explicitly disagreed with Baur's new analysis of Luke 4 in Marcion's Gospel and with Baur's contention that the first two chapters of Luke were added to Luke after Marcion by the final redactor of the canonical Gospel.[47] A letter from Baur to Ritschl dated 1. February 1851 highlighted the irony of these now divergent opinions, as Baur wrote, "Ich bin, wie Sie [Ritschl] sehen, ein weit treuerer Anhänger Ihrer Ansicht [from 1846], als Sie selbst."[48]

2.4.6 *Gustav Volckmar (1852)*

With Baur and Ritschl having altered their previous views, albeit in different ways, Volckmar decided to devote a book-length study to Marcion's Gospel, which appeared in 1852.[49] In the preface Volckmar indicated that his views had in no small way diverged from earlier perspectives, including his own,[50] and at the end of his work he came to the conclusion that both the earlier views of Ritschl and Baur, as well as Hilgenfeld's and his own "mediating position" were to be rejected.[51] In fact, Volckmar concluded that not only is "our" Luke historically to be seen as the one used by Marcion and only shortened and changed by his particular *Tendenz*,[52] but also that

> Die *geschichtliche Ansicht* also kann, was die *Integrität* oder Vollständigkeit unseres Lucas-Evangliums betrifft, nicht mehr von Vermittlung reden sondern *so* weit die ältere Ansicht, die der Kirchenväter und der Apologetik als *völlig bestätigt* erklären [emphasis original].[53]

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid., 529–33.

48 Quoted in Otto Ritschl, *Albrecht Ritschls Leben* (2 vols.; Freiburg: Mohr [Siebeck], 1892), 1:181.

49 Reference to this work was made in chapter 1, n. 13.

50 Volckmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, vi.

51 Ibid., 255–56.

52 Volckmar reaffirmed this view in *Die Evangelien: Oder Marcus und die Synopsis der kanonischen und ausserkanonischen Evangelien nach dem ältesten Text mit historisch-exegetischem Commentar* (Leipzig: Fues's Verlag [R. Resiland], 1870). In this work he dated Luke to 95–105 C.E. and explicitly stated, "Dem Markion von 138 ist er vorangegangen" (ibid., 653). In addition he referred to Marcionites excising chapters 1 and 2 from Luke because they were deemed to be unacceptable (ibid., 8–9).

53 Volckmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, 255–56. Karl Reinhold Köstlin came to a similar conclusion in 1853 when he argued that though there may be some instances where Marcion's

Perhaps most telling is Volckmar's comment that he now believed the view of the church fathers to have been confirmed in its entirety.[54]

Once again, however, Volckmar in his analysis remained sympathetic to Ritschl's criterion, stating "*der innere Zusammenhang allein* ist es, der die Haupt-Entscheidung darüber geben kann, welches dieser beiden Lucas-Evangelien dem andern zu Grunde liegt [emphasis original]."[55] In addition, Volckmar did not hesitate, in certain instances, to make definite decisions concerning the presence or absence of passages on which the sources are silent.[56] On the other hand, and more positively, it is worth noting that in this volume Volckmar paid greater attention to the qualities and characteristics of the sources involved in reconstructing Marcion's Gospel, even if Volckmar's analysis did not extend beyond those works or chapters of works by Tertullian, Epiphanius, and the *Adamantius Dialogue* that are directed against Marcion.[57]

2.4.7 *Adolf Hilgenfeld (1853)*

In 1853 Hilgenfeld offered a second contribution to the discussion in an article interacting primarily, though not exclusively, with Volckmar's 1852 work.[58] Hilgenfeld makes no new contribution to issues of methodology, though he did recognize the value of Volckmar's consideration of the sources involved in

text might, or in fact does, preserve the original reading, in general the arguments presented by Baur and/or Hilgenfeld for the originality of readings in Marcion's Gospel cannot be sustained (*Der Ursprung und die Komposition der synoptischen Evangelien* [Stuttgart: Carl Mäcken, 1853], 302–9).

54 Volckmar went on to explain that he wrote "*so* weit" as it relates to the view of the church fathers because in the codices of Luke corrupt readings are present and that from a text-critical standpoint Marcion's text provides original readings in Luke 10:21, 22; 11:2; 12:38; 17:2; and 18:18. It is also possible that Marcion's text has variant readings in Luke 6:17; 12:32; 17:12; and 23:2 (Volckmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, 256–57). Yet, Volckmar explained these variants in Luke as harmonizing moves towards Matthew or the OT and stated, "Eine specifisch anti-*marcionitische* Tendenz zeigt sich dabei nirgends ausschliesslich [emphasis original]" (ibid., 257). A few years later Franck argued that even these readings in Marcion's Gospel were not original ("Ueber das Evangelium Marcion's," 353–59).

55 Volckmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, 18. Volckmar did attempt to guard against a simplistic use of this criterion by noting that both Luke and Marcion's Gospel are secondary to "dem ursprünglichen [Gospel], welches auf diesem Gebiet fragelos am reinsten bei *Matthäus* oder *Marcus* oder bei beiden zusammen vorliegt." Therefore, the real issue is where "die *Idee* der secundären Veränderung rein und klar vorliegt" (ibid.).

56 Cf. ibid., 113–21.

57 Cf. ibid., 28–54.

58 Adolf Hilgenfeld, "Das Marcionitische Evangelium und seine neueste Bearbeitung," *ThJb(T)* 12 (1853): 192–244.

the debate.[59] The thrust of the article, however, is found elsewhere. Hilgenfeld began by making a few observations on the recent publications of Baur, Ritschl, and Volckmar as well as summarizing his own 1850 position.[60] As Hilgenfeld re-engaged numerous arguments in the section "Die ursprüngliche Elemente des marcionitischen Evangeliums,"[61] he concluded that concerning the originality of Marcion's text

> Mit voller Sicherheit rechne ich hierher das fehlen von v, 39, die Textform x, 21. 22. in allem Wesentlichen, ferner xiii, 28. xvi, 17., auch trage ich kein Bedenken, xviii, 19 unter diesen Gesichtspunkt zu stellen.[62]

Clearly such a minimal conception of originality in Marcion's Gospel would lead to a quite different understanding of the source text of Marcion's Gospel than the perspective held by Baur where, for example, the entirety of Luke 1 and 2 was believed to have been missing.

It is important to recognize that in the midst of this fascinating and complex discussion an incredible amount was written about the text of Marcion's Gospel and its relationship to Luke, while comparatively little attention was devoted to the lingering methodological problems with Ritschl's criterion of *Zusammenhang*, scholarly discussions' continued use of assumptions about Marcion's theological tendency when reconstructing Marcion's Gospel, and the questionable practice of drawing conclusions based on the silence of the sources. For this reason, despite the voluminous output of publications during the span of slightly more than a decade, significant shortcomings still existed in the quest to establish the text of Marcion's Gospel along critical lines.

2.5 The Latter Half of the 19th Century

Three scholars in particular were important in the continuing discussion of Marcion and his Gospel following the intense debates discussed above: William Sanday, Hajo Uden Meyboom, and Theodor Zahn. Sanday first addressed the issue of Marcion's Gospel as a rejoinder to the view advanced in Walter Richard Cassels's anonymously published *Supernatural Religion* in an article

59 Ibid., 196–97.
60 Ibid., 192–95.
61 Ibid., 211–43.
62 Ibid., 242. A few sentences later Hilgenfeld adds, "Möglich is es, dass hierher auch xxiii, 2. zu rechnen ist" (ibid.).

that appeared in *Fortnightly Review*, an article which he subsequently revised and included in his *The Gospels in the Second Century*.[63] Specifically, Sanday sought to refute the idea that Marcion's Gospel was not based on Luke and observed that much of the controversy in Germany revolved around whether Marcion's text could or could not be explained as arising out of his dogmatic system.[64] Sanday went on to state that though he believed the dogmatic argument points to the traditional view, this argument should not be pressed too far for he

> should be tempted to say that the almost exclusive and certainly excessive use of arguments derived from the history of dogma was the prime fallacy which lies at the root of the Tübingen criticism.[65]

Thus, Sanday offered a new methodological approach based on style and diction through which he clearly demonstrated that the style and vocabulary of the passages omitted by Marcion matched the style and vocabulary of

63 William Sanday, "Marcion's Gospel," *FR* 23 (1875): 855–75 and idem, *The Gospels in the Second Century: An Examination of the Critical Part of a Work Entitled 'Supernatural Religion'* (London: MacMillan & Co., 1876), 204–37. The latter work included an appendix (pp. 362–72) in which Sanday set forth Marcion's text of Luke 5 as attested in the sources and concluded, "Of course the remainder of the evidence [from Luke's Gospel] can easily be produced if necessary, but I do not think it will long remain in doubt that our present St. Luke was really the foundation of the Gospel that Marcion used" (ibid., 372). Sanday's arguments convinced Cassels to change his position on the relationship between Marcion's Gospel and Luke in the edition of his work appearing subsequent to Sanday's critiques (cf. *Supernatural Religion: An Inquiry into the Reality of Divine Revelation* [3 vols.; complete ed.; London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1879], 1:iii; 6 previous editions of this work were printed between 1874 and 1879 by Longmans, Green, and Co. in London and a later popular edition was printed in 1903 and 1905 by Watts & Co. in London). To my knowledge, the first attempt to provide an extensive reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel in English appeared in S. Baring-Gould, *The Lost and Hostile Gospels: An Essay on the Toledoth Jeschu, and the Petrine and Pauline Gospels of the First Three Centuries of which Fragments Remain* (London: Williams & Northgate, 1874), 248–55. Other early reconstructions in English scholarship are found in A.H. Charteris, *Canonicity: A Collection of Early Testimonies to the Canonical Books of the New Testament based on Kirchhoffer's 'Quellensammlung'* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1880), 393–408 and Charles B. Waite, *History of the Christian Religion* (Chicago: C.V. Waite, 1881), 243–51. These reconstructions, however, did not advance the discussion beyond the point where the German critics of the mid-nineteenth had carried it.

64 Sanday, *The Gospels in the Second Century*, 218.

65 Ibid., 221.

the passages that Marcion retained.[66] On the basis of this argument, Sanday concluded,

> We may assume, then, that there is definite proof that the Gospel used by Marcion presupposes our present St. Luke, in its complete form, as it has been handed down to us.[67]

Sanday's argument largely held sway in English-speaking scholarship until the work of John Knox,[68] who rightly pointed out that Sanday's entire examination was made without reference to Marcion's actual text and seems to have assumed that pericopes in Marcion's Gospel and Luke appeared in the same form. Therefore, all Sanday really proved was the "linguistic homogeneity of our Gospel of Luke, a matter which has never been in doubt, and the evidence has no necessary relevance for Marcion's Gospel."[69] Nevertheless, Sanday did point out to subsequent scholarship the importance of moving beyond a purely theological evaluation of Marcion's Gospel.[70]

In his *Marcion en de Marcioniten*, Meyboom devoted one heading of his section on Marcion's canon to a discussion of Marcion's Gospel.[71] Here Meyboom

66 Cf. ibid., 223–30.

67 Ibid., 230.

68 Indicative are the comments of F. Crawford Burkitt who commented that a discussion of Marcion's Bible would, thirty or forty years ago, have been at the center of interest in a lecture on Marcion as at that time a general belief was current in critical circles that Marcion's Gospel might be the original and Luke a later interpolated version. With reference to the linguistic evidence marshaled by Sanday, among other points, Burkitt stated "The assertions of Tertullian and Epiphanius have been fully vindicated, and Marcion's Gospel has sunk into a mere curiosity of literature" (*The Gospel History and its Transmission* [3d ed.; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1911], 314).

69 John Knox, "On the Vocabulary of Marcion's Gospel," *JBL* 58 (1939): 195. Cf. also the discussion in idem, *Marcion and the New Testament*, 88–92 and idem, "Marcion's Gospel and the Synoptic Problem," in *Jesus, the Gospels, and the Church: Essays in Honor of William R. Farmer* (ed. E.P. Sanders; Macon: Mercer University Press, 1987), 27.

70 Unfortunately, however, as will become apparent in the following discussion, it would take another century for the first reconstruction of Marcion's Scriptures consciously seeking to avoid theologically justified readings to appear.

71 Meyboom, *Marcion en de Marcionieten* (Leiden: P. Engels & Zoon, 1888), 125–64. Also mentioning Marcion's Gospel and briefly considering its opening in comparison with Luke 4 is Hermann Usener, *Das Weihnachtsfest* (Bonn: M. Cohen & Sohn, 1889; 3d ed.; Bonn: H. Bouvier, 1969), 83–88. He too, however, did not pursue the question further, though felt confident that he had demonstrated "dass das evangelium Markions mit nichten aus dem kanonischen des Lucas durch willkürliche verstümmelungen und änderungen abgeleitet

summarized the evidence of Epiphanius and provided a list of the sections of Luke that Tertullian passed over in silence in his refutation of Marcion.[72] Zahn, however, correctly observed that Meyboom, in his interaction with Marcion's Scriptures, essentially relied on Hilgenfeld's work on the *Apostolikon* and Volckmar's work on the *Euangelion* without attempting to evaluate or advance their results.[73] In fact, Meyboom justified his not delving more deeply into the text of Marcion's Gospel because "We are not here dealing with textual criticism, but with the character and history of Marcionism."[74]

Zahn, on the other hand, devoted large sections of his *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons* to Marcion and the reconstruction of Marcion's Scriptures.[75] A key motivation for his work is found in that after briefly summarizing the debate between Ritschl, Baur, Volckmar, and Hilgenfeld, Zahn observed that a clear and complete presentation of Marcion's Scriptures was still lacking.[76] He therefore offered a new reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel (as well as his *Apostolikon*) along with an analysis of Marcion and his Scriptures. Zahn not only concluded that Marcion possessed and edited Luke and that the conclusion of the church fathers "sich allseitig bestätigt [hat]," but also that Marcion knew and interacted with all four of the canonical Gospels.[77]

For his reconstructions, Zahn embraced a rather positive evaluation of the reliability of the sources for reconstructing Marcion's text.[78] He observed that it was not simply his use and understanding of the sources that commended his reconstruction;[79] rather, he stated that it is above all that he, in his own words, "eine grundsätzlich andere Stellung zu den Quellen einnehme, als meine Vorgänger."[80] First, Zahn wished to avoid, and rightly so, the endless previous debates about passages supposedly missing in Marcion based on the silence of Tertullian or Epiphanius. Zahn commented that this type of discussion is "eine divinatorische Kritik ohne alle historische Unterlage, solange

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war, sondern vielmehr unser Lucas eine erweiternde und von willkür nicht freie umbildung der gemeinsamen vorlage darstellt" (pp. 88–89).

72 Meyboom, *Marcion*, 128–42 and 153–56.

73 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:449–50n2.

74 Meyboom, *Marcion*, 150 [my translation].

75 Cf. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 1:585–718 and 2:409–529.

76 Ibid., 1:631 (cf. 2:449–55).

77 Cf. especially ibid., 1:664, 673–78, 681, and 713. The citation is from 1:717.

78 For Zahn's discussion of the sources cf. ibid., 1:599–613 and 2:409–49.

79 That Zahn felt that previous scholars had not fully or properly used the sources, nor yet had access to critical and corrected editions of the sources is clear from his comments in *Geschichte*, 2:450–51.

80 Ibid., 2:451.

nicht bewiesen ist, daß das betreffende wirklich bei Mrc. gefehlt hat."[81] Second, Zahn provided a series of examples demonstrating that previous scholars far too often allowed a bias in favor of the canonical text, as opposed to the attestation of the sources, to govern the reconstruction of Marcion's text, an error Zahn desired to avoid.[82]

Nevertheless, as helpful as these methodological observations are, some ambiguity remains when one compares Zahn's discussion of Marcion's Gospel in the first volume of his *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons* with the actual reconstruction of Marcion's text in the second volume. In the reconstructed text of Marcion's Gospel that he offered, Zahn, to his great credit, sought to differentiate between unattested passages and passages attested as omitted in the sources.[83] At the same time, when Zahn discussed Marcion's Gospel and its relationship to the canonical Gospels, he argued that, given the weaknesses of Ritschl's criterion of connection, a more certain proof is provided by the examination of whether the differences between Marcion's text and Luke are better explained as a result of Marcion's or a Catholic redactor's theological proclivities.[84] Even though Zahn went on to employ this criterion primarily for readings or omissions attested in the sources[85] and recognized that not all differences between Marcion's Gospel and Luke can or should be explained on the basis of Marcion's theology,[86] he also inappropriately used the criterion to "create evidence" for alterations or omissions in Marcion's Gospel.[87]

Therefore, despite Harnack's evaluation that Zahn had not only set the proper principles in place for research of Marcion's Gospel, but also completed the work with such diligence and care that every subsequent examination can only revise and extend his conclusions,[88] a methodological problem

81 Ibid.

82 Ibid., 2:451–54.

83 Zahn noted, "In runde Klammern ( ) setzte ich diejenigen Stücke, deren Vorhandensein bei Mrc. weder durch positive Nachrichten noch durch sichere Schlüsse aus den Nachrichten über andere Stücke verbürgt ist. In eckige Klammern [ ] setzte ich diejenigen Stücke, deren Abwesenheit von Mrc.'s NT in ebensolcher Weise bezeugt ist" (ibid., 2:454).

84 Ibid., 1:684.

85 Ibid., 1:684–704.

86 Zahn clearly denied the idea that "alle nachweisbaren oder wahrscheinlichen Unterschiede zwischen beiden Büchern in der Dogmatik begründet sind" (ibid., 1:704).

87 Cf., e.g., his discussion of Luke 22:39–46 (ibid., 1:686–87). Further examples are found on pp. 706–7. The problematic nature of such arguments is discussed further in the evaluation of Harnack's methodology below.

88 Harnack, *Marcion*, 41*.

remained. Harnack's contention that it is primarily because Zahn's format left much to be desired, and that advances in textual criticism and knowledge of the sources necessitated a revisiting the reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel, did not yet address the more serious issue concerning the continued use of Marcion's theology in approaching the readings or omission in his texts.[89] Nevertheless, two points are quite clear: (1) Zahn, as May observed, "[hat] mit seiner Wiederherstellung des markionitischen Kanons die ältere Forschung auf diesem Gebiet überholt"[90] and (2) Zahn robustly reaffirmed the traditional position of the church fathers concerning the relationship between Marcion's Gospel and Luke.

2.6 The Early 20th Century and Adolf von Harnack

Zahn's reconstruction was employed by Hermann Freiherr von Soden in his text-critical work on the NT.[91] Von Soden viewed Marcion's Gospel as without doubt a mutilated copy of Luke[92] and concluded that Marcion's text "als Ganzes bezeugt ... daß schon um 140 in Kleinasien oder Rom Lukas im I-H-K-Text gelesen wurde."[93] This second conclusion was contested by August Pott who contended that Marcion actually had a "Western" text before him and that many of the readings previously considered as tendentious were in reality merely "Western" readings.[94] Pott's view was supported a few years later by Harnack's work on Marcion.[95]

89 Ibid., 41*–42*. Harnack's discussion of Zahn's problematic evaluation of the *Adamantius Dialogue* as a source is found in ibid., 56*–63*.

90 May, "'Ein ächter Protestant'. Markion in der Sicht August Neanders," in Greschat and Meiser (eds.), *Gerhard May: Markion: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 116.

91 Hermann Freiherr von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten ereichbaren Textgestalt* (2 vols.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911–1913), 1:2.1624.

92 Ibid.

93 Ibid., 1:2.1629.

94 August Pott, *Der Text des Neuen Testaments nach seiner geschichtlichen Entwickelung* (2d ed.; ANatG 134; Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1919) and idem, "De textu evangeliorum in saeculo secundo," *Mnemosyne* 48 (1920): 267–309 and 338–65, esp. 348–65.

95 Pott and Harnack, however, did not come to the same conclusion concerning the "Western" text and which readings in Marcion's text were reflecting original "Western" readings and which were reflecting harmonizations to Mark/Matthew. Cf. August Pott, "Marcions Evangelientext," *ZKG* 42 (1923): 202–23 and Harnack, *Marcion*, V, 243*. Also, Heinrich Vogels remained unconvinced that Marcion had a "Western" text or that Marcion was not responsible for numerous stylistic changes and alterations now attested

Zahn's work remained the benchmark for Marcion's Gospel only until Harnack's *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott* appeared, which eclipsed all previous work on Marcion's texts. The text of Marcion's Gospel as reconstructed by Harnack, with its continuous text and copious documentation, quickly became the standard reference for subsequent scholarship.[96] Before commenting on Harnack's reconstruction, it is worth noting that he made several points concerning the text of Marcion's Gospel. First, in the comments following his recontruction, Harnack stated

> Daß das Evangelium Marcions nichts anderes ist als was das altkirchliche Urteil von ihm behauptet hat, nämlich ein verfälschter Lukas, darüber braucht kein Wort mehr verloren zu werden.[97]

Second, Marcion's Greek and Latin text of Luke is a "pure" "Western" text when considered apart from Marcion's alterations.[98] Third, Marcion's Gospel text reveals a strong influence of Matthew and Mark, both in readings that are elsewhere attested in the "Western" textual tradition and in otherwise unattested readings.[99] Following this observation Harnack noted that he considered it highly unlikely that Marcion himself was responsible for these harmonizations and that therefore Marcion possessed a text that had already been harmonized to Matthew and Mark.[100] Yet, he did not pursue the import of this fact other than simply to observe in a footnote that it is of great significance for the history of the canon.[101] Fourth, Harnack saw very minimal influence of Marcion's text on the Catholic text.[102] And finally, Harnack agreed that Marcion knew Matthew, Mark, and John; consciously rejected them; and provided a rationale for that rejection in his *Antitheses*.[103]

As has already been noted, Harnack's entire work on Marcion exerted a tremendous influence on subsequent scholarship and the same is true for his

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in the "Western" text (Review of Adolf von Harnack, *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott, TRev* 3/4 [1922]: 58).

96 For Harnack's discussion of the omissions, corrections, possible additions, and method employed by Marcion cf. *Marcion*, 52–73. For his reconstructed text of Marcion's *Euangelion* cf. ibid., 183*–240*.

97 Ibid., 240*.

98 Ibid., 242* (cf. p. 73).

99 Ibid., 243*.

100 Ibid. (cf. p. 43).

101 Ibid., 243*n2.

102 Ibid., 247*.

103 Ibid., 40–42, 249*.

reconstruction of the text and discussion of the sources of Marcion's Gospel.[104] The reliability of a source or reading, however, is often merely asserted rather than demonstrated. For example, Harnack simply averred that nearly every page of Tertullian's work reveals that his reproduction of Marcion's text is reliable and that in nearly every instance it is possible to identify precise quotations from mere references to Marcion's text.[105] Yet, at no point are any arguments advanced for how one can know that these assertions, apparently self-evident to Harnack, are correct. Even if these assertions are granted, a more important question remained unanswered, namely, how is one to evaluate just how accurate a "reliable" citation or allusion is? Despite these issues, it cannot be denied that Harnack utilized nearly every available source in his offered reconstruction.

Also important in Harnack's methodological contribution is his observation that it is rather unfortunate that for a large number of passages it remains unclear whether Marcion excised them or whether they were simply passed over by his opponents. Harnack indicated that he, apart from a few instances, avoided the types of extended considerations and speculations on this issue characteristic of previous scholars.[106] Related to the shift away from speculating concerning Marcion's omissions is Harnack's argument that for understanding Marcion's thought and theology what he left in the text is much more important than his omissions and corrections.[107] Harnack was absolutely right that focus must first and foremost be placed upon attested readings of Marcion's text, and that only on the basis of that text can an understanding of Marcion and his theology be advanced. Unfortunately, when one turns to Harnack's reconstructed text, there is evidence that, on occasion, Marcion's perceived theology was still affecting the reading offered.

Therefore, the tremendous value of Harnack's work notwithstanding, it is important to note that two major methodological weaknesses limit the ultimate value of Harnack's reconstruction. First, despite his cautioning about applying the criterion of "Marcionite tendency" in reconstructing Marcion's Gospel, Harnack could not quite bring himself to embrace a consistent critical posture towards the sources. Thus, he did not fully recognize, as Schmid puts it, "When one of our sources doesn't cite or evoke [*sic*] a passage or a phrase,

104 The sources are discussed in ibid., 41*–67*, 177*–83*.

105 Ibid., 45*.

106 Ibid., 65n1.

107 Ibid., 66.

it simply means that it doesn't cite or evoke [*sic*] it."[108] Schmid's observation rightly leads to the conclusion,

> Arguments *e silentio*, creating positive evidence out of a lack of evidence, should not be allowed, even if the alleged omission would match supposed theological preferences of Marcion.[109]

And yet, at several points Harnack is guilty of precisely such a "creation of evidence."[110] Several examples illustrating this problem can be found in Harnack's reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel, including his discussion of Luke 5:39, 9:56, 22:43, 24:12, and 24:40. Luke 5:39, 22:43, 24:12, and 24:40 all involve instances where the Marcionite text is unattested in the sources, but Harnack believed Marcion excised the passages for dogmatic reasons.[111] Although Schmid discussed only Luke 5:39 in his article, his evaluation of Harnack's view is applicable to all four of these verses: "This is simply creating positive evidence (in this very case positive negative evidence) out of no evidence at all."[112]

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108 Ulrich Schmid, "How Can We Access Second Century Gospel Texts? The Cases of Marcion and Tatian," in *The New Testament Text in Early Christianity: Proceedings of the Lille colloquium, July 2000 / Le texte du Nouveau Testament au début du christianisme: Actes du colloque de Lille, juillet 2000* (ed. Christian-B. Amphoux and J. Keith Elliott; HTB 6; Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 2003), 142.

109 Ibid., 142. Several decades earlier, Leon E. Wright had already noted that concerning allusions or omissions in the sources for Marcion's Gospel, "the argument from silence is precariously invoked under such circumstances of transmission" (*Alterations of the Words of Jesus: As Quoted in the Literature of the Second Century* [Harvard Historical Monographs 25; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952], 128). Ekkehard Muehlenberg similarly noted, "We are not furnished any list of omissions [by Tertullian] so that the *argumentum e silentio* cannot be admitted" ("Marcion's Jealous God," in *Disciplina Nostra: Essays in Memory of Robert F. Evans* [PatMS 6; Cambridge, Mass.; Philadelphia Patristic Foundation, 1979], 98).

110 In addition, a related problem is the application of the criterion as an explanation for the *motivation* of attested Marcionite readings, especially in discussions concerning "original" readings. This point was already made by G. Zuntz in critical comments concerning some of the passages in First Corinthians where Harnack posited a *tendenziöse Zufügung* or a *Tendenzänderung* (*The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the* Corpus Paulinum: *The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1946* [London: Oxford University Press, 1953], 229, 233).

111 Harnack, *Marcion*, 190*, 234*, 238*, 239*, and the summary comments on 247*. Luke 9:56 involves an unattested element that Harnack believed was added to the text by Marcion (*Marcion*, 190*; cf. the discussion in chapter 5.41).

112 Schmid, "How Can We Access?," 143. The problematic nature of invoking Marcion's Gospel as attesting the omission of Luke 24:12 was already noted by Frans Neirynck, "Lc. XXIV

A second methodological problem arises out of the realization that although Harnack had a tremendous knowledge of the sources for the text of Marcion's Gospel, he did not give enough attention to the use of Scripture in those sources more broadly. In order to avoid repetition of analysis provided in later chapters, no examples of this problem will be provided here. At numerous points in the ensuing analysis, however, it will be seen that Harnack's lack of interaction with multiple citations of a text casts doubt upon his reconstruction.

Finally, in addition to these methodological problems, there is also a problem related to textual criticism that affected Harnack's reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel. In both the first and second editions of *Marcion*, Harnack indicated that he used Tischendorf's text and apparatus for the comparison of Marcion's reconstructed text with the manuscript tradition.[113] Concerning this reference point, Pott observed,

> V. Harnack hat leider das ganze Material v. Sodens ignoriert; hätte er es beachtet, so würde er an sehr vielen Stellen nicht geurteilt haben, daß die Lesart "unbezeugt" oder "allein" stehend sei.[114]

Harnack granted Pott's point and admitted that the Tischendorf apparatus was insufficient; however, he stated that he "aus verschiedenen Gründen mit dem Soden'schen Apparat nicht zu arbeiten vermag."[115] Though Harnack contended that not much was lost as a result of his exclusive use of Tischendorf, it seems quite evident that the most precise knowledge of Marcion's text would seek to utilize all available data in the manuscript tradition.[116]

Thus, despite the tremendous contributions by Zahn and Harnack, it is clear that May rightly observed, "Die Wiederherstellungsversuche von Theodor Zahn (1892) und Harnack sind nicht kritisch und nicht methodisch streng genug."[117] C.S.C. Williams correctly noted,

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12: Les témoins du text occidental," in *Miscellanea Neotestamentica I* (ed. T. Baarda, A.F.J. Klijn, and W.C. van Unnik; NovTSup 47; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978), 52. Cf. also the discussion in Roth, "Marcion and the Early Text," 310–11.

113 Harnack, *Marcion*[1], 223* and *Marcion*, 243*.

114 Pott, "Marcions Evangelientext," 204.

115 Harnack, *Marcion*, 243*n3.

116 The insufficient nature of Harnack's apparatus was brought up again after the appearance of the second edition in a review by Heinrich Vogels, where he listed nearly 150 verses where the textual evidence was deficient (Review of Adolf von Harnack, *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott, TRev* 12 [1925]: 442–46). Harnack defended himself against what Vogels termed a "Sündenkatalog" in "Verwahrung," *TLZ* 5 (1926): 119–20.

117 May, "Markion in seiner Zeit," 8. Klinghardt expresses a similar sentiment writing, "Harnacks Rekonstruktion, die lange Zeit als maßgeblich galt, [ist] weithin zu großzügig

> The difficulty … remains of determining how far we have the exact words of Marcion preserved in the Latin or Greek quotations of Tertullian or Epiphanius, which they cited in evidence against him,

but not quite accurately stated, “Harnack’s reconstructed text of Marcion is probably as accurate a text as modern scholarship can provide.”[118]

2.7 Post-Harnack Studies up to 1980

Even though it would be seventy years before another complete reconstruction of Marcion’s Gospel was attempted, numerous elements addressed in other studies on Marcion and his Gospel after Harnack bear some significance for reconstructing Marcion’s text. Certain of these studies are particularly relevant for methodological issues in approaching Marcion’s Gospel. Almost a decade after Harnack’s monumental monograph, Robert Smith Wilson published, to my knowledge, the first full-length treatment of Marcion in English entitled *Marcion: A Study of a Second-Century Heretic*.[119] Wilson discussed some of the characteristics of Marcion’s Gospel concluding “the tendency of Marcion’s Gospel is to omit, and the omissions are more frequent in the late parts than in

und von den inhaltlichen Vorgaben abhängig, um tauglich zu sein” (“Markion vs. Lukas,” 492). Joël Delobel also discusses both problematic reconstructions and their uncritical use by subsequent scholars in text-critical analyses in “Extra-Canonical Sayings of Jesus: Marcion and Some ‘Non-received’ Logia,” in *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Origins, Recensions, Text, and Transmission* (ed. William L. Petersen; CJAn 3; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989), 105–16.

118 C.S.C. Williams, *Alterations to the Text of the Synoptic Gospel and Acts* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1951), 11.

119 Robert Smith Wilson, *Marcion: A Study of a Second-Century Heretic* (London: James Clarke, 1932). Before Wilson’s work, Hermann Raschke published an article (“Marcion und sein Evangelium,” *NThT* 12 [1923]: 28–44) and a book (*Die Werkstatt des Markusevangelisten—eine neue Evangelientheorie* [Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1924]), in which he argued that Mark was actually Marcion’s Gospel and even that Marcion’s “Partei” was “der Urheber des Markusevangeliums” (“Marcion und sein Evangelium,” 44 and *Die Werkstatt*, 43). Raschke’s work rightly received very little notice; however, despite his speculative and ultimately erroneous views (cf. Harnack, *Marcion*, 240*n1 and Wilson, *Marcion: A Study*, 136n*), he did offer some valid criticism of Harnack’s methodological stance towards the sources (“Marcion und sein Evangelium,” 28, 43). After Wilson’s work, Auguste Hollard published a short book *Deux hérétiques: Marcion et Montan* (Paris: Éditions de la Nouvelle Revue Critique, 1935) in which he simply stated that Marcion’s Gospel “n’est autre que celui de Luc,” though in an excised, edited, and interpolated form (p. 26).

the early."[120] Nevertheless, Wilson also stated that even when every difference between Marcion's Gospel and Luke that can be ascribed to Marcion's theology is so ascribed, a "residuum" remains that is difficult to explain and suggests that Marcion's text contained variant readings.[121] In addition, although noting that to attempt to answer the question of the type of text that Marcion had was beyond the scope of his work,[122] Wilson did reiterate several of Harnack's conclusions. Wilson agreed that Marcion's text evidenced a "Western" character and that it had some influence on both this and the general textual tradition.[123] In addition, he stated "It is not improbable that Marcion was using a text of *Luke* that had been corrupted by assimilation to *Matthew* and *Mark*," and was more explicit in the implication of this fact than Harnack was, concluding,

> By the time of Marcion the three Gospels had already circulated so long together that scribes had begun to be influenced in their copying of one by their habitual use of the others.[124]

In 1936, Paul-Louis Couchoud reasserted Baur's 1847 position in an article entitled "Is Marcion's Gospel One of the Synoptics?"[125] He recognized the merits of Harnack's work on Marcion's Gospel, though also pointing out that it was "not perfect" and was influenced by Harnack's own convictions.[126] Couchoud concluded that Marcion's Gospel was very similar to Streeter's and Taylor's Proto-Luke[127] and that a methodical comparison of the Gospels of Marcion and Luke would reveal the former as original, and the latter as corrected and

120 Wilson, *Marcion: A Study*, 138.

121 Ibid., 139–40. Examples of such readings provided by Wilson are Luke 7:24–26; 9:54; 12:8–9 and 15:10 vs. 16:22, 22:36, and 24:23; 18:19; 22:49–51; 23:34, 43; and 24:48 (ibid., 140).

122 Ibid., 141.

123 Ibid., 144–49. Wilson noted, however, that simply because Marcion's text is of a "Western" character it does not mean that Marcion prepared his text in Rome, as Harnack concluded. "The type of text does not decide the place, and we must be content to admit that we do not know where Marcion prepared his New Testament" (ibid., 150).

124 Ibid., 142.

125 Paul-Louis Couchoud, "Is Marcion's Gospel One of the Synoptics?," *HibJ* 34 (1936): 265–77.

126 Ibid., 265.

127 Ibid., 271. For Streeter's and Taylor's views cf. Burnett Hillman Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins, Treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship, and Dates* (London: MacMillan, 1924; 2d ed.; London: MacMillan, 1930) and Vincent Taylor, *Behind the Third Gospel: A Study of the Proto-Luke Hypothesis* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1926).

considerably amplified.[128] An immediate response to Couchoud's article was offered by Alfred Loisy who resoundingly criticized Couchoud's assumptions and reasserted the dependence of Marcion on Luke.[129]

As the subtitle to John Knox's work *Marcion and the New Testament: An Essay in the Early History of the Canon*[130] indicates, he was primarily concerned with Marcion and the NT canon and not with the text of Marcion's Gospel. Even the chapters focusing specifically on Marcion's Gospel and its relationship to Luke are said to be "particularly tentative in character and presume only to reopen a question which, in my judgment, has been prematurely closed."[131] That question is the relationship of Marcion's Gospel to Luke, which Knox answered in sharp contrast to Sanday, Zahn, and Harnack. Knox advocated a position almost identical to that of the later Baur in arguing that a separate Gospel "—the Gospel which was the basis of both Marcion's Gospel and the later canonical Gospel of Luke—*preceded* the making of Luke-Acts [emphasis

128 Couchoud, "Is Marcion's Gospel," 271. Couchoud believed that all three Synoptic Gospels were composed in the middle of the second century, stating that they were composed "roughly between A.D. 135 and 145" (ibid., 276). In 1931, Couchoud, in a paper at a conference of *l'Union Rationaliste*, had already argued that the Synoptics were written after Marcion (cf. Georges Ory, "Paul-Louis Couchoud," *CCER* 112 [1979]: 161–63). In another work on Christian origins, Couchoud provided a translation of Marcion's Gospel, along with notes designed to function as a Marcionite commentary to the text (*The Creation of Christ: An Outline of the Beginnings of Christianity* [trans. C. Bradlaugh Bonner; 2 vols.; London: Watts & Co., 1939], 2:321–423). This translation, however, did not advance the scholarly discussion. For example, for details concerning Marcion's text Couchoud simply referred the reader to Harnack (ibid., 319). In addition, Couchoud's text is marked by some idiosyncrasies as he uncritically incorporated testimony from every source, listed by Couchoud "in order of importance" as Tertullian, the Dialogue of Adamantios (Greek), Rufinus' Latin translation of the dialogues, Epiphanius, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Hegemonius, Ephrem, Chrysostom, Isidore of Pelusium, Esnik of Kolb, and Jerome (ibid., 319–20). The curious placement of the "Dialogue of Adamantios" and its translation as second and third in the list may be explained by Couchoud's belief that "the *Dialogue* of Adamantios alone gives direct Marcionite matter" (ibid., 321). Georges Ory continued arguing along the lines of Couchoud's theses concerning Marcion and his Gospel in "Marcion et Luc: Interpolés par des Esséniens?," *CCER* 50 (1966): 56–66 and *Marcion* (CCERChs; Paris: Cercle Ernest-Renan, 1980).

129 Alfred Loisy, "Marcion's Gospel: A Reply," *HibJ* 34 (1936): 378–87. Even Knox, who, as can be seen below, certainly did not affirm the traditional position, agreed that Couchoud's "effort to identify Marcion's Gospel with Streeter's 'Proto-Luke' . . . cannot be convincing because of the large Markan element the Gospel of Marcion evidently contained" (*Marcion and the New Testament*, 106–7).

130 Reference to this work was made in chapter 1, n. 13.

131 Knox, *Marcion and the New Testament*, vii.

original]."[132] Concerning the text of Marcion's Gospel, Knox provided a table of Marcionite, non-Marcionite, and uncertain passages as compared to Luke, though he admitted that his classification, and indeed any such list, could claim only approximate correctness.[133] Nevertheless, Knox used the classification of this table for his arguments against the view that Marcion mutilated Luke to create his Gospel. In fact, although the grouping of verses into these categories provided a helpful overview of the broad shape of Marcion's Gospels, all of Knox's specific discussion of verses and vocabulary in the text was, by his own admission, completely reliant upon Harnack's reconstruction.[134]

Important for methodological considerations is that after correctly noting the problematic manner in which Sanday had advanced his argument based on vocabulary and style,[135] Knox presented his own arguments that Marcion's Gospel, in fact, contains minimal Lukan vocabulary and style.[136] Some forty

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132 Ibid., 130. Knox also believed that the Gospel from which Marcion derived his Gospel "almost certainly" did not contain the first two chapters of canonical Luke (ibid., 111).

133 Ibid., 85n23. The reason for this conclusion is that "Although the verses known to have been missing from Marcion's Gospel ('B' in the table) can be designated with considerable precision, it is often not possible to know whether other pericopes should be classified under 'A' [Marcionite] or 'C' [uncertain]. Only when we are explicitly told by an ancient writer that Marcion did not have a pericope or a verse have we included it under 'B.' When all our sources are silent about a pericope, we have included it under 'C.' But when an ancient witness, presumably with a copy of Marcion's Gospel open before him, quotes the text of a Lukan pericope, even though only a few words of it, we have assumed that the whole pericope was there is some form. But obviously it is precarious to count verses on the basis of such an assumption. There is no doubt that many verses I have placed under 'A' should fall under 'C.' " (ibid.).

134 Ibid., 48. Cf. ibid., 94 where Knox stated that he drew the data for his arguments from "the recovered text of Marcion's Gospel as Harnack has assembled it."

135 Cf. the discussion above under 2.5.

136 Knox, *Marcion and the New Testament*, 92–99. Robert M. Grant's comments on Marcion's Gospel seem, at least in part, to have been motivated by Knox's study. In an appendix to his *The Letter and the Spirit*, Grant contests Knox's conclusions and attempts "to show that Marcion presumably corrected the Gospel of Luke in the light of his own peculiar doctrines. He did not possess an 'original Gospel' and his philology is only a weapon for his theology" (*The Letter and the Spirit* [London: S.P.C.K., 1957], 115; cf. also idem, "Marcion and the Critical Method," in *From Jesus to Paul: Studies in Honour of Francis Wright Beare* [ed. Peter Richardson and John C. Hurd; Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1984], 213). Later, however, Grant stated: "My own argument that the 'changes' correspond with Marcion's theology and prove that he was an editor is not convincing because conceivably Marcion relied on his 'proto-Luke' and did not create it" (*Heresy and Criticism: The Search for Authenticity in Early Christian Literature* [Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1993], 43; cf. also idem, "Marcion, Gospel of" in *ABD*, 4:520). Nevertheless, Grant

years later, however, Knox, though reaffirming his view that the author of Luke enlarged Marcion's Gospel or one very similar to it,[137] admitted that in his earlier discussion of the vocabulary and style of Marcion's Gospel he may have pushed the point too far. He stated,

> I think now that I should have been content with this demonstration [that Sanday's proof was inadequate] and should not have attempted to build any positive argument for Marcion's priority on so meager and uncertain a basis as the recoverable text of his Gospel provides (that is, in its detail).[138]

Given Knox's distancing himself from his own argument, the specifics will not be discussed here, though it is important to note that the argument from style and vocabulary, until Marcion's text is more critically established, had been shown to be of minimal usefulness.

Knox also argued that the possibility of the final author of Luke adding to a shorter Gospel quite similar to Marcion's,

> assumes something of the aspect of likelihood, however, when we observe the relation of the Gospel of Marcion to the peculiarly Lukan elements in Luke, on the one hand, and to the common Synoptic elements, on the other.[139]

Based on his table of Marcionite, non-Marcionite, and uncertain readings,[140] Knox observed,

> Of the verses which [*sic*] there is positive evidence to show did *not* belong to Marcion, 79.7 per cent are peculiar to Luke. Of all the verses

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still finds it "unlikely" that Marcion relied on an earlier document that he happened to discover and is at a loss to explain how such "certainty" could have arisen on the part of many "modern scholars to reject the unanimous consensus of early patristic writers that Marcion edited the Gospel of Luke" for "there is nothing irrational about either the editorial process or the patristic claim" (*Heresy and Criticism*, 34, 46).

137 Knox, "Marcion's Gospel," 26.

138 Ibid., 27–28n6. With this statement it appears that Knox, at least at this point, had recognized the validity of objections raised by E.C. Blackman, *Marcion and His Influence* (London: S.P.C.K., 1948; repr., Eugene, Oreg.: Wipf & Stock, 2004), 38–41 and Leland Edward Wilshire, "Was Canonical Luke Written in the Second Century?—A Continuing Discussion," *NTS* 20 (1974): 246–53.

139 Knox, *Marcion and the New Testament*, 106.

140 Cf. n. 133.

> of Luke which are peculiar to Luke, 39 per cent are known to be missing in Marcion, whereas of verses of Luke paralleled in Matthew or Mark or both, only 10 per cent are known to be missing from Marcion [emphasis original].[141]

Much more recently Tyson also employed this argument in his recent attempt to revitalize Knox's views, once again relying on Harnack's reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel and creating tables like those of Knox.[142] Although there are slight differences in the numbers due to Tyson's occasionally different evaluation about certain Lukan pericopes, the results are quite similar.[143] Tyson states, "About 12 percent of Lukan material with synoptic parallels is probably absent from Marcion's Gospel. But 41–43 percent of Lukan Sondergut material is omitted."[144] Tyson continues his argument with a discussion of the reasons why he believes the infancy narratives were later additions as was most of Luke 24.[145] He then recalculates the statistics in the comparison of Marcion's Gospel and Luke using only Luke 3–23. In this comparison

> the rate of omission, although still about 12 percent for material with synoptic parallels, is only about 22 percent for material peculiar to Luke. Although there is still a difference to be noted, the difference is about half of what we saw in tables 1 and 2 [using Luke 1–24 as a comparison]."[146]

Even though Tyson does not wish to press the point too far,[147] he does stress the conclusion:

> *Whatever text lies behind the Gospel of Marcion and canonical Luke, it almost certainly did not contain the birth narratives or the preface, and it*

141 Knox, *Marcion and the New Testament*, 108.

142 Tyson, *Marcion and Luke-Acts*, 86. Tyson's tables are provided on p. 87.

143 Ibid., 86. Tyson, unlike Knox, also provides a second table based on the number of words in the verses and not only the verses themselves. In an appendix containing Knox's data, Tyson reiterates the occasional variance in classifying material (ibid., 133).

144 Ibid., 87.

145 Ibid., 90, 101. The entire discussion is found on pp. 90–109. On pp. 109–16 Tyson discusses the Lukan preface arguing that it "may plausibly be read as introducing a text that responds to 'heretical' challenges, especially those of the Marcionites" (ibid., 116).

146 Ibid., 117.

147 Tyson notes, "None of these observations is sufficient to compel the conclusion that Luke 3–23 was the exact text that Marcion and the author of canonical Luke used" (ibid., 119).

> *probably had only a trace of the resurrection account that now appears in canonical Luke* [emphasis original].[148]

Of course, if one holds this view, the fact that a comparison of Marcion's Gospel with Luke 3–23 yields a less radical re-working of Lukan material may seem impressive. Tyson seems to have overlooked, however, that his analysis may just as easily be used for the contrary position. If the content of the opening chapters of Luke could especially be used against Marcion, the content of these chapters would necessarily have been inimical to Marcion if initially present. In fact, Tyson has shown that the majority of Lukan Sondergut material omitted by Marcion is found at the beginning and the end of Luke, and one could contend that there is no easier place to omit material than in the opening or closing of the Gospel. With two "strokes" Marcion may have eliminated a vast amount of material offensive to him and peculiar to Luke and then re-worked Luke 3–23 where, incidentally, Tyson believes, "it is not difficult to account for his [Marcion's] omissions from the text."[149] Ironically therefore, Tyson's figures could serve to weaken Knox's initial argument if one does not hold to the idea that Luke 1–2 and 24 were later additions to the Gospel. Regardless of these issues, the point to be emphasized is that the significance of Marcion's exclusion of Lukan *Sondergut* is largely determined by an *a priori* view of the extent of Marcion's source text. In other words, the significance of the statistics offered by Knox and Tyson are dependent on factors external to the readings found in Marcion's Gospel. Thus, it seems that Knox and Tyson have engaged in an interesting exercise, but one that ultimately does not serve to advance the understanding of Marcion's Gospel text or its relationship to Luke.

Despite Knox and Tyson's arguments based on vocabulary, style, and "general content" ultimately not providing a better understanding of the text of Marcion's Gospel, Knox did emphasize an important methodological point made above in the criticism of Harnack's methodology. Knox noted that concerning the verses he classified as "uncertain," i.e., verses concerning which the sources are silent, it is precarious to contend that the verses either belonged or did not belong to Marcion's text based on doctrinal considerations: "The argu-

148 Ibid.

149 Ibid., 117. From a slightly different perspective Grant questioned Knox's statistics by arguing "if we count sections rather than verses the figure is reduced to fifty per cent [from nearly eighty per cent of verses not found in Marcion being Lukan Sondergut]. Was Marcion concerned with words and phrases or with ideas?" (*The Letter and the Spirit*, 116). Of course, though Grant apparently intends his question to be rhetorical, the answer to it actually determines whether his percentage or that of Knox is viewed as more convincing.

ment from the silence of Epiphanius and Tertullian is … unreliable."[150] On this point Knox was absolutely correct.

In 1948 E.C. Blackman's work on Marcion appeared,[151] which Knox, though not agreeing with all of Blackman's conclusions, noted was "the most valuable book on Marcion since the appearance of Harnack's work a quarter of a century ago."[152] Although the work was at numerous points critical of Harnack's study because of what Blackman perceived was an overestimation of Marcion's religious significance and impact on catholic Christianity,[153] Blackman fully agreed with and followed Harnack's reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel. Blackman also agreed with Harnack's conclusions that Marcion altered Luke and that the copy of Luke that he possessed was a "Western text."[154] Although he simply utilized Harnack's reconstructed text, Blackman's helpful contribution to the discussion was his examination of the influence of Marcion's Gospel on the Old Latin versions.[155] His conclusion, based on the evidence as marshaled by Harnack, was,

> The influence of Marcion on Catholic texts was on the whole greater than Harnack allowed, but it was nevertheless, very limited. The more palpable Marcionite alterations did not insinuate themselves.[156]

In his discussion of Marcion's Scriptures, Blackman indicated "The Marcionite Gospel and Apostle have been carefully restored by Harnack. … Nothing more

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150 Knox, *Marcion and the New Testament*, 109.

151 Reference to this work was made in n. 138.

152 John Knox, review of Edwin Cyril Blackman, *Marcion and His Influence, CH* 19 (1950): 295.

153 Blackman ventured "to protest that Harnack estimated too highly the significance of the great second-century nonconformist" (*Marcion and His Influence*, x). The issue of Marcion's determinative influence on the canon was taken up especially by Hans von Campenhausen, *The Formation of the Christian Bible* (trans. J.A. Baker; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1972), 148–67. For critiques of the Harnack/Campenhausen view cf. Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament: Its Origen, Development, and Significance* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), 97–99 and especially John Barton, *Holy Writings, Sacred Text: The Canon in Early Christianity* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 35–62 and idem, "Marcion Revisited" in *The Canon Debate* (ed. Lee Martin McDonald and James A. Sanders; Peabody: Hendrickson, 2002), 341–54.

154 Cf. Blackman, *Marcion and His Influence*, 45–52.

155 Cf. especially the discussion in appendix 7 "Did Marcion's Text Influence the Old Latin?" in ibid., 128–68.

156 Ibid., 60. The passages where Blackman saw Marcion's influence in the OL tradition are Luke 10:21, 25; 11:29–32, 42; 13:28; 16:12; 21:27, 32; 23:2, 5; 24:12 and possibly 5:39; 6:35; 17:10b; 23:34a; and 24:6 (ibid.).

remains to be done except a revision of the critical apparatus."[157] Despite recognizing that one often cannot draw a firm conclusion concerning Marcion's text from Tertullian's silence and reminding the reader that Marcion was not completely consistent in his alterations of his texts,[158] this evaluation of Harnack's text is too naïve. In Blackman's discussion of the texts that evidence "the most striking of Marcion's omissions and alterations"[159] it should first be noted that he included comments on nine verses from Marcion's *Apostolikon* that Schmid has shown to be somewhat dubiously attributed to Marcion.[160] Since Blackman discussed only twenty examples from Paul's letters, questionable examples encompass nearly half of the total number. It is noteworthy that in each of these cases Blackman focused on the theological reason for the change or omission, which may well have led him to agree prematurely with Harnack's readings.

Second, in his discussion of readings in Marcion's Gospel the same problem is evidenced. For example, Blackman stated,

> Luke 22:20 lacked *καινή* before διαθήκη. The 'old' covenant was made by the God of the Old Testament, whereas Marcion's God had made no previous covenant with men.[161]

This reading is based entirely on an allusion by Tertullian, and it appears that a theological consideration is the primary motivation in accepting this reading.[162] Apparently, the weaknesses of Harnack's methodology were here perpetuated. Blackman nevertheless made a crucial observation noting,

> it is difficult always to be certain that the variant reading really stood in Marcion's text; the sources, Tertullian, *Adamantius*, or Epiphanius may have quoted incorrectly.[163]

157 Ibid., 43–44.

158 Ibid., 47.

159 Ibid.

160 Included are 1 Cor 3:17, 15:3; Rom 1:18, 11:33; and Phil 2:7 (cf., respectively, Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 80–81; 193–94; 63; 64; 76). Blackman also commented on readings attested solely in *the Adamantius Dialogue*, which Schmid argues cannot be used as a reliable independent source for Marcion's text (cf. Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 236). These verses are 1 Cor 15:20, 2 Cor 2:15; Rom 6:9; and Eph [Laodiceans] 4:6 (cf. Blackman, *Marcion and His Influence*, 44–45).

161 Blackman, *Marcion and His Influence*, 46.

162 See the discussion in chapter 5.90.

163 Blackman, *Marcion and His Influence*, 51.

He did not, however, suggest any methodological steps that could be taken to aid in evaluating the accuracy of the sources. That step was left for a later generation of scholars to take.

2.8 1980 to Present

In 1982, David Salter Williams submitted an M.A. thesis at the University of Georgia entitled "Marcion's Gospel: Reconsidered."[164] In his thesis Williams did not seek to reconstruct Marcion's Gospel, a point that has been subsequently overlooked, but rather to challenge the view that Marcion used Luke as the text base for his Gospel.[165] Williams points out that his examination of the question and advocating the "non-traditional" position differs from other studies claiming the independence of Marcion's Gospel in that they were "largely concerned with theological issues, while we will be involved almost exclusively with textual considerations."[166] For this emphasis Williams is to be commended, as well as for his attempt to develop a rigorous methodology in approaching the sources for readings in Marcion's Gospel.

At the same time, however, his method must ultimately be regarded as too restrictive and geared towards negative results, for his work is designed to negate a view of Marcion's text, not to reconstruct Marcion's text. Although such an approach to Marcion's Gospel is not inherently invalid, and Williams

164 Both the thesis and subsequent *JBL* article were referenced in chapter 1, n. 10.

165 In his M.A. thesis Williams writes, "It is not our intention to attempt to reconstruct the original text of MG. We seek only to question the traditional view's strict identification of Marcion's text base with the canonical Gospel of Luke" ("Marcion's Gospel: Reconsidered," 24). Both Schmid and Andrew Gregory, however, appear to classify Williams's work as a "reconstruction." On the one hand, Schmid groups Williams's and Tsutsui's work together under the heading "Rekonstrucktionsversuche der marcionitischen Evangelienschrift" (*Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 23). On the other hand, Gregory states, "Williams' *reconstruction* is methodologically much more rigorous and its results much more radical [emphasis added]" (*The Reception of Luke and Acts in the Period before Irenaeus* [WUNT 2.169; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003], 178). Schmid admits he was not able to consult Williams's M.A. thesis, and Gregory does not mention it, but even so, in Williams's *JBL* article, which Schmid and Gregory do cite, Williams nowhere indicates his objective is to *reconstruct* Marcion's Gospel. In fact, Williams only writes that he intends to call into question the position that Marcion's Gospel "represents simply a systematic abbreviation of the canonical Gospel of Luke," and that "the safest and surest procedure in approaching Marcion's Gospel is to limit study to what I shall call 'explicit correlated readings' " ("Reconsidering Marcion's Gospel," 478, 481).

166 Williams, "Marcion's Gospel: Reconsidered," 14.

is rightly skeptical about the validity of invoking Marcion's theology in considering readings in Marcion's text,[167] there are, nevertheless, several difficulties in the method Williams employed in his work. The methodological problems begin with Williams restricting his examination to what he calls "explicit correlated readings," i.e., readings attested in both Tertullian and Epiphanius as a "direct quote."[168] Schmid points out that although Williams employs a "methodisch kontrollierbarer Ausgangspunkt,"[169] he also observes,

> Diese methodisch sehr restriktive Rekonstruktion erlaubt fast nur negative Schlußfolgerungen im Blick auf die Vorlage des marcionitischen Evangeliums und auch im Blick auf die anzunehmende marcionitische Bearbeitung desselben.[170]

Two specific questions Schmid sets forth highlighting the weakness of such a restrictive methodology are "ob es nicht noch andere methodisch kontrollierbare Verfahren gibt, die auch die Zeugnisse, die nur eine der Quellen bietet, erschließen helfen" and "ob die etwas mechanisch anmutende Identifizierung von direkten Zitaten durch ein einleitendes Verbum dicendi wirklich zuverlässige Resultate ermöglicht."[171]

Furthermore, Williams has chosen to consider only the evidence provided by Tertullian and Epiphanius, thus completely ignoring the *Adamantius Dialogue* and any other sources. In his M.A. thesis Williams simply states,

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167 Williams states that though theologically based alteration by Marcion is possible, his study suggests "that we are either less familiar with Marcion's theology and/or editorial goals than has been previously thought, or he may have transmitted his text with greater fidelity than has been supposed" ("Reconsidering Marcion's Gospel," 483).

168 Ibid., 481. Williams offers this criterion because of six challenges he perceives in examining Marcion's Gospel (listed in ibid., 478–80) and provides a list of these readings in an appendix to the article (ibid., 483–96; see also Williams, "Marcion's Gospel: Reconsidered," 25–60).

169 Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 24.

170 Ibid., 23. See the comments above concerning the significance of Williams's concern only to disprove a position for issues pertaining to methodology. Tyson, though agreeing with Williams's conclusion, also notes, "Williams's appendix may be useful as a kind of check list, but it cannot be regarded as an adequate reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel" (*Marcion and Luke-Acts*, 42). Lieu is more dismissive, stating that Williams's approach is "too niggardly . . ., yielding little of substantive value" ("Marcion's Gospel and the Synoptic Problem," 735).

171 Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 24.

> Because of the doubts which surround the *Dialogue* and our need to use only the surest readings possible, we shall exclude this work from further consideration here.[172]

Though Williams is absolutely correct in pointing out doubts and challenges concerning the *Adamantius Dialogue*, it is problematic to draw definitive conclusions concerning Marcion's Gospel while entirely excluding some sources from the discussion.[173] In addition, when Williams interacts with the two sources he does consult, he simply compares the readings as found in the text, making no attempt to examine the citations within the context of the citation tendencies or proclivities of either Tertullian or Epiphanius, to determine whether a difference in the citation could be explained or even resolved by what may be termed a "characteristic change" by either writer.[174] Of course, the possibility remains that differences in a given citation cannot be explained along these lines, but without considering this option, any conclusion, such as the idea that of the twenty-three "explicit correlated readings" only five "allow us to be reasonably sure of the wording of Marcion's Gospel,"[175] seems to be premature. At the same time, however, Tyson highlights the importance of Williams's work by stating,

172 Williams, "Marcion's Gospel: Reconsidered," 16.

173 It is one thing to offer tentative conclusions pending further research on other sources and quite another to embrace a methodology that *a priori* excludes sources. Concerning the *Adamantius Dialogue*, its problematic nature as a source has also been highlighted by others, a fact clearly demonstrated in summary form by Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 236. At the same time, however, the final element in Schmid's seven-point summary evaluation of the dialogue on this page should not be overlooked, namely, that the *Adamantius Dialogue* can be utilized as a source when it agrees with Tertullian and/or Epiphanius. In this way the *Adamantius Dialogue*, for all its problems as a source, can still provide possible corroborative evidence for readings and thus cannot simply be ignored. These issues are discussed further below in the introduction to chapter 7.

174 Clabeaux observes, "In the discussion of these criteria [used to reconstruct pre-Marcionite readings] it should have become clear how important a knowledge of the style and tendencies of a church father is for evaluating the reliability of biblical citations" (*A Lost Edition*, 39). This point is valid not only in considering Marcion's text but also in comparing readings between church fathers. Peter Head criticizes Williams for exaggerating "the problems associated with the evidence of Epiphanius and Tertullian, since variations in patristic quotations occur regularly, for example in gospel citations: this does mean care must be exercised, but it doesn't mean that the testimony of ancient authors can be disregarded" ("The Foreign God and the Sudden Christ: Theology and Christology in Marcion's Gospel Redaction," *TynBul* 44 [1993]: 316n40).

175 Williams, "Reconsidering Marcion's Gospel," 481.

> Critiques by Williams and others remind us that an examination of Harnack's suggestions about the actual wording of individual verses requires special caution. Each case should be questioned, and the basis of his suggested wording reexamined.[176]

I would simply add that this re-examination should and must begin with a comprehensive examination of the sources and the citation habits of the church fathers who provided them.

Hoffmann's 1984 study on Marcion,[177] in which he states that he "tried to avoid approaching Marcion on the basis of Harnack's conclusions," took a very skeptical stance over and against the patristic sources, and he therefore notes

> the amount of patristic evidence that I have felt able to credit is much less than Harnack put forward; accordingly, there has been no attempt to reproduce the text of Marcion's Gospel.[178]

Nevertheless, this fact does not keep Hoffmann from using his thesis of a significantly earlier date for Marcion and his conviction of the relative lateness of the Lukan corpus to argue that because of these points it "makes it probable that Marcion's *evangelion* was an *Urlukas*, and without question an abbreviated version of the Third Gospel."[179] Hoffmann's study appears to be another case where a particular conviction arises from historical assumptions external to Marcion's Gospel itself.

In 1992, Kenji Tsutsui offered a new reconstruction of the entirety of Marcion's Gospel, the first to appear since Harnack.[180] Tsutsui notes, "Wenn auch Harnacks Name ewig leben wird, so ist seine Rekonstruktion des Textes Marcions doch kein Heiligtum."[181] Regardless of how one is inclined to evaluate his first assertion, he is certainly correct in his second. Tsutsui provides the text in three rows: the top row is Tertullian's Latin text, the second row contains the references of Epiphanius and the *Adamantius Dialogue*, and the third row contains text-critical comments and discussion of the contents of the first

176 Tyson, *Marcion and Luke-Acts*, 43.

177 Reference to this work was made in chapter 1, n. 13.

178 Hoffmann, *Marcion*, xv.

179 Ibid., 133–34. Hoffmann's attempt to revise the dates, understanding, and context of Marcion has generally been met with skepticism or outright rejection. See the particularly critical reviews by C.P. Bammel, *JTS* 39 (1988): 227–32 and Gerhard May, "Ein neues Markionbild?," *TRu* 51 (1986): 405–13.

180 Reference to this work was made in chapter 1, n. 10.

181 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 68.

two rows.[182] Tsutsui's reconstructed text does differ from that of Harnack's in several places;[183] however, because of methodological shortcomings, Tsutsui's offered text cannot be said to have advanced scholarly knowledge of Marcion's text significantly beyond Harnack.

Although Tsutsui, unlike Williams, seeks to incorporate multiple witnesses in a complete reconstruction of Marcion's *Euangelion*, Schmid rightly points out, "Eine ausgeführte Quellenkritik oder Überlegungen zum Charakter der Quellen und zur methodisch kontrollierten Rückgewinnung des marcionitischen Textes wird allerdings kaum vorgenommen."[184] For example, Tsutsui simply asserts

> In bezug [*sic*] auf Tertullian ist es ferner beachtenswert, daß er oft den Text Marcions in direkter Rede (z.B. "dicit, …", "dicens, …", "adicit, …", "inquit, …") oder in einem unabhängigen Satz (worin oft das Subjekt bzw., das Verb in 1./2. Person beibehalten ist) wiedergibt. Dieser Bericht, der im folgenden 'direktes Zitat' genannt und in der Textangabe fett gedruckt (wie: **fett**) wird, ist von besonderer Zuverlässigkeit und kann ausführlicher als die sonstigen behandelt werden.[185]

Schmid observes that this rather unsophisticated approach to Tertullian's citations "muß in methodischer Hinsicht als ein Zurückgehen hinter ein schon erreichtes Problembewußtsein gewertet werden."[186] That this evaluation of Tsutsui's methodology is not unfairly leveled was already confirmed before

182 Ibid., 70.

183 Tsutsui helpfully summarizes the verses where his text differs from that of Harnack's (ibid., 68n4).

184 Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 24–25. Similarly, in his introduction to Tertullian, *Contre Marcion: Tome IV* (critical text by Claudio Moreschini; trans. René Braun; SC 456; Paris: Cerf, 2000) Braun observes that in Tsutsui's reconstruction "l'auteur s'attache au seul latin de notre livre IV comme source principale pour reconstituer l'évangile marcionite, mais selon nous, sans tenir compte suffisamment de la pratique de T[ertullien] comme citateur" (29–30). Similarly, Klinghardt states that the same negative evaluation he made of Harnack's reconstruction (see n. 117) "gilt auch für K. Tsutsui" (Klinghardt, "Markion vs. Lucas," 492n32).

185 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 70. Braun provides several examples where Tsutsui unsatisfactorily applied his own method in René Braun et al., eds., *Chronica Tertullianea et Cyprianea 1975–1994: Bibliographie critique de la première littérature latine chrétienne* (CEA 157; Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1999), 491.

186 Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 25. Lieu also laments that Tsutsui's article "unfortunately is not easily accessible and is marred by the lack of clear methodology" ("Marcion's Gospel and the Synoptic Problem," 732).

Schmid's study by the work of Clabeaux in his examination of Tertullian as a witness to the text of Marcion's Pauline corpus.[187] It is unfortunate that Tsutsui makes no reference to Clabeaux's study, and therefore, may not even have been aware of the problematic nature of his assertion.

Since the work of Tsutsui, Ulrich Schmid has published two articles dealing with Marcion's Gospel. In the first he addresses the questions of whether Marcion knew the Fourfold Gospel collection and why Marcion chose Luke as the foundation for his text.[188] In the second he addresses methodological issues in reconstructing Marcion's Gospel text that have already been seen to figure importantly in one of the above discussions concerning methodology.[189]

Interestingly, however, several recent studies have once again challenged the view that Marcion's Gospel is a reworking of Luke. Tyson's work, which appeared in 2006, was already discussed in some detail in conjunction with Knox's study above, and it simply can be noted here that Tyson has drawn on both Hoffmann's earlier dating of Marcion's life and work and Knox's theories to argue that Luke is "the end of a rather long process of composition."[190] A pre-Marcionite Gospel (beginning with Luke 3:1, already containing material from Mark and Q, containing a brief resurrection narrative, and dating to 70–90 C.E.) was re-worked by Marcion around 115–120 C.E., and again reworked by the author of Luke, who had as one of his purposes the refutation of Marcionism, around 120–125 C.E.[191]

Matthias Klinghardt, in a publication which appeared in 2006 as well, also relies heavily on Knox's work, and he explicitly states that in his article he will renew Knox's thesis.[192] Klinghardt's recognition of the inadequacy of Harnack's reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel and the challenges that confront any new attempt to reconstruct this text leads him to focus on the general scope (*Umfang*) of Marcion's Gospel.[193] He directs most of his attention to the beginning of Marcion's Gospel and of Luke as he formulates his

187 See Clabeaux, *A Lost Edition*, 20–22, 40–49.

188 Ulrich Schmid, "Marcions Evangelium und die neutestamentlichen Evangelien: Rückfragen zur Geschichte und Kanonisierung der Evangelienüberlieferung," in *Marcion und seine kirchengeschichtliche Wirkung: Marcion and His Impact on Church History* (ed. Gerhard May, Katharina Greschat, and Martin Meiser; TU 150; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002), 69–77.

189 Schmid, "How Can We Access," 39–50. See the citations referenced by nn. 108 and 109.

190 Tyson, *Marcion and Luke-Acts*, 119.

191 Ibid., 119–20.

192 Klinghardt, "Markion vs. Lukas," 491.

193 For Klinghardt's criticism of Harnack's text see n. 117. The entirety of Klinghardt's discussion is found in ibid., 491–94.

argument that Luke's opening chapters are secondary and that the author of Luke, for his chapter four, has re-worked the Marcionite text.[194] In addition, Klinghardt interprets the Lukan prologue as "antimarkionitisch."[195] Not surprisingly, Klinghardt concludes "Markion hat das kanonische Lk-Evangelium nicht verstümmelt. Vielmehr stellt Lk eine redaktionelle Erweiterung des älteren Evangeliums dar, das auch Markion benutzt hatte."[196]

Most recently, Jason David Beduhn has entered the discussion concerning the relationship between canonical Luke and Marcion's Gospel with his own set of arguments for Marcion not having redacted Luke.[197] He rightly notes

194 Ibid., 499.

195 Ibid., 508. The entire discussion of the prologue is found on pp. 500–508.

196 Ibid., 512. Cf. also Klinghardt, " 'Gesetz' bei Markion und Lukas" in *Das Gesetz im frühen Judentum und im Neuen Testament: Festschrift für Christoph Burchard zum 75. Geburtstag* (ed. Dieter Sänger and Matthias Konradt; NTOA 57; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 99–128. Klinghardt's view has recently been criticized by Christopher M. Hays, "Marcion vs. Luke: A Response to the *Plädoyer* of Matthias Klinghardt," *ZNW* 99 (2008): 213–32; Moll, *The Arch-Heretic*, 89–102; and Michael Wolter, *Das Lukasevangelium* (HNT 5; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 2–3. Cf. also the comments and cautions in Lieu, "Marcion and the Synoptic Problem," 744–51.

197 Cf. Jason David Beduhn, "The Myth of Marcion as Redactor: The Evidence of 'Marcion's' Gospel Against an Assumed Marcionite Redaction," *ASEs* 29 (2012): 21–48. In this article, Beduhn refers to a forthcoming monograph entitled *The First New Testament: Marcion's Second Century Scriptural Canon* which appeared at the end of 2013 as *The First New Testament: Marcion's Scriptural Canon* (Salem, Oreg.: Polebridge, 2013). Unfortunately, this book appeared as the present volume was essentially already in press. For this reason, though occasional reference to the book in a few instances was still possible, extensive interaction was precluded. Beduhn offers an English text of Marcion's Gospel on pp. 99–127 with notes to the text found on pp. 128–200. The notes provide opportunity for future discussion and comparison with my own work; however, the reconstruction is rather less helpful. Despite a large-print, bold proclamation at the top of the rear cover, "The earliest version of the New Testament now in English for the first time!" and a similar statement in the introduction, "this First New Testament has never been published in English, nor for that matter in any modern language" (*First New Testament*, 4), this claim is untrue for Marcion's Gospel as at least five previous English versions are known to me (cf. nn. 12, 63, and 128 above). In fact, Hill's extensive English translation of Marcion's Gospel, published in 1891 (cf. above n. 12), has been available for nearly 125 years. In addition, BeDuhn rightly notes the challenges of the precise reconstruction of Marcion's texts, but this leads him to state that the goal of his work is to offer an opportunity "to read this first Christian Bible as a whole in its general sweep of themes and teachings, and in this way appreciate its distinctive message and its place in the early development of Christianity, while the challenge of pursuing the exact Greek text continues into the future" (*First New Testament*, 9). It seems to me, however, that most of this "general

many of the challenges discussed above concerning the evidence for Marcion's Gospel and recognizes the problems with both "maximalist" and "minimalist" reconstructions of Marcion's Gospel text.[198] Ultimately, Beduhn finds the position contending for "an independent derivation of Marcion's text and canonical Luke from a common proto-gospel" to best account for the evidence as he sees it.[199]

At this point it is clear that a long, complex, and at times convoluted history of research has attended the scholarship on Marcion's Gospel.[200] As was mentioned prior to this survey, the only way truly to move forward in the discussion is to revisit the content and readings of Marcion's Gospel. Knox appropriately noted,

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sweep" has been available for a long time. Though Beduhn's English text rightly avoids reconstructing unattested pericopes often found in Hill's text, most of these passages are also listed as "doubtful" or "not cited in Fathers" in a table at the end of Hill's translation (Hill, *Gospel of the Lord*, 62–63). Though Beduhn helpfully uses ellipses within verses and does not include unattested verses within attested pericopes and thus most certainly is an improvement upon previous English texts, in my estimation it is precisely the more detailed reconstruction as attempted here that is the necessary work at present, even though such work may well continue into the future.

198 Beduhn, "The Myth of Marcion as Redactor," 28–36 and 29n22.

199 Beduhn, "The Myth of Marcion as Redactor," 35. Prior to Beduhn's work, an even more provocative and radical thesis had been advanced by Markus Vinzent in his recent monograph *Christ's Resurrection in Early Christianity and the Making of the New Testament* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011). In this work Vinzent not only affirms that "Marcion neither found, nor used, nor edited the Gospel, but produced it in his Roman classroom" (p. 86) but also that Marcion's Gospel "was rewritten and broadened, published in versions to which were attached the names Mark, Matthew, John and Luke" (p. 4). To my knowledge, no scholar has yet followed Vinzent in this view and his work has elicited critical review articles by James Carleton Paget, "Marcion and the Resurrection: Some Thoughts on a Recent Book," *JSNT* 35 (2012): 74–102 and Judith Lieu, "The Enduring Legacy of Pan-Marcionism," *JEH* 64 (2013): 557–61.

200 It is also worth noting, that scholarship on Marcion and his Gospel is ongoing as Matthias Klinghardt plans to publish a monograph length study of Marcion, as does Judith Lieu. The latter, as already mentioned in several notes above, has briefly addressed various elements of scholarship on Marcion and his texts in "Marcion and the Synoptic Problem," 731–51 and "Marcion and the New Testament," 399–416. Markus Vinzent has indicated that he intends to offer a volume entitled *Marcion and the Dating of the Synoptic Gospels* on the relationship of Marcion's Gospel to the canonical Gospels.

> The raising of that question ... confronts us with one of the most intricate problems of the whole intricate field of the textual criticism of the New Testament.[201]

Indeed, the challenges to reconstructing Marcion's Gospel have often been noted.[202] Therefore, any renewed attempt to reconstruct Marcion's Gospel *from* the sources is inextricably linked with methodological questions concerning one's *approach to* the sources. Up to this point, the discussion has largely focused on the shortcomings of previous studies, even if areas where scholarship has advanced have also been noted. At the same time, the crucial need for providing a positive contribution to the understanding of the sources for Marcion's Gospel and to methodological considerations has become evident. It is to that endeavor that the following chapters are devoted.

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201 Knox, *Marcion and the New Testament*, 46.

202 Cf., e.g., n. 168 for reference to Williams's list of challenges as well as David Laird Dungan, *A History of the Synoptic Problem: The Canon, the Text, the Composition, and the Interpretation of the Gospels* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1999), 416–17n71 and Klinghardt, "Markion vs. Lukas," 491–92.

CHAPTER 3

Sources and Methodology

3.1 The Extant Sources

It is an unfortunate reality that no new source texts for the reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel have come to light since Harnack's tome on Marcion.[1] The most important sources remain Tertullian's *Adversus Marcionem*, especially book four; the *Panarion* (*Adversus haereses*) of Epiphanius, especially section forty-two and the seventy-eight σχόλια and ἔλεγχοι concerning Marcion's Gospel; and the Pseudo-Origen *Adamantius Dialogue*, especially books one and two, where Adamantius debates the Marcionites Megethius and Marcus.[2] Apart from these sources, Harnack rightly noted, "Die Ausbeute, welche die Angaben anderer Zeugen gewähren (von Hippolyt und Origenes an bis zum Armenier Esnik), ist nicht groß."[3] It is important, however, not to confuse having no new sources with having no new knowledge of the sources, even if the limitations of working with ancient texts will never be completely overcome.[4] For instance, it is undeniable that since Harnack's work, important new editions and studies of the sources relevant for reconstructing Marcion's Gospel

1 Claire Clivaz, "The Angel and the Sweat Like 'Drops of Blood' (Lk 22:43–44): P^{69} and f^{13}," *HTR* 98 (2005): 429–32 has cautiously suggested that P^{69} is a fragment of Marcion's redaction of Luke. In my estimation, however, this view cannot be accepted as it rests entirely on an argument from silence; the verses Clivaz considers are unattested for Marcion's Gospel.

2 May observes, "Die griechischen und lateinischen Quellen zu Marcion liegen schon im 19. Jarhundert fast vollständig bereit" ("Marcion ohne Harnack," 5).

3 Harnack, *Marcion*, 177*. At the same time, however, even if these sources provide minimal insight into the text of Marcion's Gospel, some of these sources are valuable for the history of Marcionism and its opponents. For instance, Han J.W. Drijvers has noted, "Polemic with Marcion is … a distinguishing mark of all Syrian theology in its different forms from the very beginning of Syriac literature forward" ("Facts and Problems in Early Syriac-Speaking Christianity," *SecCent* 2 [1982]: 174).

4 Thus, Lieu is, on the one hand, correct in noting, e.g., "unfortunately, the value of Epiphanius's evidence for a detailed reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel and Apostolikon is vitiated by the corrupt state of the text transmitted; indeed, some of these problems may already have been present when he incorporated it into his account of the Marcionites" ("Marcion and the New Testament," 401). At the same time, there is still a place, as discussed in chapter one, for reconstructing Marcion's Gospel on the basis of the evidence found in the sources that we have, in the state in which we have them.

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have appeared. These advances are noted and briefly discussed in the respective ensuing chapters devoted to analyzing the data found in the various sources.[5]

3.2 The Attestation of Marcion's Gospel

A significant challenge in attempting to gain an overview of Marcion's Gospel as attested in the extant sources is that to my knowledge no comprehensive list of the verses *and* the reference(s) in the sources has even been compiled.[6] This observation remains true even for the list of passages in Knox's work, which provides an often helpful general overview.[7] It is important to remember that Knox's list of Lukan verses present, absent, or unattested in Marcion's text is based on Harnack's reconstruction and not the sources, and that Knox allowed the mention of only a few words of a Lukan pericope in a source to lead to the inclusion of the entire pericope in the "attested" list.[8]

In order to provide a more detailed picture of Marcion's Gospel, the following tables apply a rigorous standard: only the specific verses whose content is at least partially mentioned by a source are included in the list of attested passages. Of course, there are occasions when a source, particularly Epiphanius, provides a reference apparently intended to indicate that a pericope was present in Marcion's text through a general reference including καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς or by referring to an opening, medial, and closing verse.[9] It may well be that in such cases Marcion's text included the entire pericope; yet, the reality remains that not every verse of the pericope is attested.[10] In addition, generally only those

5 It can already be highlighted here that Schmid's study of the citation habits found in the three primary sources for Marcion's texts (Tertullian, Epiphanius, and the *Adamantius Dialogue*) comprises the majority of his work on Marcion's *Apostolikon*. He has identified numerous trends in citations of Marcion's text that also must be considered when reconstructing Marcion's Gospel. (cf. Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 35–235). The examinations of Clabeaux, though smaller in scope, are also helpful (cf. *A Lost Edition*, 40–49, 57–69).

6 This is not to say that no resource exists for finding sources that provide testimony concerning a particular verse since Harnack provided an apparatus to his reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel that contains references to nearly all the relevant sources (cf. *Marcion*, 183*–240*). It is difficult, however, to gain an overview of the whole of Marcion's Gospel and the testimony concerning it by perusing the apparatus.

7 Knox's list contains only references to the verses with no mention of the sources.

8 Knox himself was aware of this latter weakness (cf. chapter 2, n. 133).

9 Cf. *Pan*. 42.11.4, 42.11.5, and 42.11.6 in scholia 5, 59, 64, and probably 38.

10 Slightly different is the case when an omission is noted in this manner, since even though an attestation of the *presence* of a pericope does not necessarily attest to the presence,

passages with the greatest likelihood of having come from Marcion's text are included. For example, concerning the *Adamantius Dialogue* Harnack recognized that it remains unclear at numerous points whether citations arose from Marcion's text.[11] Though Marcionite readings may appear in citations not identified as arising from Marcion's text or not made by Megethius or Marcus, they can be identified as such only if they corroborate an already established Marcionite reading from another source.[12] Thus, I have chosen to err on the side of caution concerning the citations included in the table below and have placed questionable citations in the *Adamantius Dialogue* in square brackets. Overall, the data are intended, as much as possible, to reveal not simply the broad strokes, but the specific verses on which the sources comment or are silent.

Concerning the tables themselves, the first two, respectively, list verses that are attested in one of two ways: (1) the content, or part of the content, of a verse is attested as present or (2) the content of a verse is attested as not present. The latter phenomenon appears almost exclusively in the testimony of Epiphanius; however, in nearly every instance, Epiphanius's explicit indication of an omission in Marcion's text corresponds with the silence of Tertullian. Thus, the Tertullian column of table two contains references in brackets with

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and certainly not to the wording, of every verse in the pericope, a reference to the *omission* of a passage from one verse up to another necessarily indicates that the intervening verses were absent.

11 Cf. Harnack, *Marcion*, 181*. Kenji Tsutsui is of the opinion, "Es ist ... davon auszugehen, daß die antimarkionitische Auseinandersetzung über das Evangelium im Adamantiosdialog ursprünglich auf der Basis des markionitischen Textes geführt wurde" (*Die Auseinandersetzung mit den Markioniten im Adamantios-Dialog: Ein Kommentar zu den Büchern I–II* [PTS 55; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004], 93). This claim, however, is based on Tsutsui's view that the first two books of the *Adamantius Dialogue* draw from one source dating to the second century (cf. the discussion in the introduction to chapter 6 below). When considering the content of the dialogue itself, in a later discussion concerning whether the words οἶδας ὅτι ἐπηγγείλω ἐκ τοῦ ἡμετέρου εὐαγγελίου δεικνύναι are spoken in the *Adamantius Dialogue* by either Megethius or Adamantius, Tsutsui admits that having Megethius utter them (the position taken by Tsutsui) creates an inconsistency since "Adamantios eigentlich nicht versprochen hat, seine Behauptung aus den Schriften des Megethios ... zu begründen" (ibid., 179), even if Adamantius does at times indicate that he is using Marcion's Scriptures. In general, a statement such as that of Tim Carter that "it is apparent that Adamantius was comparing his own Gospel text with that of Marcion" assumes far too much ("Marcion's Christology and its Possible Influence on Codex Bezae," *JTS* 61 [2010]: 554).

12 For further discussion concerning the testimony of the *Adamantius Dialogue* to Marcion's Gospel, cf. chapter 7.

the indication "*tacitus*" in order to indicate those instances when Tertullian silently passes over verses that Epiphanius states were missing. The third table lists the "unattested" verses, in other words, the verses concerning which all sources are silent. Finally, for ease of reference the chapter and verse numbers are taken from Luke. As noted in the opening chapter of this monograph, this is a heuristic utilization of the Lukan chapter and verse divisions that is not intended to express any definitive view on the relationship between Luke and Marcion's Gospel.

3.2.1 *Attested Verses* (*Present*)

Verse in Luke	Tertullian[13]	Epiphanius[14]	*Adamantius Dialogue*[15]	Other(s)
3:1	*Marc.* 4.7.1	*Pan.* 42.11.5	*Adam.* 64,14–15 (2.3); 98,2–3 (2.18); 102,22–23 (2.19)	Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.27.2; 4.6.2[16]

13 Section numbers are taken from *Contre Marcion* (critical text by Claudio Moreschini; trans. René Braun; 5 vols.; SC 365, 368, 399, 456, 483; Paris: Cerf, 1990–2004).

14 Section numbers are taken from *Epiphanius* (ed. Karl Holl; 3 vols.; GCS 25, 31, 37; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1915–1933; 2d ed. of vol. 2, ed. Jürgen Dummer, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1980 and 2d ed. of vol. 3, ed. Jürgen Dummer, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1985). In the references to *Pan.* 42.11.6, the number in parentheses refers to the scholia. The scholia are repeated in the same order in *Pan.* 42.11.17, each followed by an elenchus. When, in an elenchus (ἔλ.), a reference is made to a verse other than the one(s) found in the corresponding scholia, it is noted in the table.

15 References to the *Adamantius Dialogue* give both the page and line number from the W.H. van de Sande Bakhuyzen edition of the Greek text in Pseudo-Origen, *Der Dialog des Adamantius: ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΝ ΟΡΘΗΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ* (GCS 4; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1901) and the divisions in C.P. Caspari's edition of Rufinus's Latin translation of the text in *Kirchenhistorische Anecdote: Nebst neuen Ausgaben patristischer und kirchlich-mittelaltlicher Schriften: I. Lateinische Schriften: Die Texte und die Anmerkungen* (Oslo: Malling, 1883), 1–129. Caspari's divisions are given in parentheses. Not included in this table are the questionable instances when the Marcionites cite verses not found in Luke: in the case of Markus, the altered version of Matt 5:17 in *Adam.* 88,33 (2.15), John 13:34 in 90,4 (2.16), and John 15:19 in 108,32 (2.20), and in the case of Megethius, Matt 12:29 in 124,2–4 (3.7).

16 Section numbers are taken from the Norbert Brox edition *Irenäus von Lyon: Epideixis, Adversus Haereses/Darlegung der apostolischen Verkündigung, Gegen die Häresien* (5 vols.; FC 8; Freiburg: Herder, 1993–2001).

TABLE (*cont.*)

Verse in Luke	Tertullian	Epiphanius	*Adamantius Dialogue*	Other(s)
				Hippolytus, *Haer.* 7.31.5[17] (Pseudo-)Ephrem, *An Exposition of the Gospel* 1[18]

17 Section numbers are taken from the Miroslav Marcovich edition *Hippolytus: Refutatio Omnium Haeresium* (PTS 25; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1986).

18 Section numbers are taken from the George A. Egan edition *Saint Ephrem: An Exposition of the Gospel* (CSCO 291; Leuven: Peeters, 1968). For an overview of the debate concerning the authorship and unity of this work cf. David D. Bundy, "Criteria for Being *in Communione* in the Early Syrian Church," *Aug* 25 (1985): 602–3; idem, "Marcion and the Marcionites in Early Syriac Apologetics," *Mus* 101 (1988): 26–27; and idem, "The Anti-Marcionite Commentary on the Lucan Parables (*Pseudo-Ephrem A*): Images in Tension," *Mus* 103 (1990): 112–14. Egan maintains that the work is by Ephrem (cf. George A. Egan, "A Re-consideration of the Authenticity of Ephrem's 'An Exposition of the Gospel'," in *Kyriakon: Festschrift Johannes Quasten* [ed. Patrick Granfield and Josef A. Jungmann; 2 vols.; Münster: Aschendorff, 1970], 1:128–34), but even if this likely is not the case (cf. B. Outtier, "Une explication de l'évangile attribuée à Saint Ephrem. À propos d'une édition récente," *ParOr* 1 [1970]: 397–401), Egan is absolutely correct in noting that the author makes no statement that he intends to use Marcion's text in his refutation and in only two places makes any comment about the relationship between a citation and Marcion's Gospel (*An Analysis of the Biblical Quotations of Ephrem in "An Exposition of the Gospel" (Armenian Version)* [CSCO 443; Leuven: Peeters, 1983], 42). Only one of these statements involves a passage from Luke (Luke 5:34), which is also the only other place evidence from *An Exposition of the Gospel* is listed in this table. Beduhn has once again taken up the position that the first section of the treatise ("Pseudo-Ephrem A," i.e., *An Exposition of the Gospel* 1–76) is using Marcion's own Gospel in its refutation of Marcion's teaching and "thus offers a potentially valuable check on our sources for the Evangelion, both as regards the inclusion or exclusion of certain passages known from Luke, and for their particular wording" (*The First New Testament*, 40). I am not persuaded, however, of this view. The opening sections of the treatise are concerned with refuting Marcion's view that the gospel/faith "is not manifested, nor are there thoughts concerning it, nor does it resemble anything" (the translation is that of George A. Egan in *Saint Ephrem: An Exposition of the Gospel* [CSCO 292; Leuven: Peeters, 1968], 1). The text continues, "How much Marcion lied I will show, for he speaks not from the true foundation. The Lord says in his Gospels, that faith in various matters is like everything whatever is of this world. He says in this manner

Verse in Luke	Tertullian	Epiphanius	*Adamantius Dialogue*	Other(s)
4:16	*Marc.* 4.8.2			Ephrem, *Commentary on the Diatessaron* 11.23[19]
4:23	*Marc.* 4.8.2			Ephrem, *Commentary on the Diatessaron* 11.23

that it is like a building, wine, a garment, fire, seeds, a kingdom, silver, a talent, a plant, a grain of mustard-seed, and leaven" (ibid., 1–2; for the author's approach and argument, cf. also E. Preuschen, "Eine altkirchliche antimarcionitische Schrift unter dem Namen Ephräms," *ZNW* 12 [1911]: 246, 268). In sections 1–51, these elements are illustrated through parables or teachings from the Gospel (though in a variant order as "mustard-seed" and "leaven" are found between "kingdom" and "silver"). Though Beduhn insists that these illustrations "are drawn exclusively from Luke," the citation of the "leaven" is clearly the reading of Matt 13:33 and "plant" is illustrated with a citation of Mark 12:1. Though there are Lukan parallels for these verses, the wording is not Lukan. In addition, though in sections 52–67, where the church as sheep is discussed, Luke 15:4; 12:32; and 10:3 are cited, in the final sections 68–76, in the discussion of the church as a bridge, no Gospel citation is offered. Furthermore, Beduhn's statement "Ps.-Eph A never cites a passage from Luke known from other witnesses to have been absent from the Evangelion" (*The First Gospel*, 340n69) is problematic given that the "plant" illustration cites the Markan parallel to Luke 20:9, which is part of a parable explicitly stated as omitted by Epiphanius. In addition, "Pseudo-Ephrem A" illustrates "building" (Luke 6:47–48) and "seeds" (Luke 8:5–8a, 12–15) with entire passages elsewhere unattested for Marcion's text, and refers to otherwise unattested verses in "mustard-seed" (Luke 13:18), "silver" (Luke 19:12), and "talent" (Luke 19:16–18). The view, therefore, that this treatise does not simply evidence knowledge of the Marcionite teaching but is actually based on Marcion's Gospel text seems unlikely.

19 Section numbers are taken from *Éphrem de Nisebe: Commentaire de l'évangile concordant ou diatessaron: Traduit du syriaque et de l'arménien* (trans. Louis Leloir; SC 121; Paris: Cerf, 1966). The same divisions are used in the works presenting only the Syriac text (cf. *Saint Éphrem: Commentaire de l'évangile concordant: Texte Syriaque* [*Manuscript Chester Beatty 709*] [ed. and trans. Louis Leloir; CBM 8; Dublin: Hodges Figgis & Co., 1963] and *Saint Ephrem's Commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron: An English Translation of* Chester Beatty *Syriac MS 709 with Introduction and Notes* [trans. Carmel McCarthy; JSSSup 2; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993]). Though Drijvers has noted, "Ephraem did not deal with Marcion's Bible, or with the amputation and changing on purpose of Luke's Gospel and St. Paul's letters" ("Marcionism in Syria: Principles, Problems, Polemics," *SecCent* 6 [1987–1988]: 167), Ephrem did make clear reference to Marcionite utilization and interpretation of passages, which attest their presence in Marcion's Gospel.

TABLE (*cont.*)

Verse in Luke	Tertullian	Epiphanius	*Adamantius Dialogue*	Other(s)
4:27[20]	*Marc.* 4.35.6	*Pan.* 42.11.6(48)		
4:29	*Marc.* 4.8.2			Ephrem, *Commentary on the Diatessaron* 11.23 Jerome, *Jo. hier.* 34[21]
4:30	*Marc.* 4.8.3			Jerome, *Jo. hier.* 34
4:31[22]	*Marc.* 4.7.1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7		*Adam.* 102,22–23 (2.19)	Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.27.2 Origen, *Ex libro Origenis in Epistolam ad Titum*[23] Hippolytus, *Haer.* 7.31.6 [An anonymous Syriac manuscript preserved in the British Museum (cod. Add. 17215 fol. 30)][24]

20 Both Tertullian and Epiphanius attest the presence of this verse in the pericope of the cleansing of the ten lepers (Luke 17:11–19).

21 Section numbers are taken from the J.-L. Feiertag edition *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera: Opera III, Opera Polemica 2: Contra Iohannem* (CCSL 79A; Turnhout: Brepols, 1999).

22 On the basis of the order in which Tertullian addressed the elements in Marcion's Gospel (cf. on this point, chapter 5, n. 2) and as an implication of the statement in the *Adamantius Dialogue*, it would appear that 4:31–35 preceded the pericope found in 4:16–30.

23 This reference is found in *Origenes opera omnia* (ed. Carol Henric Eduard Lommatzsch; 25 vols.; Berlin: Haude & Spener, 1831–1848), 5:286.

24 For brief comments on this fragment and the various views concerning its authenticity, cf. Riemer Roukema, "The Good Samaritan in Ancient Christianity," *VC* 58 (2004): 57–58. Further discussion in chapter 8.4.

Verse in Luke	Tertullian	Epiphanius	*Adamantius Dialogue*	Other(s)
4:32	*Marc.* 4.7.7, 8			
4:34	*Marc.* 4.7.9, 10, 12			
4:35	*Marc.* 4.7.13			
4:40	*Marc.* 4.8.4			
4:41	*Marc.* 4.8.5			
4:42	*Marc.* 4.8.9, 10			
4:43	*Marc.* 4.8.10			
5:2	*Marc.* 4.9.1			
5:9	*Marc.* 4.9.1			
5:10	*Marc.* 4.9.1			
5:11	*Marc.* 4.9.2			
5:12	*Marc.* 4.9.3	*Pan.* 42.11.17(ἔλ. 1)		
5:13	*Marc.* 4.9.4, 7	*Pan.* 42.11.17(ἔλ. 1)		
5:14	*Marc.* 4.9.9, 10	*Pan.* 42.11.6(1)		
5:17	*Marc.* 4.10.1			
5:18[25]	*Marc.* 4.10.1			
5:20	*Marc.* 4.10.13, 14			
5:21	*Marc.* 4.10.1, 13			
5:24[26]	*Marc.* 4.10.1, 13	*Pan.* 42.11.6(2)		
5:26	*Marc.* 4.10.1			
5:27	*Marc.* 4.11.1			
5:30	*Marc.* 4.11.2			
5:31	*Marc.* 4.11.1			

25 In Ephrem, *Commentary on the Diatessaron* 5.21, after commenting on Jesus' statement "your sins are forgiven you," Ephrem references a Marcionite view that since the paralytic committed sin through his body he was punished through the body. It is difficult to know what, if any, particular verse is being referenced.

26 Harnack referenced *Acta Archelai* 44 on this verse and noted that according to this text "deren Antithesen wahrscheinlich Marcionitische sind, hat sich das an einem Sabbat abgespielt" (*Marcion*, 189*). Even if Harnack is correct on the Marcionite character of the antitheses, a position more recently discussed and defended by Jason BeDuhn, "Biblical Antitheses, Adda, and the Acts of Archelaus," in *Frontiers of Faith: The Christian Encounter with Manichaeism in the Acts of Archelaus* (ed. Jason BeDuhn and Paul Mirecki; NHS 61; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2007), 136–42, it is difficult on this basis to posit any insight into the reading of Marcion's Gospel.

TABLE (*cont.*)

Verse in Luke	Tertullian	Epiphanius	*Adamantius Dialogue*	Other(s)
5:33	*Marc.* 4.11.5			Ephrem, *Hymns Against Heresies*, 47.4[27]
5:34	*Marc.* 4.11.6			Ephrem, *Hymns Against Heresies*, 47.4 (Pseudo-)Ephrem, *An Exposition of the Gospel* 64
5:35	*Marc.* 4.11.6			
5:36	*Marc.* 4.11.9, 10	*Pan.* 42.2.1[28]	*Adam.* 90,8–9.22–23 (2.16)	Philastrius, *Diversarum hereseon liber* 45.2[29]
5:37	*Marc.* 4.11.9, 10	*Pan.* 42.2.1		Ephrem *Hymns against Heresies* 44.6–7
5:38			[*Adam.* 90,5–7 (2.16)]	
6:1	*Marc.* 4.12.1, 5			
6:2	*Marc.* 4.12.1, 5			
6:3	*Marc.* 4.12.5	*Pan.* 42.11.6(21)		
6:4	*Marc.* 4.12.5	*Pan.* 42.11.6(21)		
6:5[30]	*Marc.* 4.12.11; 16.5	*Pan.* 42.11.6(3)		

27 Section numbers are taken from the Edmund Beck edition and translation *Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen Contra Haereses* (CSCO 169, 170; Leuven: L. Durbecq, 1957).

28 Luke 5:36–37 are referenced in Epiphanius's introductory material to Marcion as Marcion's confrontation with the elders in Rome. It is not entirely clear whether one is to understand Marcion having phrased the question based on his own Gospel text.

29 Section numbers are taken from the Friderich Marx edition *Sancti Filastrii Episcopi Brixiensis: Diversarum Hereseon Liber* (CSEL 38; Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1898).

30 The precise location of this verse in Marcion's Gospel is uncertain. Cf. the discussion in chapter 4, n. 61.

Verse in Luke	Tertullian	Epiphanius	*Adamantius Dialogue*	Other(s)
6:6	*Marc.* 4.12.11, 14			
6:7	*Marc.* 4.12.9			
6:8			[*Adam.* 36,14 (1.17)]	
6:9	*Marc.* 4.12.11			
6:12	*Marc.* 4.13.1			
6:13	*Marc.* 4.13.4			
6:14[31]	*Marc.* 4.13.6			
6:16	*Marc.* 2.28.2	*Pan.* 42.11.6(4)		
6:17	*Marc.* 4.13.7	*Pan.* 42.11.6(4)		
6:19		*Pan.* 42.11.6(5)		
6:20	*Marc.* 4.14.1, 9, 13	*Pan.* 42.11.6(5)		Eznik, *De deo* 405[32]
6:21	*Marc.* 4.14.9, 11, 13			
6:22	*Marc.* 4.14.14			
6:23	*Marc.* 4.15.1	*Pan.* 42.11.6(6)		
6:24	*Marc.* 4.15.3, 9			Eznik, *De deo* 405
6:25	*Marc.* 4.15.13			
6:26	*Marc.* 4.15.14			
6:27	*Marc.* 4.16.1		*Adam.* 26,20–21 (1.12); 88,26 (2.15)	
6:28	*Marc.* 4.16.1		*Adam.* 26,20–21 (1.12)	

31 The comments by Robert A. Pretty in his translation of the *Adamantius Dialogue* imply that Megethius's statement in *Adam.* 10,7–8 (1.5) indicates that Luke 6:14–16 was not present in Marcion's Gospel (*Adamantius: Dialogue on the True Faith in God*: De Recta in Deum Fide [trans. with commentary Robert A. Pretty; ed. Garry W. Trompf; Gnostica 1; Leuven: Peeters, 1997], 42n26). This view, however, seems to misunderstand the reference to τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτα that are not written in the Gospel as referring to the twelve apostles rather than to Mark and Luke as indicated by the context. The Latin makes the point explicit with the statement *nomina ista inter discipulos Christi scripta non sunt*.

32 Section numbers are taken from *A Treatise on God Written in Armenian by Eznik of Kolb* (flourit *c.430–c.450*)*: An English Translation, with Introduction and Notes* (trans. Monica J. Blanchard and Robin Darling Young; ECTT; Leuven: Peeters, 1998).

TABLE (*cont.*)

Verse in Luke	**Tertullian**	**Epiphanius**	***Adamantius Dialogue***	**Other(s)**
6:29	*Marc.* 4.16.2, 6		*Adam.* 32,5–6 (1.15); 38,2–3 (1.18)	
6:30a	*Marc.* 4.16.8			
6:31	*Marc.* 4.16.13, 16			
6:34a	*Marc.* 4.17.1			
6:35b	*Marc.* 4.17.5, 6			
6:36	*Marc.* 4.17.8			
6:37	*Marc.* 4.17.9			
6:38	*Marc.* 4.17.9		*Adam.* 32,17–18 (1.15); 66,32–33 (2.5)	
6:39	*Marc.* 4.17.12			
6:40	*Marc.* 4.17.12			
6:41	*Marc.* 4.17.12			
6:42	*Marc.* 4.17.12			
6:43	*Marc.* 4.17.12		*Adam.* 56,14–16; 58,11–13 (1.28)	Origen, *Princ.* 2.5.4[33] Hippolytus, *Haer.* 10.19.3 Pseudo-Tertullian, *Adversus omnes haereses*, 6.2[34] Philastrius, *Diversarum hereseon liber* 45.2

33 Section numbers are taken from the Paul Koetschau edition *Origenes Werke: Fünfter Band: De principiis* (GCS 22; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1913).

34 Section numbers are taken from the E. Kroymann edition in *Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani Opera* (2 vols.; CCSL 1, 2; Turnhout: Brepols, 1954), 2:1399–410.

Verse in Luke	Tertullian	Epiphanius	*Adamantius Dialogue*	Other(s)
6:45	*Marc.* 4.17.12		[*Adam.* 58,18–20 (1.28)]	Origen, *Princ.* 2.5.4
6:46	*Marc.* 4.17.13, 14			
7:2	*Marc.* 4.18.1			
7:9	*Marc.* 4.18.1	*Pan.* 42.11.6(7)		
7:12	*Marc.* 4.18.2			
7:14	*Marc.* 4.18.2			
7:15	*Marc.* 4.18.2			
7:16	*Marc.* 4.18.2			
7:18	*Marc.* 4.18.4			
7:19	*Marc.* 4.18.5, 6, 7		*Adam.* 50,12–14 (1.26)	
7:20	*Marc.* 4.18.6			
7:22[35]	*Marc.* 4.18.6			Eznik, *De deo* 358
7:23	*Marc.* 4.18.8	*Pan.* 42.11.6(8)		Ephrem, *Against Marcion I*, xxxix/86[36]
7:24	*Marc.* 4.18.7, 8			
7:26	*Marc.* 4.18.7			
7:27	*Marc.* 4.18.4, 7, 8	*Pan.* 42.11.6(9)	*Adam.* 98,11–13 (2.18)	
7:28	*Marc.* 4.18.8			
7:36		*Pan.* 42.11.6(10)		
7:37	*Marc.* 4.18.9	*Pan.* 42.11.6(10)		
7:38	*Marc.* 4.18.9	*Pan.* 42.11.6(10)		
7:44		*Pan.* 42.11.6(11)		
7:45		*Pan.* 42.11.6(11)		
7:46		*Pan.* 42.11.6(11)		
7:47	*Marc.* 4.18.9			

35 The abbreviated citation of Matt 11:5–6 (//Luke 7:22–23) by Adamantius (*Adam.* 52,5–8 [1.26]) in his response to Megethius's reference to Matt 11:2–3 (//Luke 7:19) (*Adam.* 50,12–14 [1.26]) gives no indication of being relevant for Marcion's Gospel.

36 This text is found in vol. 2 of *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan* (ed. and trans. C. W. Mitchell, A. A. Bevan, and F. C. Burkitt; 2 vols.; London: Williams & Norgate, 1912–1921). Roman numerals refer to the page number of the English translation and Arabic numerals to the Syriac text.

TABLE (*cont.*)

Verse in Luke	Tertullian	Epiphanius	*Adamantius Dialogue*	Other(s)
7:48	*Marc.* 4.18.9			
7:50	*Marc.* 4.18.9			
8:2	*Marc.* 4.19.1			
8:3	*Marc.* 4.19.1			
8:4	*Marc.* 4.19.2			
8:8	*Marc.* 4.19.2			
8:16	*Marc.* 4.19.5			
8:17	*Marc.* 4.19.5			
8:18	*Marc.* 4.19.3, 4			
8:20	*Marc.* 4.19.7	*Pan.* 42.11.6(12)		Ephrem, *Commentary on the Diatessaron* 11.9
8:21[37]	*Marc.* 4.19.6, 10, 11			
8:22	*Marc.* 4.20.2, 3			
8:23	*Marc.* 4.20.3	*Pan.* 42.11.6(13)		
8:24	*Marc.* 4.20.3	*Pan.* 42.11.6(13)		
8:25	*Marc.* 4.20.1			
8:27[38]	*Marc.* 4.20.4			
8:28[39]	*Marc.* 4.20.5			
8:30	*Marc.* 4.20.4		*Adam.* 36,20 (1.17)	
8:31	*Marc.* 4.20.6			
8:32	*Marc.* 4.20.7			

37 Epiphanius referenced Luke 8:21 in *Pan.* 42.11.17 (ἔλ. 12); however, it is not clear that he is here referring to Marcion's Gospel.

38 Epiphanius referenced Luke 8:27–33 in *Pan.* 42.11.17 (ἔλ. 24); however, it is not clear that he is here referring to Marcion's Gospel. Epiphanius incorporated the reference into his argument against Marcion's view of the soul, an argument introduced by Marcion's supposed teaching that those who eat flesh are subject to judgment, as they also would be for eating souls. After referring to Luke 8, Epiphanius offered a hypothetical answer that Marcion could make, an answer that Epiphanius refuted with a reference to the raising of Lazarus in John 11. The entire discussion seems to be a construction by Epiphanius without reference to Marcion's Gospel text.

39 The conflated citation of Matt 8:29 and Luke 8:28 by Adamantius in *Adam.* 34,20–21 (1.16) has no claim to reflecting Marcion's Gospel.

Verse in Luke	Tertullian	Epiphanius	*Adamantius Dialogue*	Other(s)
8:42b		*Pan.* 42.11.6(14)		
8:43	*Marc.* 4.20.8	*Pan.* 42.11.6(14)		
8:44	*Marc.* 4.20.8, 13	*Pan.* 42.11.6(14)		
8:45	*Marc.* 4.20.8	*Pan.* 42.11.6(14)		
8:46	*Marc.* 4.20.8	*Pan.* 42.11.6(14)		
8:48	*Marc.* 4.20.9			
9:1			*Adam.* 82,2–4 (2.12)	
9:2	*Marc.* 4.21.1		*Adam.* 82,4–5 (2.12)	
9:3	*Marc.* 4.21.1		[*Adam.* 22,7–9 (1.10)]	
9:5	*Marc.* 4.21.1			
9:6			*Adam.* 82,6–7 (2.12)	
9:7	*Marc.* 4.21.2			
9:8	*Marc.* 4.21.2			
9:12	*Marc.* 4.21.3			
9:13	*Marc.* 4.21.3			
9:14	*Marc.* 4.21.3			
9:16		*Pan.* 42.11.6(15)	[*Adam.* 108,25–26 (2.20)][40]	
9:17	*Marc.* 4.21.4			
9:18			*Adam.* 84,1–2 (2.13)	
9:19			*Adam.* 84,2–4 (2.13)	
9:20	*Marc.* 4.21.6		*Adam.* 84,4–5 (2.13)	
9:21	*Marc.* 4.21.6			

40 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:466, Harnack, *Marcion*, 200*, and IGNTP refer to the *Adamantius Dialogue* passage as reflecting (a version of) Marcion's Gospel. Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 90, however, lists only the Epiphanius reference.

TABLE (*cont.*)

Verse in Luke	Tertullian	Epiphanius	*Adamantius Dialogue*	Other(s)
9:22	*Marc.* 4.21.7	*Pan.* 42.11.6(16)	[*Adam.* 198,1–4 (5.12)][41]	
9:24	*Marc.* 4.21.9, 10			
9:26a	*Marc.* 4.21.10, 12			
9:28	*Marc.* 4.22.1, 7	*Pan.* 42.11.17 (ἔλ. 63)[42]		Ephrem, *Against Marcion I* xxxix/87
9:29	*Marc.* 4.22.13			
9:30	*Marc.* 4.22.1, 2, 3, 12	*Pan.* 42.11.6(17); 42.11.17 (ἔλ. 63)		Ephrem, *Against Marcion I* xxxix/87 Ephrem, *Commentary on the Diatessaron* 14.9
9:31a	*Marc.* 4.22.12	*Pan.* 42.11.6(17); 42.11.17 (ἔλ. 63)		Ephrem, *Against Marcion I* xxxix–xl/87–89
9:32	*Marc.* 4.22.16			Ephrem, *Against Marcion I* xlii/91
9:33	*Marc.* 4.22.4, 16			
9:34	*Marc.* 4.22.7, 13			
9:35	*Marc.* 4.22.1, 8, 10, 12	*Pan.* 42.11.6(18)		Ephrem, *Against Marcion I* xlii–xliii/93–95 Ephrem, *Commentary on the Diatessaron* 14.9
9:40		*Pan.* 42.11.6(19)		

41 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:466 rejected this verse as having been drawn from Marcion's Gospel. Harnack, *Marcion*, 201*–2* noted Zahn's rejection but remained noncommittal. Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 92 seems to assume the citation is attesting Marcion's text.

42 Though it is not entirely clear that Marcion's text is in view, Epiphanius makes reference to this and several following verses in elenchus 63. Cf. also n. 66 below.

Verse in Luke	Tertullian	Epiphanius	*Adamantius Dialogue*	Other(s)
9:41	*Marc.* 4.23.1, 2	*Pan.* 42.11.6(19)		
9:44		*Pan.* 42.11.6(20)		
9:46	*Marc.* 4.23.4			
9:47	*Marc.* 4.23.4			
9:48	*Marc.* 4.23.4			
9:54	*Marc.* 4.23.7			
9:55	*Marc.* 4.23.7			
9:57	*Marc.* 4.23.9			
9:58	*Marc.* 4.23.9			
9:59	*Marc.* 4.23.10			
9:60	*Marc.* 4.23.10			Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 3.4.25.3[43]
9:61	*Marc.* 4.23.11			
9:62	*Marc.* 4.23.11			
10:1[44]	*Marc.* 4.24.1, 2			
10:4	*Marc.* 4.24.2, 3			
10:5	*Marc.* 4.24.4			
10:7	*Marc.* 4.24.5			
10:8	*Marc.* 4.24.7			
10:9	*Marc.* 4.24.6			
10:10	*Marc.* 4.24.7			
10:11	*Marc.* 4.24.7			
10:16	*Marc.* 4.24.8			
10:19	*Marc.* 4.24.9, 12			

43 Section numbers are taken from the Stählin, Früchtel, and Treu edition *Clemens Alexandrinus: Zweiter Band: Stromata Buch I–VI* (4th ed.; GCS; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1985).

44 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:468 rightly rejected *Adam.* 10,13 (1.5) and 80,30 (2.12) as evidence for Marcion's Gospel. Harnack, *Marcion*, 205* noted the reading "seventy-two" (cf. also Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 95), but apparently also did not consider it to be attesting a reading in Marcion's text. For brief comments on the passages, cf. Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 129–30, 241.

TABLE (*cont.*)

Verse in Luke	Tertullian	Epiphanius	*Adamantius Dialogue*	Other(s)
10:21[45]	*Marc.* 4.25.1, 3	*Pan.* 42.11.6(22)		
10:22[46]	*Marc.* 4.25.7, 10		*Adam.* 44,1–2 (1.23)	[Irenaeus, *Haer.* 4.6.1] Eznik, *De deo* 392
10:23	*Marc.* 4.25.12			
10:24	*Marc.* 4.25.12			
10:25	*Marc.* 4.25.15, 18	*Pan.* 42.11.6(23)		
10:26		*Pan.* 42.11.6(23)		
10:27	*Marc.* 4.25.15	*Pan.* 42.11.6(23)		
10:28		*Pan.* 42.11.6(23)		
11:1	*Marc.* 4.26.1			
11:2	*Marc.* 4.26.3, 4			
11:3	*Marc.* 4.26.4			Origen, *Fragment 180*[47]
11:4	*Marc.* 4.26.4			
11:5	*Marc.* 4.26.8	*Pan.* 42.11.6(24)		
11:7	*Marc.* 4.26.8			
11:8	*Marc.* 4.26.9			
11:9	*Marc.* 4.26.5, 6	*Pan.* 42.11.6(24)		

45 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:469; Harnack, *Marcion*, 206*; and BDF §64(3) all refer to a citation of Luke 10:21 in the Pseudo-Clementine *Hom.* 18.15.1 as evidencing Marcionite readings. James R. Royse, however, rightly notes “the quotation there can hardly be genuinely Marcion, since we also find καὶ τῆς γῆς, which Marcion omitted” (*Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri* [NTTSD 36; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2008], 128). Referring to the text as a “Marcionitisch-katholischen Mischtext” (Harnack, *Marcion*, 206*) reveals just how tenuous any data drawn from the passage is. For further comment on the homilies more generally, cf. n. 55 below.

46 Though there is no attestation of Marcion’s text, John Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 38 referred to and rejected Marcion’s interpretation of no one knowing the Father except the Son.

47 The number of this fragment is taken from *Origenes Werke: Neunter Band: Die Homilien zu Lukas in der Übersetzung des Hieronymus und die griechischen Reste der Homilien und des Lukas-Kommentars* (ed. Max Rauer; 2d ed.; GCS 49; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1959), 302.

Verse in Luke	Tertullian	Epiphanius	*Adamantius Dialogue*	Other(s)
11:11	*Marc.* 4.26.10	*Pan.* 42.11.6(24)	*Adam.* 110,3–4 (2.20)	
11:12	*Marc.* 4.26.10	*Pan.* 42.11.6(24)	*Adam.* 110,4–5 (2.20)	
11:13	*Marc.* 4.26.10	*Pan.* 42.11.6(24)	*Adam.* 110,5–6 (2.20)	
11:14	*Marc.* 4.26.11			
11:15	*Marc.* 4.26.11			
11:18	*Marc.* 4.26.11			
11:19	*Marc.* 4.26.11			
11:20	*Marc.* 4.26.11			
11:21	*Marc.* 4.26.12			
11:22	*Marc.* 4.26.12			
11:27	*Marc.* 4.26.13			Ephrem, *Commentary on the Diatessaron* 11.9
11:28	*Marc.* 4.26.13			
11:29	*Marc.* 4.27.1	*Pan.* 42.11.6(25)		
11:33	*Marc.* 4.27.1			
11:37	*Marc.* 4.27.2			
11:38	*Marc.* 4.27.2			
11:39	*Marc.* 4.27.2, 6			
11:40	*Marc.* 4.27.2			
11:41	*Marc.* 4.27.3, 6			
11:42	*Marc.* 4.27.4, 6	*Pan.* 42.11.6(26)		
11:43	*Marc.* 4.27.5			
11:46	*Marc.* 4.27.6			
11:47	*Marc.* 4.27.8	*Pan.* 42.11.6(27)		
11:48	*Marc.* 4.27.8			
11:52[48]	*Marc.* 4.27.9; 28.2		[*Adam.* 68,3 (2.5)]	

48 In the notes to the series of "Woes" in Luke 11, Harnack commented "Auf das 'Wehe' im Ev. M.s spielt auch Ephraem an (51. Lied gegen die Ketzer c. 5)" (*Marcion*, 211*). In Hymn 51, however, Ephrem makes a reference to "blessed" and "woe," indicating that the passage in view is more likely Luke 6:20–26 (cf. also Beck, *Hymnen Contra Haereses*, 174n1 of the translation). In either case no element of the text, apart from the "woe" is attested in the Hymn.

TABLE (*cont.*)

Verse in Luke	Tertullian	Epiphanius	*Adamantius Dialogue*	Other(s)
12:1	*Marc.* 4.28.1			
12:2	*Marc.* 4.28.2			
12:3	*Marc.* 4.28.2			
12:4	*Marc.* 4.28.3, 4	*Pan.* 42.11.6(29)		
12:5	*Marc.* 4.28.3	*Pan.* 42.11.6(29)		
12:8	*Marc.* 4.28.4	*Pan.* 42.11.6(30)		
12:9	*Marc.* 4.28.4		*Adam.* 32,20–21 (1.15); 66,33–35 (2.5)	
12:10	*Marc.* 4.28.6			
12:11	*Marc.* 4.28.8			
12:12	*Marc.* 4.28.8			
12:13	*Marc.* 4.28.9			
12:14	*Marc.* 4.28.9, 10			
12:16	*Marc.* 4.28.11			
12:19	*Marc.* 4.28.11			
12:20	*Marc.* 4.28.11			
12:22	*Marc.* 4.29.1			
12:23	*Marc.* 4.29.1			
12:24	*Marc.* 4.29.1			
12:27	*Marc.* 4.29.1			
12:28[49]	*Marc.* 4.29.1, 3			
12:30	*Marc.* 4.29.3	*Pan.* 42.11.6(32)		
12:31	*Marc.* 4.29.5	*Pan.* 42.11.6(33)		
12:32		*Pan.* 42.11.6(34)		
12:35	*Marc.* 4.29.6			
12:36	*Marc.* 4.29.6			
12:37	*Marc.* 4.29.6			
12:38		*Pan.* 42.11.6(35)		
12:39	*Marc.* 4.29.7			
12:40	*Marc.* 4.29.7, 8			

49 On Tertullian's allusion to Luke 12:28a in *Marc.* 4.29.1 and Epiphanius attesting its omission, cf. the comments in chapter 4.4.64.

Verse in Luke	Tertullian	Epiphanius	*Adamantius Dialogue*	Other(s)
12:41	*Marc.* 4.29.9			
12:42	*Marc.* 4.29.9			
12:43	*Marc.* 4.29.9			
12:44	*Marc.* 4.29.9			
12:45	*Marc.* 4.29.9			
12:46	*Marc.* 4.29.9, 10, 11	*Pan.* 42.11.6(36)	*Adam.* 24,9–12 (1.10)	
12:47	*Marc.* 4.29.11		*Adam.* 112,10–11 (2.21)	
12:48	*Marc.* 4.29.11		*Adam.* 112,11–12 (2.21)	
12:49a	*Marc.* 4.29.12, 13		*Adam.* 68,2 (2.5)	
12:51	*Marc.* 4.29.14		*Adam.* 68,1 (2.5)	
12:53	*Marc.* 4.29.14			
12:56	*Marc.* 4.29.15			
12:57	*Marc.* 4.29.15, 16			
12:58	*Marc.* 4.29.16	*Pan.* 42.11.6(37)		
12:59	*Marc.* 4.29.16			
13:14	*Marc.* 4.30.1			
13:15	*Marc.* 4.30.1			
13:16		*Pan.* 42.11.6(39)		
13:19	*Marc.* 4.30.1, 2			
13:20	*Marc.* 4.30.3			
13:21	*Marc.* 4.30.3			
13:25	*Marc.* 4.30.4			
13:26	*Marc.* 4.30.4			
13:27	*Marc.* 4.30.4		[*Adam.* 28,10–11.18 (1.12); *Adam.* 44,15–16.30 (1.23)]	
13:28[50]	*Marc.* 4.30.4, 5	*Pan.* 42.11.6(40); 42.11.17(ἔλ. 56)[51]		

50 The citations of either the parallel Matt 8:12; 22:13; or 25:30 by Adamantius in *Adam.* 28,26–27 (1.13) and *Adam.* 112,19–21 (2.21) do not offer an attestation of Marcion's Gospel.

51 In this elenchus Epiphanius cites part of 13:28 but also implies that the entire parable in vv. 25–28 was present in Marcion's text.

TABLE (*cont.*)

Verse in Luke	Tertullian	Epiphanius	*Adamantius Dialogue*	Other(s)
14:12	*Marc.* 4.31.1			
14:14	*Marc.* 4.31.1			
14:16	*Marc.* 4.31.2			
14:17	*Marc.* 4.31.3			
14:18	*Marc.* 4.31.4			
14:19	*Marc.* 4.31.4			
14:20	*Marc.* 4.31.4			
14:21	*Marc.* 4.31.5, 6			
14:22	*Marc.* 4.31.6			
14:23	*Marc.* 4.31.6			
14:24	*Marc.* 4.31.6			
15:3	*Marc.* 4.32.2			
15:4[52]	*Marc.* 4.32.1			
15:5	*Marc.* 4.32.1			
15:6	*Marc.* 4.32.1			
15:7	*Marc.* 4.32.2			
15:8	*Marc.* 4.32.1			
15:9	*Marc.* 4.32.1			
15:10	*Marc.* 4.32.2			
16:2	*Marc.* 4.33.1			
16:4	*Marc.* 4.33.1			
16:5	*Marc.* 4.33.1			
16:6	*Marc.* 4.33.1			
16:7	*Marc.* 4.33.1			
16:9a	*Marc.* 4.33.1			
16:11	*Marc.* 4.33.4			
16:12	*Marc.* 4.33.4			
16:13	*Marc.* 4.33.1, 2		*Adam.* 56,11–12 (1.28)	

52 Even if Adamantius's allusion to Matt 18:12–14//Luke 15:4–7 in *Adam.* 4.11 in his reply to Droserius (presenting the teaching of Valentinus) is original to the dialogue, it is clearly not a reference to Marcion's Gospel. Uncertainty concerning the passage's originality is due to it only appearing in the Latin text. Cf. the comments of Bakhuyzen (ed.), *Dialog*, 167 and Pretty (trans.), *Adamantius*, 141n68.

Verse in Luke	Tertullian	Epiphanius	*Adamantius Dialogue*	Other(s)
16:14	*Marc.* 4.33.2			
16:15	*Marc.* 4.33.6			
16:16	*Marc.* 4.33.7	*Pan.* 42.11.6(43)		
16:17	*Marc.* 4.33.9			
16:18	*Marc.* 4.34.1, 4, 9			
16:19		*Pan.* 42.11.6(44)	*Adam.* 76,16–17 (2.10)	
16:20		*Pan.* 42.11.6(44)	*Adam.* 76,17–18 (2.10)	
16:21			*Adam.* 76,19–21 (2.10)	
16:22	*Marc.* 4.34.10, 11	*Pan.* 42.11.6(44)	*Adam.* 76,21–23 (2.10)	
16:23	*Marc.* 4.34.10, 11, 12		*Adam.* 76,23–25 (2.10)	
16:24		*Pan.* 42.11.17 (ἔλ. 56)[53]	*Adam.* 76,26–29 (2.10)	
16:25		*Pan.* 42.11.6(45)	*Adam.* 76,29–31 (2.10)	
16:26	*Marc.* 4.34.11		*Adam.* 76,31–34 (2.10)	
16:27			*Adam.* 76,34–35 (2.10)	
16:28			*Adam.* 76,35–78.2 (2.10)	
16:29	*Marc.* 4.34.10, 17	*Pan.* 42.11.6(46); 42.11.17(ἔλ. 59)	*Adam.* 78,2–3 (2.10)	
16:30			*Adam.* 78,3–5 (2.10)	
16:31		*Pan.* 42.11.6(46)	*Adam.* 78,5–6 (2.10)	
17:1	*Marc.* 4.35.1		*Adam.* 88,4–5 (2.15)	

53 Epiphanius refers to this verse specifically in an elenchus in which he probably also implies that the entirety of 16:19–31 was present in Marcion's text.

TABLE (*cont.*)

Verse in Luke	Tertullian	Epiphanius	*Adamantius Dialogue*	Other(s)
17:2[54]	*Marc.* 4.35.1			
17:3	*Marc.* 4.35.2			
17:4	*Marc.* 4.35.3			
17:11	*Marc.* 4.35.9			
17:12a, b	*Marc.* 4.35.4, 6	*Pan.* 42.11.6(48)		
17:14	*Marc.* 4.35.4, 7, 8, 10	*Pan.* 42.11.6(48)		
17:15	*Marc.* 4.35.11			
17:16	*Marc.* 4.35.9			
17:17	*Marc.* 4.35.11			
17:18	*Marc.* 4.35.11			
17:19	*Marc.* 4.35.11			
17:20	*Marc.* 4.35.12			
17:21	*Marc.* 4.35.12			
17:22		*Pan.* 42.11.6(49)		
17:25	*Marc.* 4.35.14			
17:26	*Marc.* 4.35.16			
17:28	*Marc.* 4.35.16			
17:32	*Marc.* 4.35.16			
18:1	*Marc.* 4.36.1			
18:2	*Marc.* 4.36.1			
18:3	*Marc.* 4.36.1			
18:5	*Marc.* 4.36.1			
18:7	*Marc.* 4.36.1			
18:10	*Marc.* 4.36.2			
18:11	*Marc.* 4.36.2			
18:12	*Marc.* 4.36.2			
18:13	*Marc.* 4.36.2			
18:14	*Marc.* 4.36.2			
18:16			*Adam.* 32,26–27 (1.16)	

54 It is unlikely that the reference in *Adam.* 34,4–7 (1.16), rightly labeled "ein sehr freies Mischzitat aus Mt 26,24 par. und Mt 18,6 par." by Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 174, is attesting Marcion's Gospel.

Verse in Luke	Tertullian	Epiphanius	*Adamantius Dialogue*	Other(s)
18:18	*Marc.* 4.36.4, 6	*Pan.* 42.11.6(50)	*Adam.* 92,25–26 (2.17)	
18:19[55]	*Marc.* 4.36.3, 6	*Pan.* 42.11.6(50)	*Adam.* 2,18–19 (1.1); 92,26–27 (2.17)	Origen, *Princ.* 2.5.1, 4 Hippolytus, *Haer.* 7.31.6
18:20	*Marc.* 4.36.4, 5, 7	*Pan.* 42.11.6(50)	*Adam.* 92,27–29 (2.17)	
18:21	*Marc.* 4.36.4		*Adam.* 92,29–30 (2.17)	
18:22	*Marc.* 4.36.4, 6, 7		*Adam.* 92,30–32 (2.17)	
18:23	*Marc.* 4.36.5			
18:35	*Marc.* 4.36.9	*Pan.* 42.11.6(51)	*Adam.* 200,22–24 (5.14)	
18:36			*Adam.* 200,24–25 (5.14)	
18:37	*Marc.* 4.36.9		*Adam.* 200,25–26 (5.14)	
18:38	*Marc.* 4.36.9, 11; 37.1; 38.10	*Pan.* 42.11.6(51)	*Adam.* 200,26 (5.14)	

55 Along with these other sources, Harnack also noted, "Vielleicht gehört auch Clem. hom. XVIII, 1 hierher, wo wohl Marcion als Simon Magus spricht: μή με λέγε ἀγαθόν· ὁ γὰρ ἀγαθός εἷς ἐστιν, ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς." (*Marcion*, 225*; cf. also Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:469). In addition, IGNTP attests the reading as Marcion ap Clementina. It is entirely possible that Marcionite and anti-Marcionite material appears in the *Homilies*, as M. J. Edwards observes "Simon is a composite intellectual of that era—a Simon, a Valentinus and a Marcion" ("The *Clementina*: A Christian Response to the Pagan Novel," *CQ* 42 [1992]: 462; for further discussion cf. A. Salles, "Simon le Magicien ou Marcion?," *VC* 12 (1958): 197–224; Dominique Côté, "La fonction littéraire de Simon le Magicien dans les *Pseudo-Clémentines*," *LTP* 57 [2001]: 513–23; and Annette Yoshiko Reed, "Heresiology in the (Jewish-)Christian Novel: Narrativized Polemics in the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies*," in *Heresy and Self-Definition in Late Antiquity* [ed. Eduard Iricinschi and Holger M. Zellentin; TSAJ 119; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008], 273–98). It is a bit tenuous, however, to posit that here Marcion speaks as Simon and that in so doing attests Marcion's text.

TABLE (*cont.*)

Verse in Luke	Tertullian	Epiphanius	*Adamantius Dialogue*	Other(s)
18:39	*Marc.* 4.36.9			
18:40			*Adam.* 200,26–28 (5.14)	
18:41			*Adam.* 200,28–29 (5.14)	
18:42	*Marc.* 4.36.10, 12	*Pan.* 42.11.6(51)	*Adam.* 200,29–30 (5.14)	
18:43	*Marc.* 4.36.12; 37.1	*Pan.* 42.11.6(51)	*Adam.* 200,30 (5.14)	
19:2	*Marc.* 4.37.1			
19:6	*Marc.* 4.37.1			
19:8	*Marc.* 4.37.1			
19:9	*Marc.* 4.37.1			
19:10	*Marc.* 4.37.2			
19:11	*Marc.* 4.37.4[56]			
19:13	*Marc.* 4.37.4; 39.11			
19:22	*Marc.* 4.37.4			
19:23	*Marc.* 4.37.4			
19:26	*Marc.* 4.37.4			
20:1	*Marc.* 4.38.1			
20:4	*Marc.* 4.38.1, 2			
20:5	*Marc.* 4.38.2			
20:6	*Marc.* 4.38.1			
20:7	*Marc.* 4.38.2			
20:8	*Marc.* 4.38.2			
20:19		*Pan.* 42.11.6(54); 42.11.17(ἔλ. 53)		
20:24	*Marc.* 4.38.3			
20:25	*Marc.* 4.38.3			
20:27	*Marc.* 4.38.4			
20:28	*Marc.* 4.38.4			
20:29	*Marc.* 4.38.4			

56 In *Marc.* 4.37.4 Tertullian also makes the barest of allusions to the contents of vv. 16–24.

Verse in Luke	Tertullian	Epiphanius	*Adamantius Dialogue*	Other(s)
20:30	*Marc.* 4.38.4			
20:31	*Marc.* 4.38.4			
20:33	*Marc.* 4.38.4			
20:34	*Marc.* 4.38.5, 8			
20:35	*Marc.* 4.38.5, 7			
20:36	*Marc.* 4.38.5, 7			
20:39	*Marc.* 4.38.9			
20:41	*Marc.* 4.38.10			
20:44	*Marc.* 4.38.10			
21:7	*Marc.* 4.39.13			
21:8	*Marc.* 4.39.1, 2			
21:9	*Marc.* 4.39.3			
21:10	*Marc.* 4.39.3			
21:11	*Marc.* 4.39.3			
21:12	*Marc.* 4.39.4			
21:13	*Marc.* 4.39.4			
21:14	*Marc.* 4.39.6, 7			
21:15	*Marc.* 4.39.6, 7			
21:16	*Marc.* 4.39.8			
21:17	*Marc.* 4.39.8			
21:19	*Marc.* 4.39.8			
21:20	*Marc.* 4.39.9			
21:25	*Marc.* 4.39.9			
21:26	*Marc.* 4.39.9			
21:27	*Marc.* 4.39.10			
21:28	*Marc.* 4.39.10, 12			
21:29	*Marc.* 4.39.10, 13, 16			
21:30	*Marc.* 4.39.16			
21:31	*Marc.* 4.39.10, 16			
21:32	*Marc.* 4.39.18			
21:33	*Marc.* 4.39.18			
21:34	*Marc.* 4.39.18			
21:35a	*Marc.* 4.39.18			
21:37	*Marc.* 4.39.19			
21:38	*Marc.* 4.39.19			
22:1	*Marc.* 4.40.1			
22:3	*Marc.* 4.40.2			

TABLE (*cont.*)

Verse in Luke	Tertullian	Epiphanius	*Adamantius Dialogue*	Other(s)
22:4	*Marc.* 4.40.2	*Pan.* 42.11.6(60)		
22:5	*Marc.* 4.40.2			
22:8		*Pan.* 42.11.6(61)		
22:14		*Pan.* 42.11.6(62)		
22:15	*Marc.* 4.40.1, 3	*Pan.* 42.11.6(62); 42.11.17(ἔλ. 61)		Eznik, *De deo* 415
22:17			[*Adam.* 108,27 (2.20)][57]	
22:19	*Marc.* 4.40.3, 4		[*Adam.* 108,27 (2.20)]	
22:20[58]	*Marc.* 4.40.4, 6			
22:22b[59]	*Marc.* 4.41.1			
22:33	*Marc.* 4.41.2			
22:34	*Marc.* 4.41.2			
22:41		*Pan.* 42.11.6(65)		
22:47		*Pan.* 42.11.6(66)		
22:48	*Marc.* 4.41.2			
22:63		*Pan.* 42.11.6(68)		
22:64		*Pan.* 42.11.6(68)		
22:66	*Marc.* 4.41.3			
22:67	*Marc.* 4.41.3			
22:69	*Marc.* 4.41.4			

57 Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 287 sees a reference to both vv. 17 and 19 in this passage, but does not comment on whether or not it is attesting Marcion's Gospel. Harnack stated "Aus Dial. II, 20 läßt sich nichts Sicheres schließen" but sees vv. 17–18 as unattested and probably deleted by Marcion (*Marcion*, 233*). In his earlier work Tsutsui agreed with Harnack that the verses were probably omitted ("Evangelium," 123). Though assuming an omission is problematic, it is not entirely clear that Marcion's text is in view in the *Adamantius Dialogue*.

58 Epiphanius referenced Luke 22:20 in *Pan.* 42.11.17 (ἔλ. 61); however, it is not clear that he is here referring to Marcion's Gospel. Even if he were, however, his reference to "the truth" saying μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι λαβὼν τάδε καὶ τάδε, [καὶ] εἶπεν, τοῦτό ἐστι τάδε καὶ τάδε is clearly an imprecise rendering of the content of the verse.

59 Concerning the reference in *Adam.* 34,4–7 (1.16), cf. n. 54 above.

Verse in Luke	Tertullian	Epiphanius	*Adamantius Dialogue*	Other(s)
22:70	*Marc.* 4.41.4, 5; 42.1			
22:71	*Marc.* 4.41.5			
23:1	*Marc.* 4.42.1			
23:2	*Marc.* 4.42.1	*Pan.* 42.11.6(69, 70)		
23:3	*Marc.* 4.42.1			
23:7	*Marc.* 4.42.3			
23:8	*Marc.* 4.42.3			
23:9	*Marc.* 4.42.3			
23:18	*Marc.* 4.42.4			
23:19	*Marc.* 4.42.4			
23:22	*Marc.* 4.42.4			
23:23	*Marc.* 4.42.4			
23:25	*Marc.* 4.42.4			
23:32	*Marc.* 4.42.4			
23:33	*Marc.* 4.42.4	*Pan.* 42.11.6(71)		
23:34[60]		*Pan.* 42.11.6(71)		Ephrem, *Commentary on the Diatessaron* 21.3
23:44	*Marc.* 4.42.5			Ephrem, *Commentary on the Diatessaron* 21.3 Eznik, *De deo* 358
23:45	*Marc.* 4.42.5	*Pan.* 42.11.6(71)		Eznik, *De deo* 358
23:46	*Marc.* 4.42.6	*Pan.* 42.11.6(73)	[*Adam.* 198,8–12 (5.12)]	
23:50	*Marc.* 4.42.8	*Pan.* 42.11.6(74)	[*Adam.* 198,8–12 (5.12)]	
23:51	*Marc.* 4.42.8			
23:52	*Marc.* 4.42.7		[*Adam.* 198,8–12 (5.12)]	
23:53	*Marc.* 4.42.7	*Pan.* 42.11.6(74)	[*Adam.* 198,8–12 (5.12)]	

60 Tertullian attests the omission of v. 34b (cf. n. 68 below).

TABLE (*cont.*)

Verse in Luke	Tertullian	Epiphanius	*Adamantius Dialogue*	Other(s)
23:55	*Marc.* 4.43.1			
23:56		*Pan.* 42.11.6(75)		
24:1	*Marc.* 4.43.1			
24:3	*Marc.* 4.43.2			
24:4	*Marc.* 4.43.2	*Pan.* 42.11.6(76)		
24:5		*Pan.* 42.11.6(76)		
24:6	*Marc.* 4.43.5	*Pan.* 42.11.6(76)		
24:7	*Marc.* 4.43.5	*Pan.* 42.11.6(76)		
24:9	*Marc.* 4.43.2			
24:11	*Marc.* 4.43.3			
24:13	*Marc.* 4.43.3	*Pan.* 42.11.6(77)		
24:15	*Marc.* 4.43.3	*Pan.* 42.11.6(77)		
24:16	*Marc.* 4.43.3			
24:18		*Pan.* 42.11.6(77)		
24:19	*Marc.* 4.43.3			
24:21a	*Marc.* 4.43.3			
24:25	*Marc.* 4.43.4	*Pan.* 42.11.6(77)	[*Adam.* 198,5–7 (5.12)]	
24:26		*Pan.* 42.11.6(77)	[*Adam.* 198,5–7 (5.12)]	
24:30		*Pan.* 42.11.6(77)		
24:31		*Pan.* 42.11.6(77)		
24:37	*Marc.* 4.43.6		[*Adam.* 178,4–7 (5.3); 198,17–21 (5.12)]	
24:38	*Marc.* 4.43.6	*Pan.* 42.11.6(78)	[*Adam.* 178,4–7 (5.3); 198,17–21 (5.12)]	
24:39	*Marc.* 4.43.6, 7, 8	*Pan.* 42.11.6(78)	[*Adam.* 178,4–7 (5.3); 198,17–21 (5.12)]	
24:41	*Marc.* 4.43.8			
24:42				Eznik, *De deo* 407
24:43				Eznik, *De deo* 407
24:47	*Marc.* 4.43.9			

3.2.2 *Attested Verses (Not Present)*

Verse(s) in Luke	Tertullian	Epiphanius	*Adam. Dial.*	Other(s)
1:1–2:52[61]	*Marc.* 4.7.11 [*Marc.* 4.7.1 *tacitus*]	*Pan.* 42.9.1; 42.11.4–5		Origen, *Ex libro Origenis in Epistolam ad Titum* Hippolytus, *Haer.* 7.31.5 Jerome, *Jo. hier.* 34
3:21–38	[*Marc.*4.7.1–6 *tacitus*]	*Pan.* 42.11.4–5		
4:1–13	*Marc.* 5.6.7[62]			
8:19	[*Marc.* 4.19.6–7 *tacitus*]	*Pan.* 42.11.6(12)		
9:31b	*Marc.* 4.22.16			
11:30–32	[*Marc.* 4.27.1 *tacitus*]	*Pan.* 42.11.6(25)		
11:49–51	[*Marc.* 4.27.8 *tacitus*]	*Pan.* 42.11.6(28)		
12:6	[*Marc.* 4.28.3 *tacitus*]	*Pan.* 42.11.6(29)		
12:28a[63]		*Pan.* 42.11.6(31)		
13:1–9	[*Marc.* 4.30.1 *tacitus*]	*Pan.* 42.11.6(38)		
13:29–35	[*Marc.* 4.31.1 *tacitus*]	*Pan.* 42.11.6(41)		
15:11–32	[*Marc.* 4.33.1 *tacitus*]	*Pan.* 42.11.6(42)		
17:10b	[*Marc.* 4.35.4 *tacitus*]	*Pan.* 42.11.6(47)		
17:12c–13[64]	[*Marc.* 4.35.4 *tacitus*]	*Pan.* 42.11.6(48)		
18:31–33	[*Marc.* 4.36.8 *tacitus*]	*Pan.* 42.11.6(52)		
19:29–46	[*Marc.* 4.38.1 *tacitus*]	*Pan.* 42.11.6(53)		
20:9–17	[*Marc.* 4.38.3 *tacitus*]	*Pan.* 42.11.6(55)		

61 D. Donatien de Bruyne argued that elements in the Prologue to Luke combat Marcion's Gospel and the omission of the opening chapters ("Les plus anciens prologues latins des évangiles," *RBén* 40 [1928]: 205). The suggestion is intriguing though ultimately likely incorrect in the light of the critique by Jürgen Regul, *Die antimarcionitischen Evangelienprologe* (*AGLB* 6; Freiburg: Herder, 1969), especially 77–80.

62 This passage, though found in Tertullian's discussion of 1 Cor, clearly reveals that these verses were not in Marcion's Gospel.

63 Cf. n. 49 above.

64 The inclusion here of Luke 17:12c–13 arises out of a comparison of Tertullian's and Epiphanius's testimony. For discussion cf. chapter 6.4.49.

TABLE (*cont.*)

Verse(s) in Luke	Tertullian	Epiphanius	*Adam. Dial.*	Other(s)
20:37–38a	[*Marc.* 4.38.8–9 *tacitus*]	*Pan.* 42.11.6(56)[65]		
21:18	[*Marc.* 4.39.8 *tacitus*]	*Pan.* 42.11.6(58)		
21:21–22	[*Marc.* 4.39.9 *tacitus*]	*Pan.* 42.11.6(59)		
22:16	[*Marc.* 4.40.3 *tacitus*]	*Pan.* 42.11.6(63)[66]		
22:35–38	[*Marc.* 4.41.2 *tacitus*]	*Pan.* 42.11.6(64)[67]		
22:50–51	[*Marc.* 4.41.3 *tacitus*]	*Pan.* 42.11.6(67)		
23:34b[68]	*Marc.* 4.41.4			
23:43	[*Marc.* 4.42.5 *tacitus*]	*Pan.* 42.11.6(72)		

3.2.3 *Unattested Verses*

Verse(s) in Luke				
3:2–20[69]	4:14–15	4:17–22	4:24–26	4:28
4:33	4:36–39	4:44	5:1	5:4–8
5:15–16	5:19	5:22–23	5:25	5:28–29
5:32	5:39	6:10–11	6:15	6:18

65 Epiphanius also states that these verses were missing in *Pan.* 42.11.6(57) apparently based on a belief that Jesus made the statement twice (cf. *Pan.* 42.11.17[ἔλ. 57]).

66 In *Pan.* 42.11.17 (ἔλ. 63) Epiphanius referenced Luke 22:30, elsewhere unattested for Marcion's Gospel; however, it is not entirely clear that Epiphanius is here drawing from Marcion's Gospel, nor that Epiphanius here indicated that Marcion omitted this verse, as contended by Volckmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, 32–33n4.

67 Though Epiphanius cites the beginning of v. 35 followed by καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς before referencing v. 37, the context strongly suggests that v. 36 was also missing.

68 Though Tertullian explicitly notes the excision of v. 34b and includes a discussion that assumes its omission throughout, Epiphanius references it in *Pan.* 42.11.6(71). For a discussion of this issue, cf. chapter 6.4.70.

69 Even though there is no direct attestation of the omission of these verses, there is an indirect indication that 3:2-22 was missing as an implication of Tertullian's comments in *Marc.* 4.11.4.

Verse(s) in Luke				
6:30b	6:32–33[70]	6:34b–35a	6:44[71]	6:47–49
7:1	7:3–8	7:10–11	7:13	7:17
7:21	7:25	7:29–35	7:39–43	7:49
8:1	8:5–7	8:9–15	8:26	8:29
8:33–42a	8:47	8:49–56	9:4	9:9–11
9:15	9:23	9:25	9:26b–27	9:36–39
9:42–43	9:45	9:49–53	9:56	10:2–3
10:6	10:12–15	10:17–18[72]	10:20	10:29–42
11:6	11:10	11:16–17	11:23–26	11:34–36
11:44–45	11:53–54	12:7	12:15	12:17–18
12:21	12:25–26	12:29	12:33–34	12:49b–50[73]
12:52	12:54–55	13:10–13	13:17–18	13:22–24
14:1–11	14:13	14:15	14:25–35[74]	15:1–2
16:1	16:3	16:8	16:9b–10	17:5–10a
17:23–24[75]	17:27	17:29–31	17:33–37	18:4

70 The comment by Harnack, *Marcion,* 194* in his apparatus that an allusion to these verses "ist vielleicht in IV,16 ('*denique hac inconvenientia voluntatis et facti agunt ethnici nondum a deo instructi*' [*ethnici*=ἁμαρτωλοί]) [zu finden]" is contextually unlikely. Harnack is surely right when in the main text of his reconstruction he indicated that vv. 32–33 are "unbezeugt."

71 The rather offhand reference at the end of a sentence to Luke 6:44//Matt 12:33 by Adamantius in *Adam.* 110,9-10 (2.20) gives no indication of being a reference to a passage in Marcion's Gospel.

72 The citation of Luke 10:18 by Marinus, a Bardasenite, in *Adam.* 134,5-6 (3.12) has no claim to having been drawn from Marcion's Gospel.

73 In *Pan.*42.3.9-10, Epiphanius indicated that Marcion used a text to justify multiple baptisms and to argue that he had been cleansed again after his transgression. Epiphanius then refers to a baptism with which Jesus is to be baptized and a cup which Jesus is to drink. Though the first reference is found in Luke 12:50, the mentioning of the cup reveals that Mark 10:38 is more likely in view. It is doubtful that Epiphanius here is accurately representing an argument by Marcion drawn from Mark.

74 Epiphanius referenced Luke 14:26 in *Pan.* 42.11.17 (ἔλ. 70); however, it is not clear that he is here drawing from Marcion's Gospel.

75 The citation of the parallel Matt 24:27 in *Adam.* 50,1-3 (1.25) is not an attestation of Marcion's Gospel. Though Adamantius introduces the reference with λέγει δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, the previous reference to Matt 21:7 as a statement found in "the Gospel," reveals that, in context, Matthew is in view.

TABLE (*cont.*)

Verse(s) in Luke				
18:6	18:8–9	18:15	18:17	18:24–30[76]
18:34	19:1	19:3–5	19:7	19:12
19:14–21	19:24–25	19:27–28	19:47–48	20:2–3
20:18	20:20–23	20:26	20:32	20:38b
20:40	20:42–43	20:45–47	21:1–6	21:23–24
21:35b–36	22:2	22:6–7	22:9–13	22:18
22:21–22a	22:23–32	22:39–40	22:42–46	22:49
22:52–62	22:65	22:68	23:4–5:2	23:10–17
23:20–21	23:24	23:26–31	23:35–42	23:47–49
23:54	24:2	24:8	24:10	24:12[77]
24:14	24:17	24:20	24:21b–24	24:27–29
24:32–36	24:40	24:44–46	24:48–53	

3.3 The Methodology Employed in this Study

The tables above have attempted to offer a precise and nuanced overview of the verses or parts of verses that the sources for Marcion's Gospel attest. At the same time, however, this insight is not particularly beneficial if, when one actually begins to attempt to reconstruct Marcion's Gospel, the methodology governing the use of any of these sources is not also precise and nuanced.

3.3.1 *Multiple Citations*

In setting forth a methodology for reconstructing Marcion's Gospel, it is important to recognize that the usefulness of the sources, and in this case particularly of hostile sources, is limited and that the era of the second century is notoriously difficult for questions relating to the text of the NT or Marcion's Gospel (with its close affinity to Luke).[78] May's observation that it is difficult to

76 In *Adam.* 210,26-27 (5.18), Adamantius comments that the Savior states τὰ παρ' ἀλθρώποις ἀδύνατα παρὰ τῷ θεῷ δυνατά (*ea, quae apud homines impossibilia sunt, apud deum possibilia sunt*) (v. 70). Harnack, *Marcion,* 226* however, pointed out that it is "unwahrscheinlich" that this statement arose from Marcion's text. Cf. also chapter 7.4.17.

77 Concerning this verse, cf. chapter 2, n. 112.

78 A further challenge is that there is no guarantee that the attested text in a source was actually the "original" reading in Marcion's Gospel. To reiterate points made earlier in this

detect Marcion's textual corrections because of the loose citations found in the sources and the fluid nature of the Gospels' text in the second century clearly has validity.[79] Nevertheless, a significantly better understanding of Marcion's text than is currently available is possible.

In the light of the history of research presented in chapter two, it may be observed that despite their value, previous attempts to reconstruct Marcion's Gospel ultimately fell short of offering a critically established text. The way forward has already been shown by Schmid's work on Marcion's *Apostolikon*, and in many ways the present work embraces his methodology and applies it to Marcion's *Euangelion*.[80] The foundational principle of Schmid's work, and of the current work, is the recognition that if readings found in Marcion's Gospel are to be gleaned from the "citations"[81] offered from it by his adversaries "müssen wir das Zitierverhalten unserer Quellen möglichst präzise beschreiben, und das geschieht am überzeugendsten, indem man sämtliche Bibelzitate in allen Schriften eines Kirchenvaters untersucht."[82] In other words, in order to be able to evaluate the testimony that the church fathers offer for readings found in Marcion's Gospel, their general handling of texts throughout their corpus, based on multiple citations, must be understood as precisely as possible.[83] As Barbara Aland has pointed out, such an understanding entails: (1) examining

work, Tertullian, *Marc.* 4.5.7 and *Adam.* 96,6–8 (2.18), e.g., both indicate that followers of Marcion continued to alter his *Euangelion* and *Apostolikon*. For this reason, it is obvious that the only text that can be reconstructed is the text attested in the sources, which can heuristically be called "Marcion's Gospel" even if there is no absolute certainty that all the readings can be traced back to the version of the Gospel that Marcion held in his hand. Harnack made a similar point in the introductory sections to his reconstructions of Marcion's canon (cf. *Marcion*, 46* and 183*).

79 Cf. May, "Markion in seiner Zeit," 9.

80 Cf. Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 26–31, 33–34. Klinghardt observes that Schmid "für die Rekonstruktion des markionitischen Apostolos-Texts methodische Einsichten gewonnen [hat], die auch für die Herstellung des Evangeliums wichtig sind" ("Markion vs. Lukas," 492n30). Elements of the following discussion appeared in summary form in Roth, "Marcion's Gospel: Relevance, Contested Issues, and Reconstruction," 291–92.

81 Schmid rightly observes, "Wenn die antimarcionitischen Polemiker versuchen, den Häretiker *ex his revinci, quae servavit* [Tertullian, *Marc.* 5.4.2], dann muß dies nicht notwendigerweise bedeuten daß sie seinen Text auch in jedem Fall wörtlich zitieren" (*Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 26).

82 Ibid.

83 The beginnings of the recognition of the importance of understanding the manner in which a church father quotes Marcion's texts can be found in Wright, *Alterations*, 128–34 where he discussed eleven readings found in Marcion's Gospel as reconstructed by Harnack.

how a particular author understood a particular passage through studying the parallel usage of the passage in the author's corpus, (2) considering how the author incorporates the citation into his own language and style, and (3) understanding citations by Christian writers in their historical contexts and against the background of contemporary non-Christian stylistic sensibilities, because influence from that background always remains possible.[84] Many helpful insights concerning the citation habits of the church fathers interacting with Marcion have already been gained through the work of Clabeaux and Schmid, and it remains here to build on their work by, whenever possible, examining every reference from the Gospel according to Luke in the work of a church father that also appears in his work against Marcion.[85] Only after collecting and comparing the data—with special attention given to "stereotype, geprägte Wendungen ein und desselben Textstückes über mehrere Zitate hinweg und in unterschiedlichen Kontexten (und Schriften) des Kirchenvaters"—can the value and accuracy of his testimony to Marcion's Gospel text be assessed and evaluated.[86] Two assumptions underlie the ultimate validity of this approach,

84 Cf. Barbara Aland, "Die Rezeption des neutestamentlichen Textes in den ersten Jahrhunderten," in *The New Testament in Early Christianity* (ed. Jean-Marie Sevrin; BETL 86; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989), 38.

85 Although allusions to Luke will not be ignored, in order to evaluate citation habits primary emphasis will fall on citations and adaptations. For the purposes of this study "citation" and "adaptation" are understood as defined by Carroll D. Osburn: "*Citation*. A verbally exact quotation, whether it corresponds entirely (for very brief instances) or largely (for longer instances) and whether made from a text or from memory, often having an introductory formula and always having an explicit or implicit que [*sic*] to the reader that it is intended as a deliberate citation. *Adaptation*. A quotation from a recognizable text, without an introductory formula, in which much of the lexical and syntactical structure of the text is preserved and woven unobtrusively into the patristic context, reflecting intent to cite, but which is adapted to the patristic context and/or syntax [emphasis original]" (*The Text of the Apostolos in Epiphanius of Salamis* [SBLNTGS 6; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004], 28). For these definitions Osburn is summarizing the progression of Fee's categories and thought (cf. Gordon D. Fee, "The Text of John in Origen and Cyril of Alexandria: A Contribution to Methodology in the Recovery and Analysis of Patristic Citations," *Bib* 52 [1971]: 357–94 as compared to Bart D. Ehrman, Gordon D. Fee, and Michael W. Holmes, *The Text of the Fourth Gospel in the Writings of Origen* [SBLNTGF 3; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992]). A comprehensive examination of the citation habits of Tertullian is, of course, beyond the scope of a work focusing on Marcion's Gospel. Therefore, in addition to the results of previous studies, I am using the texts most immediately relevant for reconstructing Marcion's Gospel as a "control group" for examining Tertullian's citation habits.

86 Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 27.

namely that a church father's citation habits remain essentially constant, in the sense that he does not approach citing Marcion's text radically differently than his own text, and that Marcion's text is not the text the church father usually utilized, and therefore he would not have been influenced by its particular form in his other writings.[87]

It is crucial to recognize that in this approach to reconstructing Marcion's Gospel text, Marcion's theological tendencies will not be invoked in the evaluation of a source's testimony.[88] Thus, I am consciously embracing and agreeing with Schmid's perspective when he wrote,

> I would prefer to see appeals to Marcionite tendency banned from any serious reconstruction of the Marcionite text. We need to first of all screen our sources for the Marcionite text against themselves in order to better understand their theological agendas and rhetorical strategies.[89]

The following chapters, therefore, devote significant space to "screening a source against himself" in his use of Luke in order to attempt to ascertain the reliability of his testimony concerning Marcion's text.[90]

3.3.2 *Textual Criticism*

It was noted in the history of research that in addition to methodological problems in Harnack's reconstruction, he did not avail himself of all the data available concerning attested readings in the manuscript tradition. In the present work, however, every attempt will be made to overcome this weakness. Attested readings for Marcion's Gospel will be compared with the manuscript tradition of Luke and the relevant synoptic parallels as found in the apparatus

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87 Once again, these points were already made by Schmid (ibid., 27–28). This study, however, has the benefit of Schmid already having demonstrated that, e.g., numerous citation habits for Tertullian are found throughout his corpus (cf. chapter 4, n. 22).

88 A necessary consequence of this approach is that there is also next to no discussion of passages which are passed over in silence. Concretely stated, an initial reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel must resist the temptation to draw firm conclusions concerning the unattested passages listed in table three.

89 Schmid, "How Can We Access?," 149. Klinghardt also laments the use of "Marcion's theological tendency" from Tertullian to Harnack in discussions of Marcion's Gospel ("Markion vs. Lukas," 496).

90 At relevant points questions relating to the manuscript evidence for a church father's works will also be considered, though for extended discussion the interested reader is referred to the critical editions.

of Tischendorf,[91] von Soden,[92] NA[28], and the two Luke volumes edited by the American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project.[93] In addition, attention will be given not only to whether other manuscripts or how many other manuscripts attest a particular reading, but also to which manuscripts attest the reading.[94] In this way, as a particular source's testimony is evaluated, evidence in the manuscript tradition, which may at times increase or decrease the likelihood of a reading in Marcion's text, will be kept in view.

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91 Constantin Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece: Volumen I* (8th ed.; Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient, 1869).

92 Von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments: II. Teil: Text mit Apparat*.

93 *The Gospel According to St. Luke* (ed. American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project; 2 vols.; The New Testament in Greek 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1984–1987). The present study provides an opportunity to observe both of the following comments by François Bovon: "the two volumes are a welcome tool, providing a handy and comprehensive view of the manuscript evidence for the Gospel of Luke" and "the apparatus, for all practical purposes, is a permanent source of mistakes for both the author and the reader" (*Studies in Early Christianity* [WUNT 161; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003], 25). Cf. also Carroll D. Osburn's comment, "For whatever reasons, it is disappointing that the apparatus, though largely comprehensive and accurate, contains a higher incidence of inexactitude than is tolerable in a research tool and cannot be trusted, requiring verification at each point" (review of American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project [eds.], *The New Testament in Greek: The Gospel According to St. Luke, SJT* 43 [1990]: 525–26). One can only hope that the Luke volume of the *Editio Critica Maior* will appear sooner rather than later.

94 The principle espoused by Westcott and Hort, "Knowledge of documents should precede final judgement upon readings" (*The New Testament in the Original Greek: Introduction, Appendix* [2d ed. London: MacMillan & Co., 1896], 31) is also valuable when considering points of contact, or the lack thereof, between Marcion's Gospel and the textual tradition. Thus, I am consciously adopting "reasoned," sometimes called "rational," eclecticism when considering the evidence from the NT textual tradition. For discussion of this method cf. Gordon D. Fee, "Rigorous or Reasoned Eclecticism—Which?," in *Studies in New Testament Language and Text: Essays in Honour of George D. Kilpatrick on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. J.K. Elliot; NovTSup 44; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976), 174–97; repr., *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* (ed. Eldon J. Epp and Gordon D. Fee; Studies and Documents 45; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 124–40. For an example of how this principle can affect the evaluation of Marcion's Gospel, cf. below in chapter 9, n. 3.

CHAPTER 4

Tertullian as a Source: Multiple Citations

This chapter is the first of several dealing concretely with the various sources attesting verses in Marcion's Gospel. In the following, a discussion of Tertullian as a source, including an initial analysis of the testimony that Tertullian provides for Marcion's text, precedes the consideration of all those verses found in Tertullian that are multiply cited by him. In other words, the verses considered in this chapter allow for comparison and potential elucidation of Tertullian's citation habits when evaluating his attestation of readings in Marcion's Gospel in that in nearly every instance they are cited in *Adversus Marcionem* and elsewhere in Tertullian's corpus.

4.1 Advances in Understanding Tertullian and *Adversus Marcionem*

Since the publication of Francis Oehler's 1851–1854 edition of Tertullian's works[1] and the 1906 Emil Kroymann edition of *Adversus Marcionem*,[2] a revised edition of the Kroymann text by Eligius Dekkers[3] and a new edition by Claudio Moreschini[4] have been published. In addition, a text and English translation of *Adversus Marcionem* by Ernest Evans[5] and a French translation by René Braun

1 *Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani Quae Supersunt Omnia* (ed. Francis Oehler; 3 vols.; Leipzig: T.O. Weigel, 1851–1854).

2 *Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani Opera* (ed. Emil Kroymann; CSEL 47; Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1906), 290–650.

3 The revised edition of *Adversus Marcionem* is found in the CCSL volumes, 1:441–726 (cf. chapter 3, n. 34). Helpful studies of the text of *Adversus Marcionem* that appeared in the interim include Petrus Corssen, "Tertulliani Adversus Marcionem in librum quartum animadversions," *Mnemosyne* 51 (1923): 242–61, 390–411, and *Mnemosyne* 52 (1924): 225–49; Heinrich Hoppe, *Beiträge zur Sprache und Kritik Tertullians* (SVSL 14; Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1932); and three articles by J.H. Waszink, "Tertullianea," *Mnemosyne* 3 (1935–1936): 165–74, "Varia critica et exegetica," *Mnemosyne* 11 (1943): 68–77, and "Varia critica et exegetica," *Mnemosyne* 13 (1947): 121–29. Also of benefit is J.E.L. van der Geest, *Le Christ et l'ancien testament chez Tertullien: Recherche terminologique* (LCP 22; Nijmegen: Dekker & Van de Vegt, 1972).

4 *Tertulliani Adversus Marcionem* (ed. Claudio Moreschini; TDSA 35; Milan: Instituto Editoriale Cisalpino, 1971).

5 *Adversus Marcionem* (ed. and trans. Ernest Evans; 2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1972).

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based on an updated critical text by Moreschini[6] have become available.[7] More significantly, several new scriptural indices to Tertullian's works have improved on Hermann Roensch's study of Tertullian's NT.[8] In particular, studies devoted exclusively to examining the text of Luke in Tertullian, including several articles and a doctoral dissertation by Merrill Chapin Tenney, are valuable aids in evaluating the citations of Luke by Tertullian, even if they all must be used with caution due to both incomplete and inaccurate data.[9]

Whenever one begins to study Tertullian's testimony concerning Marcion's texts, the question of the language in which he knew the Marcionite Scriptures immediately arises. Significant scholarly discussion has occurred since Harnack first proposed that Tertullian was working from a Latin translation of Marcion's *Apostolikon* and *Euangelion*.[10] In a 2009 article, and in agreement with those who have returned to the view that Tertullian used a Greek

6 *Contre Marcion* (cf. chapter 2, n. 184 and chapter 3, n. 13).

7 Helpful overviews of the manuscripts and editions of *Adversus Marcionem* are found in Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion*, 19–30 and Volker Lukas, *Rhetorik und literarischer 'Kampf': Tertullians Streitschrift gegen Marcion als Paradigma der Selbstvergewisserung der Orthodoxie gegenüber der Häresie: Eine philologisch-theologische Analyse* (EHS.T 859; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2008), 33–35.

8 Cf., e.g., the index in *Tertulliani Opera* (CCSL 2), 2:1457–93 and especially J. Allenbach et al., eds., *Des origins à Clément d'Alexandrie et Tertullien* (vol. 1 of *Biblia Patristica: Index des citations et allusions bibliques dans la literature patristique*; Paris: Éditions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1975). Roensch's study is *Das Neue Testament Tertullian's: Aus den Schriften des Letzteren möglichst vollständig reconstruiert, mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen textkritischen und sprachlichen Inhaltes* (Leipzig: Fues's Verlag [R. Reisland], 1871).

9 Cf. G.J.D. Aalders, "Tertullian's Quotations from St Luke," *Mnemosyne* 5 (1937): 241–82; A.J.B. Higgins, "The Latin Text of Luke in Marcion and Tertullian," *VC* 5 (1951): 1–42; David S. Williams, "On Tertullian's Text of Luke," *SecCent* 8 (1991): 193–99; and Tenney, "The Quotations from Luke in Tertullian as Related to the Texts of the Second and Third Centuries" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1944). For a discussion of the problems in these studies, cf. my article referenced below in n. 12.

10 For Harnack's view and arguments, cf. *Marcion*, 178*–181*. Ulrich Schmid comments that Harnack was also the first to posit that Tertullian used a Latin translation of Marcion's *Apostolikon* (cf. Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 40). In 1914 Harnack still believed that Tertullian had Greek copies of Marcion's works (cf. "Tertullians Bibliothek christlicher Schriften," *SPAW* [1914]: 324). In the following years Harnack's examination of the issue apparently led him to contend that Tertullian not only had Marcion's biblical text in Latin translation, but that he knew it exclusively in Latin translation (cf. *Marcion*, 77, 49*n2).

copy of Marcion's *Apostolikon*,[11] I have defended the view that Tertullian had a Greek copy and not a Latin translation of Marcion's Gospel when writing *Adversus Marcionem*.[12] In that article, I argued that in considering this issue it is important not only to consider the differences in the Latin terms found in the attested texts for Marcion's Gospel and the citation of those same texts elsewhere in Tertullian's corpus, but also the similarities.[13] Both these similarities and differences must then be compared with readings in extant Old Latin witnesses. On the one hand, the agreement of Latin terminology between Marcion's Gospel and Tertullian's text against the attested readings in Old Latin witnesses becomes an argument against Tertullian working from a Latin copy of Marcion's Gospel, and, on the other hand, differences in the terminology between Marcion's Gospel and Tertullian's text, where neither reading is attested in the extant witnesses, may also confirm that the variation is due to Tertullian's own translations rather than his working from a Latin copy of Marcion's Gospel. An examination of the 87 Greek terms rendered in verses attested both for Marcion's Gospel and elsewhere in Tertullian's corpus reveals that Marcion's Gospel and Tertullian's text agree in their Latin renderings on 51 occasions, or 59% of the time. Of these 51 agreements, in about one-third of them the agreement is in renderings that are completely unique or rather uncommon in the extant Latin textual tradition for that verse. In addition, when Marcion's Gospel and Tertullian's text disagree, 69% of the time one of their respective renderings is not found within, or only at the periphery of, the surviving Old Latin textual tradition. It is surely simpler to explain these phenomena from the perspective that Tertullian himself is largely responsible for the Latin of Marcion's text as he translated it *ad hoc* from the Greek than to persist in Harnack's view that Tertullian had a Latin translation of Marcion's

11 Though Harnack's position found significant support in the twentieth century, several scholars have now questioned and challenged his view. Cf., e.g., Hermann Josef Frede, ed., *Epistulae ad Ephesios* (VL 24/1; Freiburg: Herder, 1962–1964), 30* and idem, ed., *Epistulae ad Philippenses et ad Colossenses* (VL 24/2; Freiburg: Herder, 1966–1971), 9; Bonifatius Fischer, "Das Neue Testament in lateinischer Sprache: Der gegenwärtige Stand seiner Erforschung und seine Bedeutung für die griechische Textgeschichte," in *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare: Der gegenwärtige Stand ihrer Erforschung und ihre Bedeutung für die griechische Textgeschichte* (ed. K. Aland; ANTF 5; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972), 10–11, 26n73, and 31n88; Clabeaux, *A Lost Edition*, 49–57; and Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 40–59.

12 Cf. Dieter T. Roth, "Did Tertullian Possess a Greek Copy or Latin Translation of Marcion's Gospel?," *VC* 63 (2009): 429–67.

13 This point was also made by Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 46.

Gospel when he wrote *Adversus Marcionem*.[14] Undoubtedly, the view that Tertullian is translating from the Greek rather than copying from a Latin *Vorlage* will lead one to view his testimony to Marcion's Gospel somewhat differently than Harnack.[15]

4.2 Tertullian's Testimony Concerning Marcion's Gospel

4.2.1 *Statistical Analysis of Tertullian's Testimony*

Even a cursory glance at the tables in chapter three reveals that Tertullian's testimony is crucial for our knowledge of the text of Marcion's Gospel. As already mentioned in the introduction, Tertullian makes reference to 438 verses in Marcion's Gospel. It is striking that of the 486 verses attested as present in this text, 90% of them are attested by Tertullian. When one also takes into account that Tertullian is the sole witness for 328 verses, comprising 67% of the total verses attested as present in Marcion's Gospel, his vital importance in any attempt to reconstruct Marcion's text is evident.[16] Therefore, even though the reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel ultimately requires bringing together the entire extant testimony from all the sources, the obvious first step is critically establishing Tertullian's testimony.

4.2.2 *Book Four of Adversus Marcionem*

The tables in the previous chapter also reveal the rather systematic way in which Tertullian's testimony to Marcion's text is set forth in book 4 of *Adversus Marcionem*. In this book, Tertullian continues his refutation of Marcion by working through Marcion's Gospel, though also having Marcion's *Antitheses* in view (*Marc*. 4.1.1–2, 4.6), in order to refute Marcion on the basis of his own text.[17] With very few exceptions, Tertullian appears to be commenting on the

14 For the full argument cf. the article referenced in n. 12.

15 Cf. also the observations by Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 40 and 40n31.

16 David C. Parker, e.g., has recently reiterated that Tertullian is "our chief source for recovering Marcion's text" (*The Living Text of the Gospels* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997], 66).

17 For background information and discussion of the entirety of *Adversus Marcionem* cf. Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion I*, 7–80; *III*, 7–39; *IV*, 17–49; and *V*, 15–65; Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 35–39; and now especially Lukas, *Rhetorik*. Prior to Hahn it was occasionally questioned whether Tertullian actually had Marcion's text in hand; however, Hahn effectively refuted the notion and convincingly demonstrated that Tertullian was, as he claimed, refuting Marcion from "the heretic's" own Gospel (cf. Hahn, *Evangelium Marcions*, 91–105). To my knowledge no persuasive challenge to this view arose in any of

verses in Marcion's Gospel in the order in which he found them.[18] Even more significantly, as Tertullian works his way through Marcion's text there are indications that he does so without referring to his own text of Luke. Perhaps the clearest example of this fact is when Tertullian accuses Marcion of having changed μάχαιραν to διαμερισμόν in Luke 12:51. The difficulty is that μάχαιραν is the reading of Matt 10:34 and, according to IGNTP, never, apart from the 13th-century minuscule 1242, appears in Luke 12:51.[19] If Tertullian were consistently checking his own text of Luke, it is difficult to imagine how such an error could have occurred. Tertullian apparently did not consult his own copy of Luke even when accusing Marcion of making an alteration.[20]

Finally, as Tertullian draws closer to the conclusion of his work against Marcion, he discusses fewer pericopes and often employs more general references to Marcion's Gospel. This observation has often been made in scholarly works and is undoubtedly relevant when attempting to reconstruct readings in Marcion's text as the precision with which Tertullian is working clearly declines towards the end of book four of *Adversus Marcionem*.[21]

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the subsequent eras of debate on Marcion's Gospel. On Tertullian's method of arguing against Marcion cf. Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 26–28 and Lukas, *Rhetorik*, 215–16.

18 There are instances in which verses within a pericope do not appear to be addressed in the order in which they appeared in Marcion's text. Minor examples include *Marc.* 4.24.1–7 (Luke 10:1–11), 4.26.11 (Luke 11:14–20), 4.29.6 (Luke 12:35–37), 4.37.4 (Luke 19:22–26), 4.38.1–2 (Luke 20:1–8), and 4.42.7–8 (Luke 23:50–56). More significant are 4.20.1 (Luke 8:22–25), 4.27.1–6 (Luke 11:37–43), and 4.43.2–5 (Luke 24:1–11). The position of Luke 6:5 (4.16.5) may also be an instance of Tertullian altering the order of Marcion's text; however, the reading in D complicates the issue (cf. n. 61 below).

19 In Roth, "Marcion's Gospel: Relevance, Contested Issues, and Reconstruction," 293 an error led to the statement that it was "the corrector of the 13th-century minuscule 1242" and not the original hand which had this reading.

20 Volckmar noted this example to support his contentions that Tertullian not only did not consult his own text of Luke, but also was most familiar with Matthew, a point to which I return below (*Evangelium Marcions*, 30–31). Along similar lines Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:471 took issue with the statement of Westcott and Hort in their appendix when they noted, concerning Tertullian's comments on the Lord's Prayer in *Adversus Marcionem*, "whether according to his own text, or Marcion's, or both, is as usual uncertain" (*New Testament: Introduction, Appendix*, 60). Cf. also Zahn's discussion of Luke 12:51 along with Luke 23:34 where he thinks Tertullian is remembering John 19:23 (*Geschichte*, 1:604).

21 For Tertullian's "hastening towards the conclusion," cf., e.g., Zahn, *Geschichte*, 1:604–5 and Lukas, *Rhetorik*, 320, 322. Lieu observes that Tertullian's "attention to detail decreases rapidly as the Book progresses" ("Marcion's Gospel and the Synoptic Problem," 734). Concretely, Lieu notes that by the time Tertullian reaches the end of Marcion's Gospel "he is becoming increasingly summary, spending less than 150 lines of a recent critical edition

4.3 Tertullian's Citation Habits

As already noted, Schmid's work on Marcion's *Apostolikon* has helpfully identified and established numerous citation habits of Tertullian related to the shortening of verses, content-created alterations, rhetorical changes, translational variants, and changes due to the flow of argument.[22] Many of these tendencies also appear in Tertullian's references to Marcion's *Euangelion*, though just as some citation habits noted by Schmid are more relevant for the epistles, the issue of the presence or absence of influence from synoptic parallels, irrelevant in Schmid's study, factors significantly in Tertullian's citations from Marcion's Gospel.

Though Schmid organized his analysis under the various identified citation habits, for two reasons I have elected to present the verses in canonical order. First, in this way the layout largely follows the order in which the elements appear in Tertullian's work and there is greater ease of reference to the significant number of attested verses. Second, and more significantly, numerous passages evidence several different citation habits shaping the reference, and the organization of the data by verse rather than by citation habit allows multiple habits to be discussed simultaneously. One drawback of this approach, however, is that all the evidence for a particular citation habit is not gathered together under one heading. For this reason, an overview of a few citation habits, additional to those demonstrated by Schmid, will be provided in the following pages.[23] In this way, an awareness of the significant issues in evaluating Tertullian's testimony can be provided before attention is given to the individual verses.

[Moreschini's in the *SC* volume] on Luke 23–24 compared with 570 lines on Luke 4–5" ("Marcion and the New Testament," 411).

22 Cf. Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 62–105. Schmid also offered sub-categories for numerous of these headings including, (1) simple omissions, (2) shortening of citations with multiple elements, (3) omissions in christological titles, (4) simplification of expression, (5) improvement/non-improvement of readings, (6) *Vetus Testamentum* in *Novo*, (7) alterations due to particular interpretations, (8) rhetorical questions, (9) rearranging sentences in parallel construction, and (10) verb voice. In addition, Schmid also considered explicit comments on readings in Marcion's text and glosses implying readings in Marcion's text (cf. ibid., 105–21).

23 Examples are often provided for each identified citation habit, though the full data set is found only by working through the actual analysis of every verse in this and the following chapter.

4.3.1 *Variations in Conjunctions*

Tertullian exhibits significant variation in his use of conjunctions in passages he is citing. The tendency alternately to omit, include, or change a conjunction is evident in numerous multiply-cited texts. For example, in Luke 6:27 *enim* is variously attested and unattested, and Tertullian seems to be adding *et* into the verse; in Luke 8:18 the almost universally attested καί may twice be rendered with *autem*; in Luke 9:24 he may have used *et* for δέ in *Adversus Marcionem* (though the parallel Matt 10:39 reads καί), but no conjunction appears in the citation in *Scorp*. 11.1; in Luke 9:26 Tertullian omits the nearly uniformly attested opening γάρ in every citation and appears to add a medial *et*; in Luke 12:2 Tertullian includes the opening *autem* in *Adversus Marcionem*, though twice when he elsewhere cites the parallel Matt 10:26 he does not render the opening γάρ; and in Luke 20:36 Tertullian offers the reference to being like angels both with and without *enim*. Therefore, great care needs to be taken before drawing conclusions concerning conjunctions in Marcion's text.[24]

4.3.2 *Word Order and Altering the Position of Pronouns*

Tertullian's citations exhibit considerable variation in the rendering of the word order in biblical citations. For example, Tertullian attests three different word orders in his three citations of the phrase "Are you the Son of God?" attested for Luke 22:70 (*Marc*. 4.41.4–5). In addition, a particularly prominent tendency is the fluidity evidenced by Tertullian in his placement of pronouns in his citations. It is therefore problematic to invest too much confidence in Tertullian's word order reflecting that of Marcion's text.[25] Thus, concerning Tertullian's testimony to Marcion's text, regardless of whether Tertullian was working with a Greek copy or Latin translation of that text, significant caution needs to be employed before attributing any significance to variant word order, especially when it involves pronouns. On this point Schmid rightly observes

> Wortstellungsvarianten beim Zeugen Tertullian gelten für sich betrachtet grundsätzlich als nicht signifikant. Lediglich in Verbindung mit weiteren charakteristischen Lesarten in einem Vers können sie bedeutsam werden.[26]

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24 The following discussion reveals just how often Harnack, and to some extent Tsutsui, derived conclusions concerning Marcion's text from the conjunction attested by Tertullian in a certain verse.

25 Once again, it is noteworthy how often Harnack relies on Tertullian's testimony for the specific ordering of elements in Marcion's text.

26 Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 61.

4.3.3 *Use of Future Tense*

It also appears that Tertullian is at times inclined to use the future tense when interacting with and citing the biblical text. Some examples of this phenomenon can be found in Luke 6:22, 10:19, 12:20, and 20:35. The same phenomenon is attested in Tertullian's citation of the LXX of Isa 63:9 in *Marc.* 4.22.11 where Braun notes, "Le futur ici utilisé permet d'intégrer la citation dans la perspective qui est celle de T[ertullian]" and Lukas comments "Das Vergangenheitstempus des Originaltextes wurde hier von Tertullian in ein 'passenderes' Futur übergeführt."[27]

4.3.4 *General Inclination to Matthean Accounts*

For those passages in Luke that have Matthean parallels, Tertullian demonstrates a general tendency to cite or refer to the Matthean version.[28] This tendency is exhibited in two ways. First, Tertullian reveals his greater familiarity with Matthew through errors that he commits. Luke 12:51 was already discussed above, and Tertullian's memory error there is attributable to his familiarity with the Matthean phrasing.[29] Another telling error occurs in Tertullian's discussion of the beatitude found in Luke 6:20. Though Tertullian in his first citation correctly writes *dei regnum* (*Marc.* 4.14.1) when he shortly thereafter interpolates Isa 61:1–3 with Luke 6:20–22 he slips into the Matthean *regnum caelorum* (*Marc.* 4.14.13).[30] Second, apart from errors, in multiply-cited passages numerous instances reveal Tertullian's tendency to offer the Matthean passage in references outside of *Adversus Marcionem*. A few examples of this occurrence are found in Luke 6:20 (Matt 5:3), 6:22 (Matt 5:11), and 12:8 (Matt 10:32).

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27 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion*, 286n4 and Lukas, *Rhetorik*, 274n1291.

28 This point was already noted and discussed, though in less detail than here, by Volckmar, *Evangelium Markions*, 30–31. Of course, this is not to say that Tertullian is never influenced by the Lukan version of an account. Examples of this phenomenon can be found in Luke 8:18; 12:24, and 21:25–26. One of Aalders's conclusions in his study on Tertullian's quotations from Luke stated "Ter. often quotes from memory and by doing so mixes up the synoptic gospels" ("Tertullian's Quotations," 282). I would simply add that this "mixing up" often inclines to the Matthean reading, and Aalders himself makes reference to at least eight instances where Tertullian's citations of Luke may have come under Matthean influence (ibid., 260–79).

29 For further comments on this memory slip cf. Roth, "Matthean Texts," 596–97.

30 A similar phenomenon occurs with Luke 11:15, where in *Marc.* 4.26.11 Tertullian cites it in its Lukan form, but when he references the passage again in *Marc.* 4.28.2 he offers it in one of its Matthean forms (Matt 12:24). It is also possible that when Tertullian provides a second reference to Luke 11:52, the use of *nec alios sineret* reveals the influence of Matt 23:13.

The custom of citing from Matthew affects the analysis of Tertullian's testimony to Marcion's text in two ways. First, when Tertullian incontrovertibly attests a Lukan reading, there is a greater likelihood, though far from certainty, that the phrasing is arising from Marcion's text. Conversely, when Tertullian attests a Matthean reading for Marcion's text, though a harmonization to Matthew's Gospel may have been present in Marcion's text, the possibility of the phrasing being due to Tertullian's greater familiarity with Matthew must always be kept in mind.[31]

4.4 Tertullian as a Source: Multiple Citations

The remainder of this chapter begins the analysis of Tertullian's testimony concerning the text of Marcion's Gospel by considering all of the texts with multiple citations in the works of Tertullian. The vast majority of these multiple citations involve the citation of the verse in a work other than *Adversus Marcionem*; however, at times a multiple citation within the latter also provides insight into Tertullian's attestation of Marcion's text and is therefore included here. The analysis of readings is conducted with the reconstructions of Marcion's Gospel by Harnack and Tsutsui consistently in view.[32] At times the works and views of other scholars who have studied Marcion's text will also be referenced.[33] The following multiply-cited passages in Tertullian's corpus formed the basis for establishing the characteristic elements of his citation habits mentioned above, and the insights gained from these passages subsequently undergird the following chapter's analysis of passages that are not multiply cited outside of *Adversus Marcionem* and where multiple references within *Adversus Marcionem* do not provide insight into citation habits.

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31 It is particularly the occurrence of "unconscious influence" errors, as in the second citation of Luke 6:20, that belies Zahn's contention that it is "eine willkürliche Annahme, er [Tertullian] habe in seine Übersetzungen und freie Reproductionen des vor ihm liegenden marcionitischen Textes Erinnerungen an den katholischen Text sei es des Lucas oder des Matthäus einfließen lassen" (*Geschichte*, 2:453).

32 Focusing on these two works is fairly self-evident since the former is the current, standard scholarly text for Marcion and the latter is the most recent attempt to reconstruct the text.

33 The next most frequently invoked work is that of Zahn, who, as noted in chapter 2, provided the most important reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel before Harnack. Earlier works will not be entirely ignored, though the reader interested in details is referred to the respective works, as well as to the helpful overview found in Harnack, *Adolf Harnack: Marcion: die Dorpater Preisschrift (1870)*, 146–53.

4.4.1 *Luke 4:32*

4.7.7[34]—*Stupebant autem omnes ad doctrinam eius. Plane. Quoniam, inquit, in potestate erat sermo eius,* ... | 4.7.8—*Alioquin non stuperent, sed horrerent, nec mirarentur, sed statim aversarentur* [if teaching had been against the law and the prophets] ... | 4.13.1—*Adhuc in vigore obstupescebant in doctrina eius; erat enim docens tamquam virtutem habens.*

Though Luke 4:32 is not multiply cited outside of *Adversus Marcionem*, the citations in two different contexts provide insight into Marcion's Gospel. From Tertullian's quotation in 4.7.7, Harnack reconstructed Marcion's text as ἐξεπλήσσοντο δὲ πάντες ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ἦν ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ.[35] According to IGNTP this verse is quite uniform in the manuscript tradition, though two readings require comment. First, ἐξεπλήσσοντο δέ is elsewhere attested only in ff[2], and even Harnack recognized that δέ instead of καί is "nicht sicher."[36] In addition, πάντες is attested elsewhere only in r[1], sa, and Vaticani Syriaci 268.[37] Since there is no compelling reason in Tertullian's argument for him to have added the term, however, it may have been present in Marcion's text. A confirmation of the overall accuracy of Tertullian's citation here is that in 4.13.1, when Tertullian glosses a quotation of Isa 40:9, his recollection of the content of this passage follows the phrasing of the parallel Matt 7:28–29// Mark 1:22. Therefore, it seems that Tertullian's interaction with Marcion's Gospel in 4.7.7 may well be governed by the reading in Marcion's text.

4.4.2 *Luke 4:34*

4.7.9—*Exclamat ibidem spiritus daemonis: Quid nobis et tibi est Iesu? venisti perdere nos. Scio qui sis, sanctus dei.* | 4.7.10—... *at nunc discepto, quomodo hoc eum vocari cognoverit daemon* ... | 4.7.12—*Nam et praemisit: Quid nobis et tibi?* ... *Nec enim dixit: Quid tibi et nobis? sed: Quid nobis et tibi?* ... *quam iam videns adicit: Venisti perdere nos.* | 5.6.7—... *Iesum autem et secundum nostrum evangelium diabolus quoque in temptatione cognovit, et secundum commune instrumentum spiritus nequam sciebat eum sanctum dei esse et Iesum vocari et*

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34 References without the title of a work are to *Adversus Marcionem*. The divisions and Latin text are those found in the SC volumes referenced in chapter 3, n. 13.

35 Harnack, *Marcion*, 184*.

36 Ibid., 185*. The sigla employed for referencing manuscripts are those found in NA[28], pp. 23*–34* (67*–78*), 792–819. The only additional siglum used is "OL" for the Old Latin version.

37 In the NT πάντες occurs with ἐκπλήσσω only in Luke 9:43.

in perditionem eorum venisse. | *Carn. Chr.* 22.1[38]—*Deleant igitur et testimonia daemonum filium David proclamantium ad Iesum,* … | *Prax.* 26.8—… *hoc* [that he who was born of the virgin is the Son of God] *et satanas eum in temptationibus novit: Si Filius Dei es; hoc et exinde daemonia confitentur: Scimus qui sis, Filius Dei.*[39]

4.7.9 contains a quotation of Luke 4:34, and Tertullian's argument in 4.7.12 reveals that the word order in the question was τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί. Tertullian also attests *est* before *Iesu*, though the opening interjection ἔα and Ναζαρηνέ after Ἰησοῦ are not attested. Harnack believed the interjection to be missing, but apparently did not believe ἐστίν to be present.[40] The interjection is not attested in D or any OL manuscript, and it may have been absent in Marcion's text.[41] It is also possible, however, that Tertullian simply omitted the interjection at the outset of his citation. ἐστίν is attested in c and r[1], and after *nobis* in a. Tertullian does not use *est* in 4.7.12, and it is unlikely that its presence in 4.7.9 is because Tertullian saw it in Marcion's text. Concerning Ναζαρηνέ, Harnack succinctly stated "Ναζαρηνέ tendenziös gestrichen."[42] Even though Harnack could be right, when Tertullian referred to this passage in 5.6.7 he stated that the evil spirit knew that Jesus simply *Iesum vocari.*[43] It is noteworthy that immediately prior to this statement Tertullian refers to the temptation account in Luke 4:1–13 as "according to our Gospel" (*secundum nostrum evangelium*) but references the account of the evil spirit as "according to [our] common document" (*secundum commune instrumentum*). Tertullian is apparently content to name Jesus as "Jesus" and to ascribe this simple designation to both the church's own and Marcion's text. On the other hand, the fact that in 4.8.1–2 (the beginning of the section discussing Luke 4:16–30) Tertullian states that Marcion's Christ ought to have rejected with horror any interaction with Nazareth since it was associated with the Creator's Christ may lead one to expect Tertullian to have made some comment here if Marcion's text had read Ἰησου Ναζαρηνέ.

Tertullian twice (4.7.9, 12) cites the unproblematic ἦλθες ἀπολέσαι ἡμᾶς. For the final element of the verse Harnack reconstructed οἶδα τίς εἶ, ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ

38 References to Tertullian's works other than *Adversus Marcionem* follow the divisions and Latin text found in the CCSL volumes referenced in chapter 3, n. 34.

39 Additional allusions to Luke 4:33–34 occur in 4.7.13–14.

40 Harnack, *Marcion*, 185*.

41 IGNTP indicates that it is also missing in 33, 2766[c], several versions, and a few church fathers. The interjection does not appear in the parallel Mark 1:24.

42 Harnack, *Marcion*, 186*.

43 Tertullian here is in the midst of an argument against Marcion's interpretation of 1 Cor 2:8.

θεοῦ.[44] Tertullian's curious reference in *Prax*. 26.8 to a phrase that does not appear in the Gospels (*Scimus qui sis, Filius Dei*),[45] and his inaccurate reference to the devils crying out *filius David* in *Carn. Chr*. 22.1 lends credence to the view that here the Lukan *scio* and *sanctus dei* accurately reflect Marcion's text.[46] On the other hand, Harnack appealed to the passage in *Adversus Praxean* to support the absence of σε in Marcion's text. Here, however, precisely the opposite conclusion should be reached. Tertullian's citation without the pronoun when he is not following Marcion's text may reveal that Tertullian himself is responsible for its omission.[47]

4.4.3 *Luke 5:11*

4.9.2—*Denique relictis nauclis*[48] *secuti sunt eum, ipsum intellegentes, qui coeperat facere quod edixerat.* | *Bapt*. 12.9—…*patrem* [*et*] *navem et artem qua vitam sustentabat deservit*…

Tertullian argues that Jesus' words in Luke 5:10 were intended to make Peter and the sons of Zebedee realize that he was fulfilling Jer 16:16, to which Tertullian then adds the statement from 4.9.2 cited above. That Luke 5:11b lies behind Tertullian's comment is clear from the plural *nauclis*[49] as opposed to the singular *navem*, which Tertullian uses in *Bapt*. 12.9, rendering πλοῖον in Matt 4:22.[50] Tertullian's focus upon fishermen, and possibly the statement in Matt 4:22, could explain why, in his allusion here, Tertullian stated that they left their boats (mentioned in Luke 5:11a) instead of simply πάντα (as found in

44 Harnack, *Marcion*, 185*.

45 Aalders, "Tertullian's Quotations," 262 refers to *filius dei* as "a licence" of Tertullian's "possibly under the influence of Lk. 4,41."

46 In *Prax*. 26.8 it appears as though Tertullian has conflated elements of Luke 5:34//Mark 1:24 and Matt 8:29, using the plural verb of Mark 1:24 (plural pronouns are used in all three passages) and the address of Jesus from Matt 8:29. In *Carn. Chr*. 22.1 Tertullian has placed the words of the blind men (Matt 9:27; 20:30) into the mouth of the demons (Matt 8:29).

47 One could contend that both Marcion's and Tertullian's texts did not contain the pronoun; however, given the fact that in Luke 4:34 only 1654, r[1], and references by Augustine, Hilary, and Quodvultdeus (according to IGNTP) and in Mark 1:24 no manuscripts (according to Tischendorf and von Soden) attest its absence, this view is less likely.

48 For this reading, following *M* and *F* against *X* and *R* and understood as a doubly apocopated form of *navicula*, cf. Braun's comments in *Contre Marcion IV*, 114n2.

49 τὸ πλοῖον is read in Luke 5:11 in only two minuscules (472, 1009), along with a few Armenian and Georgian manuscripts.

50 The use of *navicula* and *navis* in these allusions to Luke 5:11 and Matt 4:22 are simply variant translations of πλοῖον. *Navis* is significantly more common in Tertullian, as *navicula* is used only here and twice in the singular in *Bapt*. 12.6–7 in reference to the πλοῖον in Matt 8:24.

Luke 5:11b).[51] Harnack offered only ἀφέντες ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ for Marcion's text of Luke 5:11, though πλοῖα should also be considered as attested in 5:11a.[52]

4.4.4 *Luke 5:20–21*

4.10.1—…*qui dicturi erant: Quis dimittet peccata nisi solus deus?* | 4.10.13—*Nam cum Iudaei, solummodo hominem eius intuentes,… merito retractarent non posse hominem delicta dimittere, sed deum solum,…* | 4.10.14—[the Son of Man] *consecutum iudicandi potestatem, ac per eam utique et dimittendi delicta—qui enim iudicat, et absoluit—, ut scandalo isto discusso per scripturae recordationem facilius eum agnoscerent ipsum esse filium hominis ex ipsa peccatorum remissione. Denique nusquam adhuc professus est se filium hominis quam in isto loco primum in quo primum peccata dimisit, id est in quo primum iudicavit, dum absolvit.* | *Bapt.* 10.3—*Sed neque peccata dimittit neque spiritum indulget nisi solus deus.* | *Bapt.* 12.8—…*remittuntur tibi peccata*… | *Pud. 21.2—Quis enim dimittit delicta, ni solus Deus?*

Tertullian's comments in 4.10.13, 14 seem to require Jesus' words in v. 20, though no reading can be reconstructed. The brief reference in *Bapt.* 12.8 that appears to refer to Luke 5:20//Matt 9:2//Mark 2:5 also provides no real point of comparison for Marcion's text. Tertullian's testimony to the final element in Luke 5:21 occurs twice in 4.10. It is worth noting that in the citation in 4.10.1 there is no reference to the ability (δύναται) to forgive sins; however, in 4.10.13 this element is attested.[53] Its absence in the former citation should not be used to posit an omission in Marcion's text as neither the citation of Luke 5:21//Mark 2:7 in *Pud.* 21.2, nor the apparent allusion to this verse in *Bapt.* 10.3 contains a direct reference to the ability or power to forgive sins. In addition, the use of the future *dimittet* in 4.10.1 could be due to Tertullian's citation habit, in spite of his writing *dimittit* in *Pud.* 21.2 and *Bapt.* 10.3. Thus, Harnack is probably generally correct in reconstructing δύναται ἀφεῖναι ἁμαρτίας εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ θεός.[54] It should be noted, though, that the reading ἀφεῖναι ἁμαρτίας is elsewhere unattested. B, D, and Ξ read ἁμαρτίας ἀφεῖναι and all other witnesses read ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας, as in Mark 2:7. Tertullian also varies the word order in his citations, and thus no firm decision can be made on whether Marcion read an aorist or present infinitive or on the order of the elements in his text. In addition, the

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51 Thus, Tsutsui's suggestion that Tertullian is attesting a Marcionite alteration, though perhaps possible, is unnecessary ("Evangelium," 78–79).

52 Harnack, *Marcion*, 188*.

53 It is therefore not quite correct when IGNTP states " 'will forgive' Marcion ap TE."

54 Harnack, *Marcion*, 189*.

omission of the nearly uniformly attested τίς must have been an oversight by Harnack as Tertullian cites it (*quis*).

4.4.5 *Luke 5:31*

4.11.1—*Atquin* [Christ] *probavit potius Iudaeos, dicendo medicum sanis non esse necessarium, sed male habentibus.* | *Pud.* 9.12—*Venerat Dominus utique, ut quod perierat salvum faceret, medicus languentibus magis quam sanis necessarius.* | *Res.* 9.4—… *etsi inbecillam* [the flesh]*, sed Medicum non desiderant nisi male habentes*; …

That Tertullian likely provides an accurate adaptation of Luke 5:31 can be seen in the phrase *male habentibus*, reflecting the Greek οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες. The same adverb plus participle construction is used in *Res.* 9.4 where Tertullian cites Luke 5:31//Matt 9:12//Mark 2:17 in the midst of a series of biblical citations.[55] When Tertullian's argument remains close to the wording of the biblical text he continues to use *male* or *malus*;[56] however, when he is simply referring to the concept of the text he avoids this rendering, and may be "improving" the reading, as seen in *Pud.* 9.12 or in the conclusion to the argument in 4.11.3 (*Hoc similitudo praeiudicat, ab eo magis praestari medicum ad quem pertinent qui languent*).[57]

4.4.6 *Luke 5:36–37*

3.15.5—*Quomodo denique docet novam plagulam non adsui veteri vestimento, nec vinum novum veteribus utribus credi,* … | 4.11.9—*Errasti in illa etiam domini pronuntiatione qua videtur nova et vetera discernere. Inflatus es utribus veteribus et excerebratus es novo vino, atque ita veteri, id est priori evangelio, pannum haereticae novitatis adsuisti.* | 4.11.10—*Nam et vinum novum is non committit in veteres utres qui et veteres utres habuerit, et novum additamentum nemo inicit veteri vestimento nisi cui non defuerit et vetus vestimentum.* | *Or.* 1.1—*Oportebat enim in hac quoque specie novum vinum novis utribus recondi et novam plagulam*

55 In *Res.* 9.4 Tertullian cites from 2 Cor 12:9; Luke 5:31//Matt 9:12//Mark 2:17; 1 Cor 12:13; Luke 19:10; Ezek 18:23; and Deut 32:39. The only difference between Matt 9:12//Mark 2:17 and Luke 5:31 in the phrase under consideration is the use of ἰσχύοντες in the former and ὑγιαίνοντες in the latter.

56 Tertullian uses this adverb/adjective twice as he continues his argument in 4.11.2.

57 Tertullian also uses *langueo* to speak of illness in 1.2.2, 4.14.13; *An.* 24.5; *Cor.* 8.2; and *Res.* 42.14. On *male habere* and *bene habere* being the revival of an old literary form cf. Philip Burton, *The Old Latin Gospels: A Study of their Texts and Language* (OECS; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 132–33.

novo adsui vestimento. | *Res.* 44.3—*Perituris enim peritura creduntur, sicut veteribus utribus novum vinum.*

Harnack recognized that this parable "im Wortlaut genau nicht mehr festzustellen [ist]," an assessment with which Tsutsui agrees.[58] The parable is also attested by Epiphanius, Ephrem, Philastrius, and in the *Adamantius Dialogue*, which means that here, and whenever there are multiple witnesses to Marcion's text, no final conclusion concerning readings in that text can be made without considering the testimony of those witnesses. Concerning Tertullian's testimony, first, in 4.11.9–10, Tertullian twice makes reference to the wine and then to the patch, which is the order found in *Gos. Thom.* 47. This is different from Tertullian's order in 3.15.5, where the reverse order, found in the Synoptic Gospels (Matt 9:16–17//Mark 2:21–22//Luke 5:36–37), is followed. When considering only Tertullian's testimony, some hesitancy about concluding that Tertullian definitively attests the reverse order of the elements for Marcion's Gospel arises as Tertullian himself chose the variant order—wine then patch—in *Or.* 1.1. Second, Tertullian employed a word-play in his accusations leveled against Marcion in 4.11.9 that is suggestive of the underlying reading. The phrase *pannum haereticae novitatis*[59] seems to play on ἐπίβλημα ῥάκους ἀγνάφου (as in Matt 9:16//Mark 2:21) and not on the Lukan ἐπίβλημα ἀπὸ ἱματίου καινοῦ (Luke 5:36).[60]

4.4.7 *Luke 6:5*

4.12.11—*… dominus sabbati dictus …*[61] | 4.16.5—*… dominus et sabbati et legis et omnium paternarum dispositionum Christus …* | *Carn. Chr.* 15.1—*… Dominus est sabbati filius hominis.*

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58 Harnack, *Marcion*, 189* and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 79.

59 There is no real significance in the various renderings of ἐπίβλημα (*plagula, additamentum*, and probably *pannus*) and ἐπιβάλλω (*inicere* and *adsuere*) in Tertullian's allusions as they are indicative of not only his own vocabulary variation, but also the large amount of variation in the OL manuscripts for Matt 9:16–17//Mark 2:21–22//Luke 5:36–37 (cf. Roth, "Did Tertullian Possess?," 447–48).

60 Tsutsui also notes Tertullian's word-play ("Evangelium," 80).

61 Tertullian makes reference to this verse after citing Luke 6:9. Both Harnack, *Marcion*, 190* and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 81 posit that Luke 6:5 came at this point and not after Luke 6:4 in Marcion's text. Given that 6:5 follows 6:10 in D and d, this view is possible. Heinrich Joseph Vogels argued not only that Marcion was responsible for this relocation but also that Marcion is responsible for the saying uniquely attested in Luke 6:4 of D, even if that saying was not present in Tertullian's and Epiphanius's copies of Marcion's Gospel (*Evangelium Palatinum: Studien zur ältesten Geschichte der lateinischen Evangelienübersetzung* [NTA 12.3; Münster: Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1926], 97–98; Hugo Grotius,

This verse is also cited by Epiphanius. Tertullian twice makes a passing allusion to Christ being "Lord of the Sabbath," with the emphasis falling on Christ being the protector of the Sabbath that belonged to him (4.12.11) or on Christ being the interpreter of the Sabbath (4.16.5). In *Carn. Chr*. 15.1, when Tertullian cites the entire statement, Tertullian is responding to Valentinus's docetism as he cites numerous passages where Jesus refers to himself as "man" or "Son of Man." As the shorter and longer citation are easily explainable due to the course of Tertullian's argument, his truncated reference to Luke 6:5 cannot be used to posit an omission in Marcion's text.

Annotationes in libros evangeliorum: cum tribus tractatibus & appendice eo spectantibus [Amsterdam: Ioh. & Cornelium Bleuv, 1641], 674 appears to have been the first to suggest that a Marcionite was responsible for this short pericope. The relevant statement by Grotius can also be found in J. Duncan M. Derrett, "Luke 6:5D Reexamined," *NovT* 37 [1995]: 233n5). Alternatively, Christian-B. Amphoux contended that Marcion evidences a text that is an intermediary between that of D and the rest of the textual tradition, with Marcion having omitted the saying in Luke 6:4 of D ("La révision marcionite du 'Notre Père' de Luc (11, 2–4) et sa place dans l'histoire du texte," in *Recherches sur l'histoire de la Bible latine: Colloque organisé à Louvain-la-Neuve pour la promotion de H.J. Frede au doctorat* honoris causa *en théologie le 18 avril 1986* [ed. R. Gryson and P. Bogaert; CRTL 19; Louvain-la-Neuve: la Faculté de Théologie, 1987], 113–14). Delobel, however, argues that Tertullian's text does not permit any of these conclusions and contends that Tertullian himself is responsible for the delayed allusion to Christ as "Lord of the Sabbath." Delobel notes that Tertullian makes reference to *dominum sabbati* in 4.12.1 and 4.12.11, thus forming an *inclusio* ("Extra-Canonical Sayings," 107–8; cf. idem, "Luke 6, 5 in Codex Bezae: The Man who Worked on Sabbath," in *À cause de l'évangile: Études sur les Synoptiques et les Actes: Offerts au P. Jacques Dupont, O.S.B. à l'occasion de son 70e anniversaire* [LD 123; Paris: Cerf, 1985], 469–70). Yet, Delobel does not mention that editors of *Adversus Marcionem* are not agreed as to whether the reading in 4.12.1 should be *deum sabbati* or *dominum sabbati* (cf. Braun [trans.], *Contre Marcion IV*, 152), though conceptually his argument could be valid on either reading. It is also noteworthy that just before stating that Christ called himself "Lord of the Sabbath" (4.12.11) Tertullian is speaking of divine works done for the soul (drawn from Luke 6:9). In 4.12.14, referring back to Luke 6:1–4, he speaks of Christ performing a work *pro anima* of the disciples in feeding them, revealing that Tertullian has linked the two accounts dealing with the Sabbath and at least raising the possibility that Tertullian withholds the reference to Christ as "Lord of the Sabbath" for the culmination of his argument. Finally, this is not the only instance where Tertullian alters the order in which he discusses verses as part of his argument. Overall, therefore, Tertullian's testimony is too ambiguous for a definitive linking of Marcion's text with the reading of D in these verses.

4.4.8 *Luke 6:20*

4.14.1—*Beati mendici—sic enim exigit interpretatio vocabuli, quod in Graeco est—quoniam illorum est dei regnum.*[62] | 4.14.13—*…beati mendici, quoniam illorum est regnum caelorum;…* | *Fug.* 12.5—*Felices itaque pauperes, quia illorum, inquit, est regnum caelorum, qui animam solam in confiscato habent.* | *Idol.* 12.2—*Egebo. Sed felices egenos dominus appellat.* | *Pat.* 11.6—*…Beati pauperes spiritu, illorum est enim regnum caelorum.* | *Ux.* 2.8.5—*Nam si pauperum sunt regna caelorum, divitum non sunt,…*[63]

Luke 6:20 is also attested by Epiphanius and Eznik. Several arguments point to Tertullian providing an accurate quotation of Marcion's text of Luke 6:20b in 4.14.1. First, *beati mendici* supports the view that Marcion's text read μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοί, because even though Tertullian often simply makes reference to "the poor," when he clearly cites the Matthean text in *Pat.* 11.6 he writes *beatis pauperes spiritu.*[64] Second, that Marcion also read ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ is confirmed through the recognition that the Matthean reading (Matt 5:3) is the one toward which Tertullian naturally, and probably unconsciously, inclines. In fact, when Tertullian interpolates Isa 61:1–3 with Luke 6:20–22 in 4.14.13, he slips back into his regular pattern and writes *beati mendici, quoniam illorum est regnum caelorum*. Finally, the accuracy in these two points would tend to indicate that

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62 Moreschini follows the reading of *M* and Kroymann. β and the other editors, except Pamelius and Rigaltus (who read *regnum coelorum*), read *regnum dei*.

63 Additional allusions to Luke 6:20 occur in 4.14.9 and 4.15.7. Elements of the discussion of this verse appeared in summary form in Roth, "Marcion's Gospel: Relevance, Contested Issues, and Reconstruction," 293.

64 Tertullian's gloss—*sic enim exigit interpretatio vocabuli, quod in Graeco est*—in 4.14.1 on the word *mendici* led Harnack to contend "Hieraus folgt, daß Tert. einen Bibeltext, der '*mendici*' bot, nicht kannte ('*pauperes*' hieß es allgemein), daß er aber (s. seine Ausführung im folgenden) auf das präzise '*mendici*' Gewicht legte (um der Weissagung willen) und es daher hier einführte" (*Marcion*, 191*). The second half of Harnack's statement is undoubtedly true; yet, Harnack's belief that Tertullian's gloss is due to his knowledge, or lack thereof, of readings in Latin texts is suspect. The gloss is not a justification for one Latin term as opposed to another, but is used to argue that the Greek requires a term that links the words of Christ to a litany of Psalms cited in 4.14.3–5. Variation of vocabulary in different contexts is commonplace in Tertullian. In fact, in addition to the lemma *mendicus* offered in *Adversus Marcionem*, Tertullian uses *pauper* (*Fug.* 12.8; *Pat.* 11.6; *Ux.* 2.8.5) and *egenus* (*Idol.* 12.2) to render the Greek πτωχός. Additionally, Harnack's attempt to assign *beati* to a Latin text of Marcion, a term with which Tertullian is supposedly uncomfortable and which he replaces with *felices* in his own comments, founders on Tertullian's own variation between *felix* (*Fug.* 12.8; *Idol.* 12.2) and *beatus* (*Pat.* 11.6) in citations of this verse. This same variation in Tertullian's works is found for several other beatitudes as well (cf. Roth, "Did Tertullian Possess?," 448, 450).

illorum reveals the presence of the Matthean αὐτῶν and not the Lukan ὑμετέρα in Marcion's text.[65] Nevertheless, Tertullian's citations always offering *illorum* means that an unconscious Matthean influence cannot be ruled out entirely.

4.4.9 *Luke 6:21*

4.14.9—*Beati esurientes, quoniam saturabuntur.*[66] | 4.14.11—*Beati plorantes, quia ridebunt.* | 4.14.13—…*beati qui esuriunt, quoniam saturabuntur;*…*beati qui plorant, quoniam ridebunt*;…| *Jejun.* 15.6—…*qui beatos non saturatos, sed esurientes et sitientes pronuntiarit*,…| *Pat.* 11.7—*Beati, inquit, flentes atque lugentes.*…*Itaque talibus et advocatio et risus promittitur*.[67]

In *Marc* 4.14.9, 11 Tertullian cites the two sayings of Luke 6:21. As was the case in Luke 6:20, the sayings are not in the Lukan second person, but rather in third person address (*saturabuntur, ridebunt*). These third person readings are also attested in numerous manuscripts, and it is possible that Marcion's text contained this textual variant. Once again, however, Matthean influence on Tertullian cannot be completely excluded from consideration. Secondly, the νῦν in both sayings of the verse in the Greek text is unattested. It may be that Tertullian has simply omitted this adverb as his argument focuses on the presence of these promises *before* the coming of Christ.[68] In the reference to Luke 6:25, however, where Tertullian is equally concerned with the teaching of the Creator before the coming of Christ, Tertullian does include *nunc*. It is possible, therefore, that νῦν was missing in both sayings in Marcion's text of Luke 6:21, but once again the evidence is not conclusive and Harnack's "auch hier fehlt νῦν" is overstated.[69] At the same time, the overall accuracy of the citation is confirmed by the absence of elements from Matthean beatitudes as the allusion in *Jejun.* 15.6 appears to also have Matt 5:6 in the background, and the allusion in *Pat.* 11.7 conflates elements of Luke 6:21 and Matt 5:4. Finally, the participial forms *esurientes* and *plorantes* reflect the Greek participles since when Isa 61:1–3 is interpolated with Luke 6:21 (4.14.13) Tertullian appears to

65 Harnack, *Marcion*, 191* and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 82 both believe that the Matthean reading was present in Marcion's text.

66 Moreschini's text reads *quoniam*, rejecting the readings *qui* in *F* and *quia* in *X*. Pamelius, Rigalti, Oehler, and Evans read *ipse saturabuntur*.

67 An additional allusion to Luke 6:21 occurs in 4.14.10, and an additional allusion to Matt 5:4 occurs in *Cor*. 13.4.

68 According to IGNTP no other witnesses attest the omission of the first νῦν and very few attest the omission of the second.

69 Harnack, *Marcion*, 191*.

be citing from memory and renders the meaning of the participles with *qui esuriunt* and *qui plorant*.

4.4.10 *Luke 6:22*

4.14.14—*Beati eritis, cum vos odio habebunt homines et exprobrabunt, et eicient nomen vestrum velut nequam*[70] *propter filium hominis.* | *Fug.* 7.1—*Felices qui persecutionem passi fuerint causa nominis mei.* | *Pat.* 8.3—*Si linguae amaritudo maledicto sive convicio eruperit, respice dictum: Cum vos maledixerint gaudete.* | *Pat.* 11.9—*Cum vero: Gaudete et exultate dicit quotiens vos maledicent et persequentur: merces enim vestra plurima in caelo, ...* | *Scorp.* 9.2—*... beati eritis, cum vos dedecoraverint et persecuti fuerint et dixerint adversus vos omnia mala propter me ...*

Apart from the reference in *Adversus Marcionem*, Tertullian always refers to this saying in its Matthean form. Given the absence of the Matthean elements in the citation of Luke 6:22 here, it is likely that Tertullian reflects the wording of Marcion's text. Nevertheless, the quotation in 4.14.14 contains several notable elements. First, Tertullian begins the citation with *beati eritis*. Harnack therefore reconstructed Marcion's text as reading ἔσεσθε instead of ἔστε, and noted that the future form is "sonst unbezeugt."[71] This claim, however, is erroneous.[72] According to IGNTP, the future appears in θ, most OL manuscripts, the Vulgate, Ambrose, and Cyprian. At the same time it is notable that in Tertullian's citation of Matt 5:11 in *Scorp.* 9.2, he also writes *beati eritis*, which, once again, is attested by a handful of OL manuscripts.[73] It is possible that both Marcion's Gospel and Tertullian's copy of Matthew contained ἔσεσθε, but it may also be that Tertullian simply chose to translate ἔστε with a Latin future as he interpreted the meaning of the verb "to be" in the only beatitude that has a verb after μακάριοι. Given that Tertullian elsewhere reveals a propensity to use the future tense, ἔσεσθε may not be the reading of Marcion's text. In addition, the fact that Tertullian continues with simple futures in 4.14.14 does not necessarily mean that Marcion's text read futures in Greek, even if there is some manuscript evidence for this reading. Though the future perfect often renders

70 Moreschini's text reads *nequam* with *M*, Rigalti, and Kroymann, rejecting *malum* in β and the other editors.

71 Harnack, *Marcion*, 192*.

72 D. Plooij also noted the error (*A Further Study of the Liège Diatessaron* [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1925], 78n1).

73 b, f, q, and k, according to *Itala*.

aorist subjunctives (as in *Scorp*. 9.2, *Pat*. 8.3, and *Fug*. 7.1), a simple future can be used, and in any case Tertullian does use simple futures in *Pat*. 11.9.[74]

Second, Harnack also believed that Marcion's text read ὑμᾶς before the verb μισέω because of the placement of *vos* in Tertullian's citation, again wrongly stating the reading to be unattested elsewhere.[75] It is true that Tertullian follows the Greek word order very closely for the remainder of the citation;[76] however, Tertullian often alters the position of pronouns. It is telling in this case that Tertullian also places *vos* before the verb in *Pat*. 8.3, 11.9 and *Scorp*. 9.2.[77] Thus, Tertullian's own tendency may be at work, which would preclude confidently moving ὑμᾶς forward in Marcion's text.

Finally, Tertullian's quotation does not attest the second of the four phrases in Luke 6:22, namely καὶ ὅταν ἀφορίσωσιν ὑμᾶς. It is possible that the phrase was missing in Marcion's text; yet, given that Tertullian could have simply omitted the phrase or the omission could have come about through parablepsis as a scribe (or Tertullian) skipped from one καί to the next καί, it should be considered "unattested" and not "missing," as is assumed by Harnack.[78]

4.4.11 *Luke 6:23*

4.15.1—*Secundum haec, inquit, faciebant prophetis patres eorum*. | *Scorp*. 9.2—…*gaudete et exultate, quoniam merces vestra plurima in caelo: sic enim faciebant et prophetis patres illorum*:…

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74 John Thorley, in a comment on the difference between the aorist and present subjunctive in Greek, notes "The distinction is well drawn out by the Vulgate translation, which in most instances translates aorist subjunctives in clauses with ἄν, ἐαν, and ὅταν by a future perfect and present subjunctives by a present or a simple future. (Latin future perfect usage was itself not entirely consistent, in that a simple future was often regarded as sufficient, and this doubtless explains the few cases where a simple future is used for the aorist subjunctive)" ("Subjunctive Aktionsart in New Testament Greek: A Reassessment," *NovT* 30 [1988]: 201).

75 Harnack, *Marcion*, 192*. Again the error was noted by Plooij, *Further Study*, 78n1 who pointed out that it is the reading found in the Vulgate. It is also found in numerous OL manuscripts, Ambrose, and Cyprian.

76 Note the order of the verbs, ὀνειδίζω and then ἐκβάλλω, against the reverse order in D, many OL manuscripts, and Cyprian.

77 In Matt 5:11 *vos* precedes different verbs in a b c (*maledicere*), g^1 (*odio habere*), and h (*persequor*). Tertullian's *dedecorare* in *Scorp*. 9.2 is unattested in the OL manuscripts.

78 Harnack, *Marcion*, 192*. As noted by Schmid (cf. n. 22 above), it is not at all uncommon for Tertullian to omit individual elements in multi-element lists. It is interesting that the related Matthean form contains only three phrases, as opposed to Luke's four, which could also have influenced Tertullian's citation of Luke 6:22.

Luke 6:23b is also attested by Epiphanius. Both Harnack and Tsutsui posited the omission of Luke 6:23a by Marcion, but again Tertullian's silence simply means that half of the verse is unattested.[79] The second half of the verse is multiply cited, though in *Scorp*. 9.2 the citation is a conflation of Matt 5:12 and Luke 6:23.[80] There, *sic enim* appears to attest the influence of Matt 5:12b (οὕτως γάρ), which would increase the likelihood that *secundum haec* in 4.15.1 reveals the presence of the Lukan reading of numerous manuscripts, κατὰ ταῦτα, in Marcion's text. In addition, Tertullian including *enim* in *Scorp*. 9.2 may indicate that Harnack's question "Ob γάρ mit D a ff^2 l Ambros. gefehlt hat?" could be answered in the affirmative.[81] On the other hand, a simple omission by Tertullian cannot be ruled out. The inclusion of *et* in *Scorp*. 9.2,[82] but not in the citation of Marcion's text, may reinforce that the remainder of the verse in Marcion's text read as Harnack reconstructed: ἐποίουν τοῖς προφήταις οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν.[83]

4.4.12 *Luke 6:25*

4.15.13—*Ingerit vae etiam saturatis, quia esurient, etiam ridentibus nunc, quia lugebunt.... utique quia saturati estis,... utique ploraturi, qui nunc ridetis. Sicut enim in psalmo: Qui seminant in lacrimis, in laetitia metent, ita in evangelio: Qui in risu seminant, scilicet ex laetitia, in lacrimis metent.* | *Jejun*. 15.6—*... qui beatos non saturatos, sed esurientes et sitientes pronuntiarit,...*

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79 Harnack stated "Da Tert. hier genau dem Texte folgt, aber 23a ausläßt, fehlte es, und das folgt auch aus der Tendenz Marcions" (*Marcion*, 192*). However, Harnack did not explain how he determined Tertullian's accuracy, why such accuracy means Tertullian cannot skip over elements in Marcion's text, or what supposed Marcionite tendency is at work in the omission. Equally unpersuasive is Tsutsui's impression "Das Fehlen des Satzes scheint mir an sich wahrscheinlich, und dafür spricht auch der Parallelismus zwischen VV.22f. und V.26, der sich durch die Auslassung von V.23a noch deutlicher hervorheben läßt" ("Evangelium," 82–83).

80 It is possible that this conflation was present in Tertullian's text of Matthew. However, though U, b, and c add οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν at the end of the verse (cf. NA^{28}), k adds *fratres eorum*, and sy^s replaces τοὺς πρὸ ὑμῶν with οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν (cf. von Soden), none of these witnesses reads the Lukan verb ποιέω instead of the Matthean διώκω. For this reason it seems more likely that the conflation is due to Tertullian himself.

81 Harnack, *Marcion*, 192*. A few additional witnesses to the omission are provided in IGNTP. Tsutsui agrees that the conjunction was absent in Marcion's text, but also notes that its omission was not due to Marcion ("Evangelium," 83).

82 Attested elsewhere for Luke 6:23 only in the OL manuscripts b, f, and q.

83 Harnack, *Marcion*^{1}, 173*. In the second edition Harnack placed ὑμῶν in parentheses after αὐτῶν because of the testimony of Epiphanius (*Marcion*, 192*).

Harnack reconstructed this verse οὐαὶ οἱ ἐμπεπλησμένοι, ὅτι πεινάσετε, οὐαὶ οἱ γελῶντες νῦν, ὅτι πενθήσετε.[84] Three issues need to be discussed. First, Harnack did not comment on the absence of ὑμῖν after both occurrences of οὐαί, but it is tenuous to assert its absence in Marcion's text.[85] Second, the absence of the first νῦν is likely since it is omitted in numerous manuscripts, including A, D, and all OL manuscripts, and the second νῦν is included. Finally, both Harnack and Tsutsui noted the omission of καὶ κλαύσετε at the end of Tertullian's adaptation.[86] Neither of them noticed, however, that as Tertullian continues his argument he connects the Gospel text to two OT citations (Is 65:13 and LXX Ps 125:5), the second of which clearly includes a reference to this final element.[87] Thus, whether intentionally or unintentionally, it appears as though Tertullian withheld reference to weeping/tears in the first instance, but then drew an explicit parallel involving tears between LXX Ps 125:5 and the Gospel (4.15.13). Unfortunately, since Tertullian's allusion in *Jejun*. 15.6 seems to have harmonized elements of Luke 6:25 with Matt 5:6 and possibly Luke 6:21, no further insight into Marcion's text can be gained on any of these points.

4.4.13 *Luke 6:27–28*

4.16.1—*Sed vobis dico, inquit, qui auditis . . . Diligite inimicos vestros, et benedicite eos qui vos oderunt, et orate pro eis qui vos calumniantur. . . . Si enim qui inimici sunt et oderunt et maledicunt et calumniantur fratres appellandi sunt,*[88] *utique et benedici odientes et orari pro calumniatoribus iussit qui eos fratres deputari praecepit.* | 4.16.6—. . . *et non modo non remaledicendi sed etiam benedicendi, . . .* | 4.27.1 . . . *vetat remaledicere, multo magis utique maledicere, . . .* | *An*. 35.2—. . . *diligite enim inimicos vestros, inquit, et orate pro maledicentibus vos . . .* | *Pat*. 6.5 [*sic*, 6.6]—. . . *Diligite inimicos vestros et maledicentibus benedicite et orate pro persecutoribus vestris ut filii sitis patris vestri caelestis*.[89]

Luke 6:27–28 is also attested in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. The reading of these verses in Tertullian's citation in 4.16.1 is unattested in the extant evidence

84 Harnack, *Marcion*, 192*.

85 Though there is some manuscript evidence for the omission, as will be seen in the next chapter, Tertullian also does not include ὑμῖν in his citation of Luke 6:24. The manuscript evidence is much stronger for the omission of the second ὑμῖν in Luke 6:25.

86 Harnack, *Marcion*, 192* and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 83. According to IGNTP the phrase is missing in X, 158, 179, 213, and *l*299.

87 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 199 rightly notes the reference.

88 The reference to calling our enemies brothers is from Tertullian's citation of Isa 66:5 immediately prior to this sentence.

89 Additional allusions to Luke 6:27–28//Matt 5:44–45 occur in 1.23.3; *Apol*. 31.2; *Or*. 3.4, 29.2; *Scap*. 1.3; *Spect*. 16.6; and probably *Apol*. 37.1 and *Idol*. 21.5.

for the NT text. The opening of the verse and the first and last commands are relatively unproblematic as Harnack reconstructed Ἀλλὰ ὑμῖν λέγω, τοῖς ἀκούουσιν· ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν (v. 27) and καὶ προσεύχεσθε περὶ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς (v. 28).[90] NA[28] and the Textus Receptus (TR) read identically here apart from the absence of καί before προσεύχεσθε.[91] Tertullian's lack of consistency regarding conjunctions means that it ultimately cannot be determined whether he saw it in Marcion's text or not.

The second command, as attested by Tertullian in 4.16.1, however, creates difficulties in that it is a conflated form of the second and third element in Luke 6:27–28. Since both the initial citation and a second reference attest the conflation, Harnack stated "also war wirklich Glied zwei und drei (so Lukas) in eines zusammengezogen;"[92] yet, there are several problems with this view. First, in between these two attestations to a shortened form, Tertullian makes reference to those who curse, which is an element omitted in the references immediately preceding and following this comment. Harnack argued that Tertullian inserted *maledicunt* here due to his remembering the Catholic text, though this would require Tertullian, in the space of a few short lines, to have alternated between Marcion's text, the Catholic text, and then back to Marcion's text. Though not impossible, such rapid alteration should at least raise the question of probability, particularly when attention is given to the next points.

Though Harnack mentioned the reference to cursing in 4.27.1, where Tertullian explicitly says that Christ forbade "cursing in reply," as further evidence of the influence of the Catholic text, Harnack did not mention the much closer occurrence in 4.16.6, where the same point is made. In addition, and perhaps most significantly, two other references to Luke 6:27–28 or its parallel in Matt 5:44 reveal how "imprecise" Tertullian is in his references to this passage. In *An.* 35.2 Tertullian reproduces the Matthean text, though instead of praying for those who persecute you, he has praying for those who curse you, a reading otherwise unattested.[93] It is the citation in *Pat.* 6.6, however, that is most telling. Here Tertullian has either conflated Luke 6:27–28 and Matt 5:44–45 or is following the "Western" text of Matt 5:44–45. In either scenario, Tertullian has omitted an element in the list: the command to do good to those who hate you. Of course, it could be argued that simply omitting an item is different from

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90 Harnack, *Marcion*, 192*–93*.

91 The readings of the TR are taken from IGNTP. For an explanation of that text cf. the introduction to vol. 1 of IGNTP, vi–vii.

92 Harnack, *Marcion*, 193*.

93 There are also various forms in Tertullian's allusions to this text listed in n. 89.

conflating the two items, which is what has occurred in 4.16.1. Nevertheless, Tertullian's habit of generally citing these verses rather freely lends credence to the view already expressed by Pamelius in his 1583–1584 edition of Tertullian's works that the form of the text in *Adversus Marcionem* is due to Tertullian himself.[94] At the very least, the confidence with which Harnack offered the reading εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς for the Marcionite text must be questioned. One final observation is that Tsutsui's inclusion of *oculum pro oculo et dentem pro dente* from Matt 5:38 at this point in Marcion's text must be rejected as it is based on a misunderstanding of both Tertullian and Harnack.[95]

4.4.14 *Luke 6:29*

4.16.2—... *alteram amplius maxillam offerri iubens, et super tunicam pallio quoque cedi.* | 4.16.6—*Alioquin si tantum patientiae pondus non modo non repercutiendi sed et aliam maxillam praebendi, ... et non modo non retinendi tunicam, sed et amplius et pallium concedendi, ...* | *Fug.* 13.1—*Proinde inquit: qui tibi tunicam sustulerit, vel etiam pallium concede.* | *Pat.* 7.10—... *nisi idem sit qui auferenti tunicam etiam pallium offerre possit?* | *Pat.* 8.2—... *Verberanti te, inquit, in faciem etiam alteram genam obverte.*[96]

This verse is also attested in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Tertullian's testimony to the second half of Luke 6:29a in 4.16.2 could be rendering the Lukan πάρεχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην. That the Matthean στρέψον, found in several minuscules, is not in the Marcionite text is confirmed by Tertullian's use of *obvertere* in the citation of Matt 5:39 in *Pat.* 8.2, as opposed to *offerre*/*praebere* in 4.16.2, 6.[97]

94 Cf. Braun's note in *Contre Marcion IV*, 201n2.

95 In Matt 5:38–39 a reference to the *lex talionis* precedes the teaching on "turning the other cheek." In 4.16.1, however, Tertullian gives no indication that an element from Matt 5:38 was in Marcion's Gospel text. Rather, he appears to be referring back to one of Marcion's antitheses in which the *lex talionis* was discussed (cf. 2.28.1–2; cf. 2.18.1), an antithesis which Harnack (*Marcion*, 193*) and Braun (*Contre Marcion II*, 220) think may be cited here. In addition, when Tsutsui at this point in Luke 6:28 quotes Harnack's comment "Dann aber ist die Annahme unvermeidlich, daß M. einen aus Luk. und Matth. gemischten Text befolgt hat," Tsutsui erroneously thinks that Harnack was referring to the presence of Matt 5:38 in Luke 6:28. In reality, Harnack was speaking of the conflation of Luke 6:29 with Matt 5:39 as found in the Greek text of *Adam.* 32,5–6 (1.15).

96 Additional allusions to Luke 6:29a//Matt 5:39 occur in 4.16.5 and *Spect.* 23.3.

97 Though *obverte* is not found in the OL manuscripts, the reading of d and k in Matt 5:39 is *converte*. In addition, it must be admitted that the citation here is not precise as there is a general reference to striking *faciem*. Harnack's positing πρόσθες from the attestation of 6:29b in the *Adamantius Dialogue* with the comment "denn Tert. schreibt: '*amplius offeri*

Luke 6:29b is much more difficult to decipher. The main question concerns the order of the elements of clothing in the Marcionite text. Luke has the order ἱματίον then χιτών, whereas Tertullian appears to attest the Matthean order χιτών then ἱματίον.[98] According to IGNTP, in the manuscript tradition of Luke this reversed order is attested in 1542*, b, ff², g¹, l, r¹, and Irenaeus. At the same time, since Tertullian always offers the items in this order one cannot rule out the influence of the Matthean text on Tertullian's rendering. In addition, it would appear that Tertullian's use of the verbs *cedere/concedere* are closer to the sense of the Matthean reading than to the Lukan reading where the text states τὸν χιτῶνα μὴ κωλύσῃς.[99] In general, Tertullian's testimony does not allow for any definitive conclusions.

4.4.15 *Luke 6:30*

4.16.8—*Omni petenti te dato, ...* | 4.27.1—*... iubet omni petenti dare ...* | *Bapt.* 18.1—*... Omni petenti te dato ...* | *Fug.* 13.1, 2—*Sed et omni petenti me dabo in causa elemosinae, non in concussurae. Petenti, inquit.... Atque adeo omni petenti dari iubet, ipse signum petentibus non dat.* | *Mon.* 11.2—*... Omni petenti te dabis ...*[100]

Tertullian appears to attest Luke 6:30a in its Lukan form (παντὶ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου), though the Latin is unable to indicate whether the definite article, attested in numerous Greek manuscripts before αἰτοῦντι, was present in Marcion's text.[101] In addition, the Majority Text,[102] along with several other manuscripts including A, D, and several OL manuscripts, reads δὲ τῷ after παντί. Again, the Latin cannot indicate the presence or absence of the article, but the absence of the conjunction in Tertullian's testimony could be due to a simple omission and cannot definitively be attributed to the reading in Marcion's text. Finally, only manuscript 33 attests the Matthean δός here, and there is no good reason to

[*sic*]' " (*Marcion*, 193*) places too much weight on the (otherwise unattested) verb in the *Adamantius Dialogue* for understanding the Greek behind Tertullian's term.

98 For comments on the grammatical construction in 4.16.2 cf. Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 202n2.

99 Cf. also the comments of Braun, ibid.

100 An additional allusion to Luke 6:30a occurs in 4.16.10.

101 In his reconstructed text Harnack wrote (τῷ?) (*Marcion*, 193*). It is not always clear what Harnack intended to communicate through the use of parentheses (with or without a question mark).

102 The term "Majority Text" is here used in the sense employed by NA²⁸ in its explanation of the Gothic "M" as a siglum in the apparatus (cf. the introduction to NA²⁸, 15*–16*, 59*–60*).

doubt that Tertullian's future imperative is rendering δίδου.[103] It is interesting to note that though Tertullian quotes 6:30a several times, 6:30b is never included in those citations. Thus, it is here particularly evident how precarious it is to posit omissions in Marcion's text based solely on Tertullian's silence.

4.4.16 *Luke 6:31*

4.16.13—*Et sicut vobis fieri vultis ab hominibus, ita et vos facite illis.* | 4.16.16—*Satis ergo iam tunc me docuit ea* [the Creator] *facere aliis quae mihi velim fieri.* | *Scorp.* 10.3—. . . *Quomodo vultis ut faciant vobis homines, ita et vos facite illis.*

Harnack reconstructed Luke 6:31 καὶ καθὼς ὑμῖν γίνεσθαι θέλετε παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς.[104] Tertullian's attestation of the Lukan opening to the verse is unproblematic, and it is interesting that *quomodo* in the citation of Matt 7:12 in *Scorp.* 10.3 may have arisen out of the Lukan phrasing.[105] It is also possible that ὑμῖν followed next in the text, though as already noted, Tertullian often alters the position of pronouns in verses that he cites. Overall, however, both Harnack and Tsutsui rightly commented on the singular nature of the reading attested in 4.16.13.[106] But, neither of them commented on the interesting points of contact with the readings of Matt 7:12 in k and h, where k reads *volueritis ut fiant vobis homines bona ita et vos facite illis* and h reads *volueritis bona vobis fieri ab hominibus similiter et vos illis facite*. Though, according to the apparatus of Tischendorf and von Soden, γίνομαι instead of ποιέω is unattested in the Greek manuscript tradition of Matthew, that the former underlies *fiant*/*fieri* in k and h is almost certain.[107] That Marcion's text read γίνεσθαι is likely, not only because of the double attestation of *fieri* (4.16.13, 16), but also because in *Scorp.* 10.3 Tertullian writes *faciant*. It is also probable that

103 Note also the use of the future imperative in *Bapt.* 18.1 and a future indicative in *Mon.* 11.2, where Aalders referred to *dabis* as "a licence taken by Tert." ("Tertullian's Quotations," 262). *dato* is not used in the OL manuscripts in either Luke 6:30 or Matt 5:42. Also worth noting is that Tertullian always includes the Lukan *omni* in his citations, though several OL manuscripts include it in Matt 5:42.

104 Harnack, *Marcion*, 193*–94*.

105 The apparatus of Tischendorf and von Soden list no attestation for καθώς appearing in the Matthean text.

106 Harnack, *Marcion*, 193* and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 84.

107 Of the other 85 occurrences of ποιέω in Matthew, no OL manuscript ever renders it with *feri*. In addition, the vast majority of the 75 occurrences of γίνομαι in Matthew are rendered by *feri* in the OL, even if, unsurprisingly, on occasion verbs like *esse, efficere*, or *contingere* are employed.

Marcion's text read the indicative θέλετε and that the use of the subjunctive *velim* in 4.16.16 is due to Tertullian's argument.[108]

If the reading with a deponent infinitive is correct, regardless of the mood of θέλω, then Harnack is also likely correct in rendering *ab* with παρά, though ἀνθρώπων could have appeared with or without the article in Marcion's text. Once again, that Tertullian attests the expected *homines* in *Scorp.* 10.3 would tend to confirm Tertullian's attesting a different Greek text for Marcion than that of Luke.[109]

Tertullian's witness to the second half of the verse corresponds to the Matthean word order verbatim. Since Tertullian is actually citing from Matthew in *Scorp.* 10.3 the comparison does not help at this point, though it reveals the possibility that Tertullian slipped into the Matthean version of the saying as he finished the verse. It cannot be ruled out, however, that Marcion's text read the Matthean οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς.

4.4.17 *Luke 6:37*

4.17.9—*Nolite iudicare, ne iudicemini; nolite condemnare, ne condemnemini; dimittite et dimittemini;…* | *Or.* 7.3—*Iam et alibi ex hac specie orationis: Remittite, inquit, et remittetur vobis.* | *Pat.* 10.7—*Cum enim dicit: Nolite iudicare ne iudicemini, nonne patientiam flagitat?* | *Pat.* 12.3—*Quomodo remittes et remittetur tibi si tenax iniuriae per absentiam patientiae fueris?* | *Pud.* 2.2—*… non iudicantes, ne iudicemur.… Dimitte, et dimittetur tibi.*

Harnack reconstructed this verse μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε· μὴ καταδικάζετε, ἵνα μὴ καταδικασθῆτε· ἀπολύετε καὶ ἀπολυθ σεσθε [*sic*].[110] The first element is also referenced in *Pat.* 10.7 and *Pud.* 2.2, though apparently influenced by the parallel in Matt 7:1 (μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε). Given that numerous witnesses, including D, attest the Matthean reading in Luke 6:37, Tertullian's rendering in 4.17.9 may be reflecting a harmonization already in Marcion's text and not Tertullian's tendency to offer the Matthean form of a saying.[111] Since Tertullian also offers the second non-Matthean element with the same construction, a reading that is also attested in the manuscript tradition, it becomes more

108 Note also that Tertullian uses an indicative instead of the Matthean subjunctive in *Scorp.* 10.3.

109 Matthew and Luke are verbatim in ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι. Interestingly, at this point the Latin of Tertullian's attestation of Marcion's Luke 6:31 and the reading in h at Matt 7:12 both have *vobis fieri ab hominibus*.

110 Harnack, *Marcion*, 194*.

111 Tertullian's own text of Luke could also have contained the Matthean reading. The clause initial καί and the καί before μὴ καταδικάζετε are also omitted in numerous witnesses.

probable that Harnack's reconstruction is basically correct.[112] The third element concerning forgiveness is elsewhere always offered with a third person verb and pronoun (either *vobis* or *tibi*) by Tertullian, which increases the likelihood that the wording in 4.17.9 is being governed by the reading in Marcion's text: ἀπολύετε καὶ ἀπολυθήσεσθε.

4.4.18 *Luke 6:39*

3.7.1—…*caecus a caeco in eandem decidit foveam.* | 4.17.12—*Sed caecus caecum ducit in foveam.* | 4.36.12—*Sic enim caecus caecum deducere solet.* | *Praescr.* 14.8—…*caecus a caecis in foveam deducaris necesse est.*

In 4.17.12, Tertullian abruptly launches into the series of parables in Luke 6:39–45. Though there are several allusions to Luke 6:39//Matt 15:14 in Tertullian, and it is clear that the text was present in Marcion's text, no definite insight into the wording of that text can be gained.[113] Braun contends that in Tertullian's concluding comment in 4.17.12 (*Multo enim haec congruentius in ipsos interpretabimur quae Christus in homines allegorizavit, non in duos deos secundum scandalum Marcionis*) there is "without a doubt" an allusion to Luke 6:39a (εἶπεν δὲ καὶ παραβολὴν αὐτοῖς).[114] Even if Braun is correct, once again the allusion does not provide any grounds for positing the precise wording of Marcion's text.

4.4.19 *Luke 6:40*

1.14.4—*At tu si super magistrum discipulus et servus super dominum,…* | 4.4.5—…*cum et si discipulus Marcion, non tamen super magistrum*… | 4.17.12—*Sed non est discipulus super magistrum.* | *An.* 55.2—…*servi super dominum et discipuli super magistrum,…* | *Praescr.* 34.5—…*ipse* [Valentinus] *faceret discipulos super magistrum.* | *Scorp.* 9.6—…*non est discipulus super magistrum… nec servus super dominum suum,…* | *Val.* 33.1—*Extiterunt enim de schola ipsius* [Valentinus] *discipuli super magistrum,…*[115]

The citation of Luke 6:40a is fairly straightforward: οὐκ ἔστιν μαθητὴς ὑπὲρ τὸν διδάσκαλον.[116] Reinforcing its origin in the Lukan text is the absence of the

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112 In addition to several church fathers and numerous versions, D and the OL manuscripts e, a, c, d attest the same text Tertullian offers for Marcion's Gospel.

113 Both Harnack, *Marcion*, 194* and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 85 indicate that there is only an allusion to the text.

114 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 222n5.

115 An additional allusion to this theme as it relates to Marcion and his followers occurs in *Carn. Chr.* 6.1.

116 The absence of αὐτοῦ at the end of the phrase, with P^{75}, ℵ, B, D, and many other manuscripts is likely. Some manuscripts include αὐτοῦ after the first element, and in Matt 10:24 it is nearly uniformly present after the second (cf. *Scorp.* 9.6).

mention of the servant and the master found in the Matthean text (cf. 1.14.4, *An*. 55.2, and *Scorp*. 9.6), even though it should be noted that Tertullian omits reference to the servant/master pairing at other points as well. Tsutsui rightly questions Harnack's rendering ὑπὲρ τοῦ διδασκάλου (with the genitive instead of the accusative), as it is incorrect.[117] It is interesting that Tertullian never shows any interest in Luke 6:40b in conjunction with this saying, which reveals that he may be more familiar with the saying in its Matthean context or that it does not lend itself to Tertullian's preferred use of the passage in reference to "heretics."[118] Harnack's following Luke 6:40a with "(sonst nichts)" probably meant that Harnack viewed the remainder of the verse as missing in Marcion's text;[119] yet, this conclusion is unwarranted as Luke 6:40b is simply unattested.

4.4.20 *Luke 6:43*

1.2.1—... *in homines non in deos disponentis exempla illa bonae et malae arboris, quod neque bona malos neque mala bonos proferat fructus*, ... | 2.4.2—*Agnoscat hinc primum fructum optimum, utique optimae arboris, Marcion*. | 2.24.3[120]—... *et quia et Marcion defendit arborem bonam malos quoque fructus non licere producere*. | 4.17.12—*Proinde et arbor bona non proferat malum fructum, quia nec veritas haeresim, nec mala bonum, quia nec haeresis veritatem*: ... | *An*. 21.4—... *quia arbor bona malos non ferat fructus nec mala bonos, et nemo de spinis metat ficus et de tribulis uvas*. | *An*. 21.5—*Non dabit enim arbor mala bonos fructus*, ... *et bona malos dabit*, ... | *Herm*. 13.1—*Certe nec bona arbor fructus malos edit*, ... *nec mala arbor bonos*, ...

This verse is also attested by Hippolytus, Origen, Pseudo-Tertullian, Philastrius, and in the *Adamantius Dialogue*.[121] Concerning Tertullian's testimony three observations are important. First, in 4.17.12 Tertullian attests the order in the saying as "good tree" followed by "bad tree" as it is found in canonical Luke. Second, Tertullian attests the singular καρπόν, and not the plural καρπούς. Third, concerning the verb in the verse, Harnack observed "nicht ποιεῖν, sondern προενεγκεῖν und προενέγκαι im Text, der Tert. und

117 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 85. Braun, *Chronica Tertullianea*, 491 agrees. Harnack's text is found in *Marcion*, 194*.

118 This preferred usage by Tertullian is also mentioned by Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion I*, 166n6 [*sic* n1].

119 One would expect "unbezeugt" if Harnack meant that the remainder of the verse was unattested.

120 Harnack, *Marcion*, 194* apparently made an incorrect reference to this passage being found in "II, 27."

121 Harnack does not provide a word for word reconstruction of Luke 6:43 (cf. *Marcion*, 195*) and Tsutsui refers to it as an "im Wortlaut nicht mehr genau festzustellendem Vers" ("Evangelium," 85).

Adamantius vorlag."[122] But it is not at all clear that Tertullian read προφέρω in Marcion's text. A brief glance at the other references to this verse reveals a tremendous amount of vocabulary variation as Tertullian attests *proferre, producere, ferre, dare*, and *edare* in his Latin renderings. It would be unlikely in the extreme that Tertullian was in each case rendering a different Greek lemma, especially since the Greek manuscript tradition does not attest any other verbs for Luke 6:43.[123]

4.4.21 *Luke 7:2, 9*

4.18.1—*Proinde extollenda fide centurionis incredibile, si is professus est talem se fidem nec in Israhele invenisse ad quem non pertinebat fides Israhel<is>.... 'Sed cur non licuerit illi alienae fidei exemplo uti?'* [a supposed argument against Tertullian's interpretation] *Quoniam si ita esset, talem fidem nec in Israhele umquam fuisse. Ceterum dicens talem fidem debuisse inveniri in Israhele,...* | *Idol.* 19.3 ... *si etiam centurio crediderat,...* | *Val.* 28.1 ... *ubi adventum Soteris* [the Demiurge] *accepit, propere et ovanter accurrit cum omnibus suis viribus—centurio de evangelio—...*

Luke 7:9 is also attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian begins 4.18.1 with a general reference to the account in Luke 7:1–10; however, only 7:9 is given in any detail. After stating that the account concerns a centurion (v. 2), Tertullian's adaptation of v. 9 at the outset of 4.18.1 attests that Jesus said τοιαύτην (or τοσαύτην) πίστιν οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ εὗρον, with elements repeated in the subsequent discussion. Harnack stated that Tertullian definitely read *talem* (which one more likely would consider to be rendering τοιαύτην) in Marcion's text as Tertullian repeated it three times.[124] This view is possible, though the repetition in and of itself does not guarantee the reading. In addition, Harnack stated that the reading was otherwise unattested when, in fact, both e and r^1 read *talem*.[125]

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122 *Marcion*, 195*. The same point is made by Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:463. Though the evidence from the *Adamantius Dialogue* is discussed later, it is worth pointing out that the *Adamantius Dialogue* attests both ἐνεγκειν/ἐνεγκαι and προενεγκεῖν/ προενέγκαι (though, N.B., the Greek archetype manuscript B reads προσενεγκεῖν/προσενέγκαι). Harnack pointed out this fact in his apparatus, but not in the reconstruction of Marcion's text in which the above citation is found.

123 Possible, though not provable, is that Tertullian is familiar with the variant reading ἐνεγκειν found in Matt 7:18 in B for the first instance and ℵ* in the second. Origen offers this reading in some of his references to the passage. Even if this were the case, the variation in Tertullian's vocabulary renders the Greek verb behind the Latin, in any particular instance, unclear.

124 Harnack, *Marcion*, 196*.

125 IGNTP states that the reading is also attested in sy^p.

It does not seem to be completely outside the realm of possibility that *talem* is rendering τοσαύτην instead of τοιαύτην, which is not attested in any Greek manuscript.[126] If Tertullian was familiar with the reading *talem*, present in the African OL tradition, its use here may be due to Tertullian himself and not the reading τοιαύτην in Marcion's text. More significantly, Harnack stated that Marcion's text read οὐδέποτε, a reading also found in D, "denn bei einer Wiederholung schreibt er [Tertullian]: '*talem fidem nec in Israhele umquam fuisse*'."[127] Yet, Harnack overlooked that this phrase occurs when Tertullian is stating what Christ would have said if Marcion's interpretation were correct, but actually did *not* say.[128] Finally, unfortunately the general allusions to Luke 7:1–10//Matt 8:5–13 in *Idol.* 19.3 and *Val.* 28.1 do not provide further insight into Marcion's text.

4.4.22 *Luke 7:18–20, 22–23*

4.18.4—*…scandalizatur Iohannes auditis virtutibus Christi,…*[129] | 4.18.5—*Hoc igitur metu et Iohannes: Tu es, inquit, qui venis, an alium expectamus?* | 4.18.6—*Tu es, qui venis, id est qui venturus es, an alium expectamus?… ut dominus per easdem operationes agnoscendum se nuntiaverit Iohanni.* | 4.18.7—*…interrogationis illius: Tu es, qui venis, an alium expectamus?* | 4.18.8—*…et qui sit maior tanto propheta, qui non fuerit scandalizatus in Christum, quod tunc Iohannem minuit.* | *Bapt.* 10.5—*…cum ipsum quod caeleste in Iohanne fuerat, spiritus* [*et*] *prophetiae, post totius spiritus in dominum translationem usque adeo defecerit ut quem praedicaverat, quem advenientem designaverat, postmodum, an ipse esset, miserit sciscitatum.* | *Carn. Chr.* 4.4—*…carnem ab omni vexatione restituit, leprosam emaculat, caecam reluminat, paralyticam redintegrat, daemoniacam expiat, mortuam resuscitat,…*

For Luke 7:18–23, v. 19 is attested in the *Adamantius Dialogue*, v. 22 by Eznik, and v. 23 by Epiphanius and Ephrem. Tertullian begins his discussion with a comment attributed to Marcion that John was offended when he heard of Christ's miracles (4.18.4). The comment seems to refer to the report given to John in v. 18 (with apparent reference to v. 23), though no insight into the reading of the verse can be gained. The three citations of v. 19 reflect σὺ εἶ ὁ

126 Evans consistently translates *talem* here as "so great."

127 Harnack, *Marcion*, 196*.

128 Braun rightly notes that Tertullian's argument here rests on the precise sense of the verb εὗρον (*Contre Marcion IV*, 229n4).

129 Additional references to John being offended occur in 4.18.5–6.

ἐρχόμενος, ἢ ἄλλον προσδοκῶμεν for Marcion's text.[130] The reference of a reply given to John by the two disciples (4.18.6) assumes vv. 20 and 22, though once again the allusion does not reveal anything about the text itself. Finally, the comment in 4.18.8, though coming after Tertullian's discussion of vv. 24–28, appears to attest the concluding words by Jesus in v. 23: ὅς ἐὰν μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ ἐν ἐμοί. Unfortunately, the allusions to Luke 7:19–23//Matt 11:2–6 in *Bapt*. 10.5 and *Carn. Chr*. 4.4 do not provide further insight on any of these points.

4.4.23 *Luke 7:26*

4.18.7—*Multo perversius, si et testimonium Iohanni perhibet non Iohannis Christus, propheten eum confirmans, immo et supra ut angelum,* ... | *Mon*. 8.1—... *in Ioanne antecursore,* ... *alia plus praeferens quam propheten,* ...

In 4.18.7, Tertullian introduces the quotation of Luke 7:27 with an allusion to Luke 7:26. Tertullian attests the presence of the words προφήτην and probably ναί ... καὶ περισσότερον.[131] The allusion in *Mon* 8.1 also does not contribute to our knowledge of Marcion's text.

4.4.24 *Luke 7:27*

4.18.4—... *spiritus sancti, quae ex forma prophetici moduli in Iohanne egerat praeparaturam viarum dominicarum,* ... | 4.18.7—... *ingerens etiam scriptum super illo: Ecce ego mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam, qui praeparet*[132] *viam tuam,* ... | 4.18.8—*Praecursore enim iam functo officium, praeparata via domini,* ... | 4.33.8—... *si et Iohannes antecursor et praeparator ostenditur viarum domini* ... | *Adv. Jud*. 9.23—*Ecce ego mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam, id est Christi, qui praeparabit viam tuam ante te*; ...[133]

Luke 7:27 is also attested by Epiphanius and in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Concerning Tertullian's testimony, first, the phrasing of the opening of the verse in the quotation in 4.18.7 does not allow a precise reconstruction of

130 The only variant in the manuscript tradition of this phrase is the Matthean ἕτερον instead of ἄλλον. *qui venis* is the reading of e, whereas Tertullian's gloss in 4.18.6 (*qui venturus es*) is the reading of a, aur, b, c, d, f, and l.

131 Harnack's reconstruction προφήτην, ναὶ καὶ περισσότερον (*Marcion*, 197*) is slightly misleading in that it could imply that Marcion's text did not have λέγω ὑμῖν after ναί (the phrase appears in every extant witness). Matt 11:9 reads identical to Luke.

132 Moreschini's text reads *praeparet* with β, Gelenius, and Kroymann, rejecting the readings *praepararet* in *M* and *praeparabit* in Pamelius, Rigalti, Oehler, and Evans. There is no need to posit any difference in the Greek text in following Moreschini's reading (In his citation of the passage from Tertullian, Harnack rightly noted "*praeparet* (= '*praeparabit*')" [*Marcion*, 196*]).

133 Possible additional allusions to Luke 7:27//Matt 11:10//Mark 1:2 occur in *Bapt*. 6.1, 10.6.

Marcion's text. Second, it is possible that ἐγώ was present in Marcion's text as the TR reads ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω;[134] however, it is also possible that the presence of *ego* is due to the influence of Matt 11:10 or LXX Mal 3:1. The pronoun is included in the only other explicit quotation of the passage in *Adv. Jud.* 9.23. Third, the accuracy of the wording of 7:27b (ὅς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδόν σου) is reinforced by Tertullian's propensity to use the phrasing *via domini* in the allusions to the passage. Fourth, even though ἔμπροσθέν σου is unattested and could be a simple omission by Tertullian, the possibility of its absence must be entertained because it is present in Tertullian's citation in *Adv. Jud.* 9.23 and is also absent in D, a, aur d, l, and r[1].[135]

4.4.25 *Luke 7:28*

4.18.8—*Praecursore . . . maior quidem omnibus natis mulierum, sed non ideo subiectus ei qui minor fuerit in regno dei quasi alterius sit dei regnum in quo modicus quis maior erit Iohanne, alterius Iohannes qui omnibus natis mulierum maior sit. . . . creatori competit, et Iohannem ipsius esse, maiorem natis mulierum, et Christum vel quemque modicum, qui maior Iohanne futurus sit in regno aeque creatoris, et qui sit maior tanto propheta, . . .* | *Bapt.* 12.5—. . . *Nemo dicens maior inter natos feminarum Iohanne baptizatore*.

Harnack reconstructed this verse μείζων πάντων τῶν γεννητῶν γυναικῶν προφήτης Ἰωάννης ἐστίν· ὁ (δὲ) μικρότερος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ (ob τοῦ θεοῦ?) μείζων αὐτοῦ ἐστιν.[136] Tsutsui comments "Die Wiederherstellung (und Auslegung) dieses Verses von Harnack, ist nicht einleuchtend. Es ist hier besser, auf die genaue Rekonstruktion des ursprünglichen Marcion-Textes zu verzichten."[137] There is considerable truth in Tsutsui's objection. First, though Tertullian does not include *omnibus* in *Bapt.* 12.5, it is also not included in the third reference in 4.18.8, and was not necessarily present in Marcion's Gospel.[138] In addition, though Tertullian writes *inter natos* in *Bapt.* 12.5, since he is discussing the general meaning of Luke 7:28 in 4.18.8, it is not necessary to view *natis* as rendering a different Greek reading. Finally, the reference to John as a prophet at the end of the discussion in 4.18.8 does not require προφήτης to have been present in Marcion's text, even if it is the reading of the Majority Text and

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134 Harnack placed the Greek pronoun in parentheses in his reconstructed text (cf. *Marcion*, 197*). The pronoun is omitted in numerous witnesses including P^{75vid}, א, B, D, L, and W.

135 Cf. also Harnack, *Marcion*, 196*.

136 Ibid., 197*.

137 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 87.

138 Cf. also Wright, *Alterations*, 129.

several other witnesses.[139] On the other hand, the fact that Tertullian includes *baptizatore* in *Bapt*. 12.5 and makes no mention of this designation in 4.18.8 may reveal that it was not present in Marcion's text.[140] Luke 7:28b is not multiply attested and it is precarious to attempt to determine the precise wording from Tertullian's discussion.

4.4.26 *Luke 8:17*

4.19.5—*... omnia de occulto in apertum repromittit, ...* | *Paen*. 6.10—*Nihil occultum quod non revelabitur ...* | *Virg*. 14.3—*Nihil occultum quod non revelabitur: ...*

Harnack rightly noted that Tertullian provides only an allusion to this verse in 4.19.5, and his reconstruction offered κρυπτὸν φανερὸν γενήσεται.[141] That these Lukan words were probably in Marcion's text is revealed by the observation that in *Paen*. 6.10 and *Virg*. 14.3 Tertullian prefers wording influenced by Matt 10:26. At the same time, since Tertullian has omitted the verb, the reading ἔσται, found in D, cannot be excluded.[142]

4.4.27 *Luke 8:18*

2.2.6—*... ideoque non habendo fidem etiam quod videbatur habere ademptum est illi, ...* | 4.19.3—*Et ideo per Christum adicit: Videte quomodo audiatis ... etiam dicendo: Videte, quomodo audiatis, ...* | 4.19.4—*Hoc probat etiam subiacens sensus: Ei qui habet dabitur, ab eo autem qui non habet etiam quod habere se putat auferetur ei.*[143] | *Fug*. 11.2—*Etenim qui habet, dabitur ei; ab eo autem, qui non habet, etiam quod videtur habere auferetur.*

In 4.19.3 Tertullian twice attests Luke 8:18a without οὖν. Both Harnack and Tsutsui argued that the particle was absent in Marcion's text, though Harnack believed it was absent in the text received by Marcion, whereas Tsutsui believed it was deleted by Marcion for stylistic reasons.[144] If the particle was absent, Harnack's view, supported by the reading of a handful of

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139 The reference could easily have come from Luke 7:26, which Tertullian discusses in 4.18.7.

140 Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ is the reading of numerous "Western" witnesses, the Majority Text, and the reading in Matt 11:11.

141 Harnack, *Marcion*, 198*.

142 φανερωθήσεται is found in several witnesses, including many OL manuscripts and Syriac versions, but Tertullian's allusion implies that the adjective was found in the verse.

143 In 4.19.3–5 Tertullian comments on Luke 8:18 before referring to Luke 8:16–17. This fact leads Tsutsui to posit that Marcion moved v. 18 in his text ("Evangelium," 88). Harnack, however, kept vv. 16–17 before v. 18 in his reconstruction (*Marcion*, 198*). This view is more likely as it appears that Tertullian discusses v. 18 in conjunction with v. 8 in the light of the similar content before briefly alluding to vv. 16–17 (vv. 9–15 are unattested).

144 Ibid. and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 88.

manuscripts,[145] is more likely, since Tsutsui's is dependent on his unlikely contention that Marcion relocated v. 18.[146] It is difficult to be certain that the conjunction was missing as there was no need for Tertullian to include it for his argument in which he linked the thought of Luke 8:18a with Luke 8:8b and Isa 6:9.

In 4.19.4 Tertullian attests the opening of Luke 8:18b without γάρ. Once again Tsutsui believes Marcion deleted the conjunction.[147] This supposition, though, is not certain, for, despite its presence in *Fug*. 11.2, Tertullian may have simply omitted it at the outset of his citation here.[148] Once again Tertullian's freedom with pronouns can be observed as *ei* is at the outset of the 4.19.4 citation and after *dabitur* in *Fug*. 11.2. As the manuscript tradition is nearly uniform here, αὐτῷ was almost certainly present after δοθήσεται.[149]

For 8:18c Harnack reconstructed ὃς δ᾽ἂν μὴ ἔχῃ, καὶ ὃ δοκεῖ ἔχειν ἀρθήσεται ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ.[150] Harnack here has a curious combination of following and altering Tertullian's testimony and in his apparatus simply commented "Man braucht nicht anzunehmen, daß Tert. anders gelesen hat als oben steht; nur sein '*autem*' ist sonst unbezeugt." Given that Tertullian writes *ab eo autem* at the outset of both 4.19.4 and *Fug*. 11.2, however, the wording could be attributable to Tertullian and does not necessitate either δέ or the preposition and pronoun here in Marcion's text.[151] In addition, though Tertullian writes *videtur habere* in *Fug*. 11.2, his *habere se putat* does not necessitate a word order change in

145 IGNTP lists 343, 716, 1229, several OL manuscripts, sy[c], sy[s], sy[p], bo, and the Persian Diatessaron as attesting the omission.

146 Cf. n. 143.

147 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 88.

148 According to IGNTP only the Persian Diatessaron, geo, and aeth omit γάρ. In addition, it is not clear whether γάρ would have preceded or followed ἄν. According to IGNTP, the former is the reading of ℵ, B, L, Ξ, 0202, and 157.

149 Harnack, *Marcion*, 198* places αὐτῷ in this position but in parentheses.

150 Ibid.

151 Harnack provides no rationale for including δέ but leaving out ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ at the beginning of the phrase. Tertullian places *ei* at the end of the phrase, and though ultimately not provable, it could be that Tertullian wrote *ab eo autem* from memory at the beginning of the phrase and then saw ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ at the conclusion of the verse leading to a redundant *ei* (*auferetur ei* is the reading of e in Matt 13:12). According to IGNTP there is one OL manuscript, l, and two manuscripts of sa that attest *autem*. καὶ ὅς is attested in the remainder of the manuscript tradition. Worth noting are the readings of e, *auferetur ab eo, quod videtur habere*, along with D (also d), ἀρθήσεται ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὃ δοκεῖ ἔχειν. Tertullian may have been familiar with a similar reading.

Marcion's text, a change that Harnack also did not make.[152] Finally, despite the attestation of ἔχει (cf. Matt 13:12//Mark 4:25) in later manuscripts, Harnack was right to view Tertullian's *habet* as likely rendering the subjunctive.[153]

4.4.28 *Luke 8:20*

4.19.7—*Nos contrario dicimus primo non potuisse illi adnuntiari quod mater et fratres eius foris starent quaerentes videre eum, si nulla illi mater et fratres nulli fuissent, quos utique norat qui adnuntiarat, ...*[154] | *Carn. Chr.* 7.2—*Primo quidem numquam quisquam adnuntiasset illi matrem et fratres eius foris stantes, qui non certus esset et habere illum matrem et fratres et ipsos esse, quos tunc nuntiabat, vel retro cognitos vel tunc ibidem compertos, ...*[155]

Luke 8:20 is also attested by Epiphanius and Ephrem. From Tertullian's allusion in 4.19.7 it is clear that the verse contained a reference to the announcement of the presence of Jesus' mother and brothers standing outside. The allusion in *Carn. Chr*. 7.2 reveals that the use of a single possessive pronoun for both mother and brothers may not require the conclusion that only one possessive pronoun appeared in Marcion's Greek text (cf. Luke 8:19//Matt 12:46).[156] In addition, Tertullian's placement of *foris* before the verb *stare* in both of these references shows that that was not necessarily the word order in Marcion's text. Nevertheless, ἔξω ἑστήκασιν is the reading of D, several OL manuscripts, and a handful of other manuscripts and could have been Marcion's reading. In addition, the placement of *illi* before the verb *adnuntiare* in 4.19.7, but after the verb in *Carn. Chr*. 7.2, reinforces the necessity for caution in attempting to determine the Greek word order from Tertullian's testimony not only for these readings but also for *quaerentes videre eum*.[157]

The final element of Luke 8:20 unfortunately does not appear in *Carn. Chr*. 7.2, and therefore must be considered solely based on Tertullian's wording in 4.19.7. Tertullian's phrasing *quaerentes videre eum*, conflates Luke 8:20 and Matt

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152 Even the altered word order in the readings of D, d, and e cited in the previous note retain the otherwise uniformly attested order of these two words.

153 Every OL manuscript (except a, which reads *habuerit*) here reads *habet*. IGNTP does not interpret these readings as evidence for Greek present indicatives. Alternatively, Tertullian may have been influenced by the reading in the Matthean parallel.

154 Additional allusions to Luke 8:20 occur in 3.11.3; 4.19.10; and 4.36.9.

155 Additional allusions to (contextually) Matt 12:47 occur in *Carn. Chr*. 7.3, 5, 7–8.

156 According to IGNTP, the omission of the first possessive pronoun is attested in the manuscripts P^{75}, ℵ, 579, and 1220.

157 Thus, the indication by IGNTP in its apparatus that Marcion attests the order θέλοντες ἰδεῖν σε at the close of the verse, apparently dependent on Tertullian's word order *quaerentes videre eum*, should be questioned.

12:46, as in Luke Jesus' mother and brothers are standing outside ἰδεῖν θέλοντές σε, but in Matthew ζητοῦντες αὐτῷ λαλῆσαι. D and d read ζητοῦντες σε in Luke, though it is likely that the Matthean *quaerentes* is due to Tertullian slipping into Matthean wording. At the same time, simply assuming that Marcion's text read θέλοντες does not seem to be warranted.[158]

4.4.29 *Luke 8:21*

4.19.6—*Ipse*, [all who deny the birth of the Lord] *inquiunt, contestatur se non esse natum dicendo: Quae mihi mater*,[159] *et qui mihi fratres?* | 4.19.10—. . . *superest dispicere sensum non simpliciter pronuntiantis: Quae mihi mater aut fratres?* | 4.19.11—*Atque adeo cum praemisisset: Quis*[160] *mihi mater et qui mihi fratres? subiungens: Nisi qui audiunt verba mea et faciunt ea* . . . | 4.26.13—. . . *Immo beati qui sermonem dei audiunt et faciunt* [Luke 11:28], *quia et retro sic reiecerat matrem aut fratres, dum auditores et obsecutores dei praefert*. | *Carn. Chr*. 7.1—. . . [the Lord] *dixerit, Quae mihi mater et qui mihi fratres?* | *Carn. Chr*. 7.10—*Oro te Apelle, vel tu, Marcion, si forte tabula ludens vel de histrionibus aut aurigis contendens tali nuntio avocareris, nonne dixisses: Quae mihi mater, aut qui mihi*[161] *fratres?*

Luke 8:21, most clearly attested in 4.19.11, contains a curious combination of Matthean/Markan and Lukan elements. The question with which the verse appears to open is found in Matt 12:48//Mark 3:33, though Tertullian's phrasing does not follow either text precisely.[162] The closing element of the verse is clearly dependent on Luke 8:21. That the Matthean/Markan question appeared in Marcion's text is confirmed not only by Tertullian's numerous references to it in 4.19, but also by his refutation of Apelles and Marcion in *Carn. Chr*. 7, where Tertullian refers back to his discussion in *Marc*.[163] It is worth noting Tertullian's

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158 Thus, in addition to the problematic word order in IGNTP (cf. n. 157), it should not be assumed that θέλοντες is the attested reading. Though Harnack placed ἑστήκασιν ἔξω ἰδεῖν σε θέλοντες in parentheses, it is curious that he did not mention that Tertullian's testimony provides no direct warrant for θέλοντες.

159 Moreschini's text reads *mater* with β rejecting the certainly erroneous reading *pater* found in *M*.

160 Pamelius, Rigalti, Oehler, and Evans read *quae*.

161 Only one manuscript, codex Trecensis, includes *mihi*. Every other manuscript and editor simply reads *qui fratres*, which likely is correct.

162 Geoffrey G. Dunn points out that the non-Lukan opening was missed by Aalders, Higgins, and O'Malley in their word studies ("Mary's Virginity *in partu* and Tertullian's Anti-Docetism in *De Carne Christi* Reconsidered," *JTS* 58 [2007]: 473n32).

163 In *Carn. Chr*. 7.1 Tertullian, after the question as cited above, continues *audiat igitur et Apelles quid iam responsum sit a nobis Marcioni eo libello quo ad evangelium ipsius*

varying inclusion of *mihi* in his citations. In addition, that Marcion's text read τοὺς λόγους μου and not the canonical τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ is unintentionally confirmed by Tertullian's later reference back to this passage in 4.26.13. It seems that the wording of Luke 11:28 reminded Tertullian of the canonical wording of Luke 8:21, though he apparently forgot that Marcion's text did not refer to the *auditores et obsecutores dei*.[164] In addition, though not certain, the absence of a pronoun in the latter instance may indicate that *ea* in the former is reflecting a pronoun in Marcion's text. Therefore, though the precise wording of some elements is unclear, Harnack was generally correct in his reconstruction τίς μοι μήτηρ καὶ τίνες μοι ἀδελφοί, εἰ μὴ οἱ τοὺς λόγους μου ἀκούοντες καὶ ποιοῦντες αὐτούς.[165]

4.4.30 *Luke 9:22*

4.21.7—… *quia oporteret filium hominis multa pati, et reprobari a presbyteris et scribis et sacerdotibus, et interfici, et post tertium diem resurgere.* | *Carn. Chr.* 9.8—*Sed quomodo, inquitis, contemni et pati posset*, …

This verse is also attested by Epiphanius and possibly in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Concerning Tertullian's testimony, the allusion in *Carn. Chr.* 9.8 likely reveals that *pati* and *reprobare* in 4.21.7 are being controlled by Marcion's text. The use of *contemnere* in the former demonstrates that Tertullian is giving the general sense of the verse without using its actual wording as "despise" does not occur in Luke 9:22 or its parallels in Matt 16:21//Mark 8:31.

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provocavimus, considerandam scilicet materiam pronuntiationis istius. Harnack observed, "Die Umgestaltung des 20 f. Verses ergibt sich sicher aus den Wiederholungen Tert.s hier und in de carne 7" (*Marcion*, 198*). Wright, however, argued that the use of the Matthean question in *Carn. Chr.* "gives rise to doubt concerning whose preference is involved" (*Alterations*, 129). The use of *subiungens* in 4.19.11 and the reference to Marcion's Gospel in *Carn. Chr.* strongly connect the question to Marcion's text and not to Tertullian's own preference. It is also interesting to note how closely the wording of the citations (4.19.6 and *Carn. Chr.* 7.1) and the subsequent references (4.19.10 and *Carn. Chr.* 7.10) agree with each other. Tsutsui writes concerning the Latin rendering of the verse, "Singulär ist der Dative 'mihi' (bis), der uns wohl darauf aufmerksam machen will, daß 'mater' und 'fratres' hier im übertragenen Sinn verstanden werden müssen" ("Evangelium," 89). This interpretation is problematic, however, as *mihi* is attested in the OL manuscript b (for the first occurrence) and is often used by Ambrose in his commentary on Luke (cf., e.g., *Exp. Luc.* 8.73 and 10.25). It is not even entirely certain that Marcion's text read datives.

164 This point is not taken into consideration by Wright when he suggested that the reading may be attributed to Tertullian (*Alterations*, 130).

165 Harnack, *Marcion*, 198*. Jerome, in the comments on Matt 12:49 in his *Commentariorum in Matthaeum*, makes a reference to Jesus not having denied his mother as is thought by Marcion, who thought that Jesus was born of a phantom.

The opening words of Tertullian's reference to v. 22 are unproblematic, though when Tertullian lists those who will reject Jesus, he lists them in the order πρεσβύτεροι, γραμματεῖς, ἀρχιερεῖς. This order is elsewhere attested only in sy^{c}. After referring to ἀποκτανθῆναι,[166] Tertullian attests the reading μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, which is the reading of Mark 8:31 (cf. Mark 9:31 and 10:34; Matt 27:63) but is also attested for Luke in several OL manuscripts and the related reading in D and b.[167] Finally, the verb used by Tertullian at the conclusion of the verse is *resurgere*. In his apparatus, Harnack stated "ἀναστῆναι mit Tert. und Mark. ACD usw."[168] Harnack's view apparently influenced Tsutsui and IGNTP, where it is also explicitly indicated that Tertullian attests ἀναστῆναι.[169] Such certainty, however, does not appear warranted. Though ἀναστῆναι is the reading in Mark 8:31 and in Luke 9:22 in D, *resurgere* could be rendering either the Greek ἀνίστημι or ἐγείρω.[170] The Greek verb behind Tertullian's Latin, therefore, is not clearly evident and NA^{27} and NA^{28} are, in my estimation, correct in not listing Tertullian as a witness for the reading ἀναστῆναι.[171]

4.4.31 *Luke 9:24*

4.21.9—*Qui voluerit, inquit, animam suam salvam facere, perdet illam, et qui perdiderit eam propter me, salvam faciet eam.* | 4.21.10—. . . *sed illa* [death] *insignis et pro fide militaris, in qua qui animam suam propter deum perdit, servat*

166 IGNTP wrongly states that Tertullian here attests the reading σταυρωθῆναι for Marcion's text. Though Harnack does not state that Tertullian attests this reading, his comment "da der Mark.text nachweisbar hier auf den Marciontext eingewirkt hat, ist σταυρωθῆναι [the reading in *Adam*. 198,1–4 (5.12)] nicht einfach zu verwerfen" (*Marcion*, 202*) is curious, since even if Mark's text had influenced Marcion's Gospel, "crucify" is not Mark's reading.

167 Harnack's note here is misleading when he lists D and b with the other OL witnesses (*Marcion*, 201*), since D reads μεθ ημερας τρεις, which is the same word order found in b, but not in other OL witnesses.

168 Harnack, *Marcion*, 201*.

169 Cf. Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 92 and the IGNTP apparatus. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:466 did not comment on Tertullian's reading.

170 In references to rising "after three days" or "on the third day" the OL manuscripts employ *resurgere* to render ἀνίστημι in Mark 8:31; 9:31; 10:34; Luke 18:33; 24:7; and 24:46 and to render ἐγείρω in Matt 16:21; 17:23 (not f); 20:19; 27:63; 27:64 (only f); and Luke 9:22. In passages dealing with rising from the dead more broadly, the OL attests the use of *surgere* and *resurgere* for both Greek verbs (along with one instance of *suscitare* in for ἐγείρω in Matt 10:8). In addition, as seen in Epiphanius's testimony discussed in chapter 6.4.20 the phrase μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας does not necessitate the reading to continue with the verb ἀναστῆναι.

171 The Nestle-Aland editions only list Mcion^{A} as attesting this reading. The testimony from the *Adamantius Dialogue* for this verse is discussed in chapter 7.4.17.

illam, . . . | *Scorp*. 11.1—*. . . qui animam suam invenerit, perdet illam qui vero perdiderit mei causa, inveniet illam*.[172]

Luke 9:24 appears to be the verse driving the citation in 4.21.9, and it is worth noting that in *Scorp*. 11.1 Tertullian cites Matt 10:39.[173] For Luke 9:24 Tertullian does not attest the presence of γάρ at the beginning of the verse. Harnack placed the conjunction in parentheses;[174] however, Tsutsui argues that Marcion deleted it and uses its absence to argue that Marcion also deleted Luke 9:23.[175] It is true that Tertullian does not make any direct reference to v. 23, but using the absence of a conjunction, even if it were not a common occurrence in Tertullian's writings, is a speculative basis upon which to construct the argument for the absence of v. 23. Its absence could very well be a simple omission or the result of influence from Matt 10:39 where no conjunction occurs. Second, Harnack also noted the omission of οὗτος before σώσει. Though this omission occurs in numerous OL manuscripts, other versions, and church fathers, once again its absence may be a simple omission or due to Matthean influence as the demonstrative pronoun does not appear in Matt 10:39, 16:25//Mark 8:35.

Third, Harnack rendered *et qui* as καὶ ὅς, though incorrectly considering it otherwise unattested as it is also the reading of a and geo. It would appear, however, that without the assumption that Tertullian is following the text precisely there is no good reason why *et qui* cannot be his rendering of ὃς δέ. Furthermore, though Tertullian reads *perdiderit eam propter me* where Luke has ἀπολέσῃ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ, Harnack perhaps incorrectly reconstructed ἀπολέσῃ αὐτήν ἕνεκεν ἐμου.[176] Though this reading may be reflected in e, reading *illam* instead of *eam*, it is interesting that in the allusion back to the verse in 4.21.10 Tertullian has *qui animam suam propter deum perdit* and in *Scorp*. 11.1 Tertullian simply leaves the noun to be understood despite the fact that Matt 10:39 has an overt reference to τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτου. In other words, in three attestations to this element common to both Luke and Matthew, Tertullian once offers a pronoun, once the entire phrase, and once nothing at all. Thus, it is difficult to know how accurately Tertullian is representing the actual reading of Marcion's text at this point. Finally, Tertullian's reference to

172 An additional allusion to Luke 9:24 occurs in *Cor*. 11.5 and to Matt 10:39 in *Pat*. 7.11.

173 Matt 16:25 reads slightly differently from both the Lukan and the other Matthean occurrence, with σῴζω as the first verb and εὑρίσκω as the second.

174 Harnack, *Marcion*, 201*.

175 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 92.

176 Harnack, *Marcion*, 201*.

an otherwise unattested *propter deum* in 4.21.10 makes it more likely that *propter me* in 4.21.9 has arisen out of Marcion's text.

4.4.32 *Luke 9:26*

4.21.10—*Qui confusus, inquit, me<i>*[177] *fuerit, et ego confundar eius,*[178] … | 4.21.12—[Marcion's Christ] *Non poterat itaque dixisse: Qui mei*[179] *confusus fuerit*. | *Carn. Chr*. 5.3—*Qui mei, inquit, confusus fuerit, confundar et ego eius*. | *Fug*. 7.1—*Qui mei confusus fuerit, et ego confundar eius coram patre meo*. | *Idol*. 13.6—*Qui autem confusus super me fuerit penes homines, et ego confundar super illo, inquit, penes patrem meum, qui est in caelis*. | *Scorp*. 9.13—*Plus est autem quod et confusioni confusionem comminatur: qui me confusus fuerit coram hominibus, et ego confundar eum coram patre meo, qui est in caelis*.

Based on Tertullian's citation in 4.21.12 Harnack stated "Dieser Vers ist nicht nur verkürzt, sondern auch verändert, und 26b und 27 fehlen ganz."[180] Once again, it is very difficult to determine whether γάρ was missing in Marcion's text at the outset of the verse.[181] Harnack has it in parentheses and Tsutsui, as in Luke 9:24, speculatively argues that Marcion deleted it because he had deleted the previous verse (v. 25).[182]

Second, for the first half of 9:26a, apart from the absent conjunction, Tertullian appears to follow Marcion's text closely, attesting ὃς ἂν ἐπαισχυνθῇ με. In every other reference to the verse, apart from the conflated citation in *Idol*. 13.6 where Tertullian employs the preposition *super*, Tertullian places the pronoun (*mei*/*me*) before the verb, thus increasing the likelihood that 4.21.10 is reflecting the word order in Marcion's text. The converse, however, is true for the second half of v. 26a, for which Harnack offered κἀγὼ ἐπαισχυνθήσομαι αὐτόν.[183] If Tertullian is rendering Marcion's wording, that Tertullian tends to prefer placing *et ego* before the verb in this verse (only in *Carn. Chr*. 5.3 does it follow the verb) may mean that it is just as likely that the order was that of Matt 10:33 (ἀρνήσομαι κἀγὼ αὐτόν), though with the Lukan verb. More important,

177 *Mei* is the reading in Ursinus's note, Rigalti, Oehler, Kroymann, and Evans. *Me* is the reading in θ, Gelenius, and Pamelius.

178 Pamelius's edition reads *eum*.

179 Pamelius's edition reads *me confuses*.

180 Harnack, *Marcion*, 202*. The statement is followed by Harnack's argument concerning the theological reason for the omission by Marcion, namely that v. 27 would imply that some among the original apostles would experience the parousia, which is a recognition of Jewish Christians that Marcion could not allow.

181 IGNTP indicates that its absence is elsewhere only attested in one manuscript of bo.

182 Harnack, *Marcion*, 201* and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 92.

183 Harnack, *Marcion*, 201*.

however, is the observation that it is not clear that either of these otherwise unattested readings was found in Marcion's text instead of the Lukan τοῦτον ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ανθρώπου ἐπαισχυνθήσεται. In Tertullian's second citation of the passage in 4.21.12, he cites only the first half of v. 26a, indicating that his primary interest and focus in this section is on someone being ashamed of Christ. In the immediate context of 4.21.10, Tertullian introduces the citation with *sed et zeloten deum mihi exhibit, malum malo reddentum*, a point which can be made with any number of phrasings of the second half of v. 26a. Since Tertullian in his other writings reveals the strong influence of Matt 10:33 on his reproduction of this saying,[184] it is at least possible that Tertullian sees the verse in Marcion's text, begins to cite it accurately, and then slips into a rendering of the verse influenced by Matthew. This possibility is further confirmed when Tertullian cites the verse in a nearly identical manner in *Carn. Chr*. 5.3, where there is no indication that he would be utilizing Marcion's text.[185] Therefore, hesitancy concerning Tertullian's testimony at this point is necessary.

Finally, even though v. 26b is technically unattested, that it was not present is possible. It is interesting to note that in *Carn. Chr*. 5.3, where Tertullian is also arguing against Marcion, once again only Luke 9:26a is referenced. In both cases Tertullian focuses, though with slightly different emphases, on "shame" in his argument, which may indicate that v. 26b simply is not of interest to him. At the same time, however, it is noteworthy that in the references to this verse in *Fug*. 7.1, *Idol*. 13.6, and *Scorp*. 9.13, in every case the citation has some additional element as Tertullian apparently conflates Luke 9:26a and Matt 10:33b.[186] Tsutsui argues, "Die unbezeugte zweite Hälfte des Verses … scheint gestrichen worden zu sein, da Marcion aus 12,8f. 'die Engel' und aus 21,27 'die Herrlichkeit' ausgestoßen hat."[187] Tsutsui may be right; yet, the argument ultimately must interpret the silence of Tertullian, which remains methodologically problematic.

184 Cf. below and the comments in n. 186.

185 This point was also recognized by Wright, *Alterations*, 130.

186 Tertullian's interest in the issue of "shame" (it appears in every one of the contexts and concludes *Scorp*. 9 where Tertullian also focuses on the issue of "denying") apparently leads him to use the Lukan ἐπαισχύνομαι and not the Matthean ἀρνέομαι in these citations. According to Tischendorf and von Soden, ἐπαισχύνομαι does not appear in the manuscript tradition for Matt 10:33. That Tertullian is aware of the Matthean reading is evidenced by the citations below in this chapter under 4.4.60. Despite using the verb from Luke 9:26//Mark 8:38 Tertullian uses elements from the conclusion to Matt 10:33 (ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν [τοῖς] οὐρανοῖς) to complete these three citations.

187 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 92.

4.4.33 ***Luke 9:28***

4.22.1—... *quod illum* [Christ] *cum Moyse et Helia in secessu montis conspici pateris, ...* | 4.22.7—*Tres de discentibus arbitros futurae visionis et vocis adsumit.... In montem secedit.* | *Carn. Chr.* 24.3—... *alium in secessu montis in ambitu nubis sub tribus arbitris clarum ...* | *Prax.* 14.7—... [Jesus] *est in montis secessu, ...* | *Prax.* 15.8—... *neque Petrus et Iohannes et Iacobus sine rationis et amentia, qui, si non passuri Filii gloriam sed Patrem vidissent, credo, morituri ibidem.* | *Res.* 55.10—*Dominus ... in secessu montis ...*

A passing reference to Luke 9:28 is found in Epiphanius and Ephrem, and Tertullian only alludes to the content of this verse in *Adversus Marcionem*. It is not unusual for him generally to mention the "three" as only in *Prax.* 15.8 does he actually name them. In addition, there is no need to posit that Marcion's text had a Greek equivalent of *secedere*, as the idea of having withdrawn to the mountain is Tertullian's preferred way of describing Jesus' going up on the mountain (cf. *Carn. Chr.* 24.3; *Prax.* 14.7; *Res.* 55.10).[188] Therefore, it appears that the only certain reading of Marcion's text is εἰς τὸ ὄρος; the *in montem* in 4.22.7 seems to be governed by the precise wording of Marcion's gospel since in every other reference Tertullian writes *in secessu montis* or *in montis secessu*.

4.4.34 ***Luke 9:29***

4.22.13—... *et splendor eius ut lux erit* [Hab 3:4], *utique qua etiam vestitus eius* [Jesus] *refulsit.* | *Res.* 55.10—*Dominus quoque in secessu montis etiam vestimenta luce mutaverat, sed liniamenta Petro agnoscibilia servaverat; ubi etiam Moyses et Helias, alter in imagine carnis nondum receptae, alter in veritate nondum defunctae, eandem tamen habitudinem corporis etiam in gloria perseverare docuerant.*

Based on Tertullian's allusion in 4.22.13, Harnack reconstructed the end of this verse καὶ ὁ ἱματισμὸς αὐτοῦ ἐξαστράπτων.[189] The reference in *Res.* 55.10 seems to draw from the wording of Matt 17:2 where Jesus' clothes become white as light (ἐγένετο λευκὰ ὡς τὸ φῶς). Though Hab 3:4 contains a clear reference to "light," Tertullian does not offer the Matthean wording, but the Lukan *refulsit* (ἐξαστράπτων). Therefore, in all likelihood, the wording is here being controlled by Marcion's text. At the same time, however, the omission of λευκός before the participle in Marcion's text is likely a simple omission by Tertullian as it is nearly universally attested in the manuscript tradition and is also missing in *Res.* 55.10.

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188 Harnack placed ἀνέβη in parentheses (*Marcion*, 202*), likely intending to indicate a mere supposition on Harnack's part.

189 Harnack, *Marcion*, 202*.

4.4.35 ***Luke 9:30–32***

4.22.1—*… quod illum cum Moyse et Helia in secessu montis conspici pateris, …* | 4.22.2—*Nunc et si praesentia illorum fuit necessaria, non utique in conloquio ostenderentur … nec in consortio claritatis …* | 4.22.3—*cum illis loqui qui eum fuerant locuti? cum eis gloriam suam communicare …* | 4.22.4—*Petrus … contubernium Christi … agnoscens …* | 4.22.12—*… ostensis prius cum illo Moyse et Helia in claritatis praerogativa, … societatem esse etiam claritatis Christi cum Moyse et Helia.* | 4.22.16—*Nam et si Marcion noluit eum conloquentem domino ostensum, sed stantem, tamen et stans os ad os stabat et faciem ad faciem—cum illo, inquit, non extra illum—, in gloria*[*m*] *ipsius, nedum in conspectu.* | *Praescr.* 22.6—*Quid eos* [Peter and John] *ignorasse voluit quibus etiam gloriam suam exhibuit, et Moysen et Helian* [*sic*] *et insuper de caelo patris vocem?* | *Prax.* 14.7—*Igitur cum Moysi servat conspectum suum et colloquium facie ad faciem in futurum, nam hoc postea adimpletum est in montis secessu, sicut legimus in evangelio visum cum illo Moysen colloquentem …* | *Prax.* 15.8—*… neque Petrus et Iohannes et Iacobus sine rationis et amentia, qui, si non passuri Filii gloriam sed Patrem vidissent, credo, morituri ibidem.* | *Res.* 55.10—*Dominus quoque in secessu montis etiam vestimenta luce mutaverat, sed liniamenta Petro agnoscibilia servavera; ubi etiam Moyses et Helias, …*

Luke 9:30–31a is also attested by Epiphanius and Ephrem. From Tertullian's testimony throughout 4.22 it is clear that Moses and Elijah were on the mountain, and that they appeared with Christ "in glory."[190] Tertullian, however, appears to provide contradictory evidence concerning whether Moses and Elijah were conversing with Jesus (4.22.2, 3) or simply standing there (4.22.16).[191] Harnack contended that Marcion's Gospel read καὶ ἰδοὺ δύο ἄνδρες συνέστησαν αὐτῷ in v. 30, and that the initial references by Tertullian were due to an erroneous recollection of his own text of Luke.[192] Tsutsui argues that one should consider the possibility that there was no change in Marcion's text and that Tertullian's error is found in the second reference.[193] Though a final decision would need to incorporate the evidence of other sources, a third possibility, already hinted at by Evans, should be considered. It could be that v. 30 did read συνελάλουν, and that in 4.22.16 Tertullian is no longer discussing v. 30, but

190 References to "Moses and Elijah," in this order, also occur in *Praescr.* 22.6 and *Res.* 55.10.

191 Tertullian also refers to Moses speaking with Jesus in *Prax.* 14.7.

192 Harnack, *Marcion*, 202*–3*. Agreeing with Harnack is Braun, who suggests that Marcion, after deleting the second half of v. 31, harmonized the verb of v. 30 with the verb of v. 32 (*Contre Marcion IV*, 291n4).

193 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 93–94. This was also the position of Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:466–67.

vv. 31–32. On this understanding *nam et si Marcion noluit eum conloquentem domino ostensum* would refer to Marcion having omitted v. 31b (which includes ἔλεγον τὴν ἔξοδον αὐτοῦ),[194] and *sed stantem* would refer to v. 32 where Peter and the other two disciples εἶδον τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς δύο ἄνδρας τοὺς συνεστῶτας αὐτῷ. Further confirmation of the view that v. 32 is in view when Tertullian speaks of the "standing" is that he concludes 4.22.16 with references to *cum illo* and *in gloriam ipsius nedum in conspectu*. Though vv. 30–31 also contain references to "with him" and "in glory," only in v. 32 is the reference to "his glory."[195] In addition, Tertullian's reference to *nedum in conspectu* may be referring to v. 32 where the three disciples are said to have seen his glory. If this whole line of thought is correct, then Tertullian perhaps provided unclear, but not erroneous, testimony to Marcion's text in 4.22.2, 3, and 16.

4.4.36 *Luke 9:35*

4.22.1—... *vox illa de caelo: Hic est filius meus dilectus, hunc audite*, ... | 4.22.8—*Itaque nec nunc muta nubes fuit, sed vox solita de caelo, et patris novum testimonium super filio*, ... | 4.22.10—*Hunc igitur audite ... dicendo scilicet: Hic est filius meus dilectus, hunc audite*. | 4.22.12—*Quem magis quam vocis caelestis illius: Hic est filius meus dilectus, hunc audite?* | *Praescr*. 22.6—*Quid eos* [Peter and John] *ignorasse voluit quibus etiam gloriam suam exhibuit, et Moysen et Helian* [*sic*] *et insuper de caelo patris vocem?* | *Prax*. 19.4—... *Hic est Filius meus dilectus, hunc audite*. | *Prax*. 23.3—... *Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in quo bene sensi, audite illum;* ...[196]

This verse is also attested by Epiphanius and Ephrem. Tertullian's testimony to what the voice said attests the reading of several witnesses and the Majority Text: οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε.[197] The likelihood of this

194 In a note to Tertullian's comment Evans wrote "Marcion excised the second half of Luke 9:31" (*Adversus Marcionem*, 2:385n3). Harnack viewed the entire verse as "unannehmbar" for and therefore omitted by Marcion, though also argued that ἐν δόξῃ was "herübergenommen" from v. 31 (*Marcion*, 203*).

195 Harnack reconstructed ἐν δόξῃ αὐτου at the end of Luke 9:30 (*Marcion*, 202*), an otherwise unattested reading.

196 Additional allusions to Luke 9:35//Matt 17:5//Mark 9:7 occur in 4.22.9, 13; 4.34.15; *An*. 17.14; and *Prax*. 24.3.

197 Williams states that Tertullian read *hic est filius meus delictus, hunc audite* and comments "Epiphanius in reading 7 [this number refers to the list of readings at the end of the article] has ἀγαπητός, 'beloved,' with D W lat and sy$^{(c)p}$ for Luke against Tertullian's *delictus*, which corresponds to ἐκλελεγμένος, 'chosen,' in the majority text of Luke" ("Reconsidering Marcion's Gospel, 486, 481n13). Apart from the Majority Text of Luke not

citation accurately reflecting Marcion's text is increased by both the numerous repetitions of the wording (cf. 4.22.1, 10, 12) and the absence of influence of the Matthean *in quo bene sensi* as found in *Prax*. 23.3.[198] Luke 9:35a, however, has engendered a bit of discussion as Tertullian states that the voice came *de caelo*. Harnack reconstructed φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (ἐκ τῆς νεφέλης wahrscheinlicher)[199] and then observed in the apparatus, "Dem '*de caelo*' Tert.s ist nicht zu trauen, da er hier referiert."[200] Similarly, Tsutsui notes Tertullian's allusion and indicates that *caelo* is an unlikely reading by placing it in brackets.[201] Harnack and Tsutsui are correct in their assessment, though neither mentioned that 4.22.8, 13 clearly indicate that the voice did come from the cloud and that *Praescr*. 22.6 confirms Tertullian's inclination to refer to the "customary voice" (4.22.8) coming *de caelo*.

4.4.37 *Luke 9:57–62*

4.23.9—*At enim humanissimus deus cur recusat eum qui se tam individuum illi comitem offert? Si quia superbe vel ex hypocrisi dixerat: Sequar te quocumque ieris*. | 4.23.10—*Illi autem causato patris sepulturam cum respondet: Sine mortui sepeliant mortuos suos, tu autem vade et adnuntia regnum dei*, … | 4.23.11—*Cum vero et tertium illum prius suis valedicere parantem prohibet retro respectare*, … | *Bapt*. 12.9—… *patris exequias despexit*; … | *Idol*. 12.3—… *cum etiam sepelire patrem tardum fuit fidei*. | *Mon*. 7.8—*Nam et illum adulescentem festinantem ad exsequias patris ideo revocat*, …

In the series of exchanges in Luke 9:57–62, v. 60 is also attested by Clement of Alexandria. Tertullian's testimony to these verses begins in 4.23.9 with a general reference to Jesus not accepting (presumably alluding to v. 58) a man who had said ἀκολουθήσω σοι ὅπου ἂν ἀπέρχῃ (v. 57).[202] In 4.23.10 Tertullian adapts the almost uniformly attested θάψαι τὸν πατέρα μου (v. 59), and follows it with a citation of Jesus' response. Harnack reconstructed v. 60 ἄφες τοὺς νεκροὺς

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reading ἐκλελεγμένος, which also does not correspond to the Latin *delictus*, Williams has unfortunately followed a misprint of 4.22.10 in CCSL. Also considering 4.22.1 and 4.22.12, where CCSL rightly reads *dilectus*, may have allowed Williams to avoid this error. For further comments cf. the discussion in Roth, "Marcion and the Early Text," 308–9n29.

198 This does not render Aalders's observation "it is very possible that the words of Mt. 17,5 are running through Tert.'s mind" ("Tertullian's Quotations," 264) impossible; however, it does make it less likely.

199 Harnack did not reconstruct the λέγουσα that may be attested by Tertullian's *dicendo*. IGNTP stating that Marcion attests the omission of the participle is an overstatement.

200 Harnack, *Marcion*, 202*–3*.

201 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 93.

202 Marcion's text possibly could have read ἐάν.

θάψαι τοὺς νεκρούς ἑαυτῶν, σὺ δὲ ἄπελθε καὶ διάγγελε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.[203] Most of the verse is unproblematic; however, it is not clear that Marcion's text did not read the much more common τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκρούς and ἀπελθών. For the word order in the former, IGNTP lists only W, 349, and 1195 as attesting Harnack's reconstructed order, and it is worth noting that *mortuos suos* is the reading of all OL manuscripts and the Vulgate. The possibility of the Latin rendering simply not placing *suos* in an emphatic position must be considered. The imperative rather than the participle and the addition of καί could also be a stylistic choice by Tertullian.[204] The allusions in *Bapt*. 12.9, *Idol*. 12.3, and *Mon*. 7.8 unfortunately do not provide further insight into vv. 59–60. In 4.23.11 the adaptation attests ἀποτάξασθαι and implies something like τοῖς εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου (v. 61) and the prohibition of βλέπων εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω (v. 62).

4.4.38 *Luke 10:5*

4.24.4—*Sic et dominus ut in quam introissent domum <praescribat>*[205] *pacem ei dicere, . . .*[206] | *Or*. 26.2—*Aut quomodo secundum praeceptum pax huic domui dices, . . .*

Harnack reconstructed this verse εἰς ἣν (δ') ἂν εἰσέλθητε οἰκίαν . . . (λέγετε)· εἰρήνη (τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ).[207] Such a reconstruction is possible, though Tertullian's allusion to the opening elements of the verse does not allow a definite decision concerning the presence or absence of δέ, and, given Tertullian's occasional change of word order and shift of tenses, no great amount of confidence can be given to Harnack's reconstruction of 10:5a. Nevertheless, Marcion's text may have read εἰσέλθητε οἰκίαν with several early witnesses, including P^{75}, ℵ, and B, instead of οἰκίαν εἰσέρχησθε. In the apparatus Harnack stated that Marcion's text read οἰκίαν and not οἰκίαν πρῶτον, citing a few of the handful of witnesses in which the adverb is missing. The absence of the adverb, however, may be a simple omission as Tertullian is not handling the verse with any particular precision. This fact is clearly seen in the wording *pacem ei*, where Tertullian has replaced the reference to the house with a pronoun. That Tertullian knows the canonical reading is evident from *Or*. 26.2, and Harnack rightly does not contend that Marcion's text read εἰρήνη αὐτῇ or αὐτῷ. Tertullian's argument is

203 Harnack, *Marcion*, 204*.

204 The IGNTP apparatus curiously lists only certain Ethiopic manuscripts as attesting this reading, when it is also the reading of aur, d, and e. In fact, Tertullian's entire citation corresponds to the reading in e verbatim.

205 *Praescribat* is indicated as supplied by Braun (*Contre Marcion IV*, 306).

206 Ursinus's note and Kroymann's edition read *dicerent*.

207 Harnack, *Marcion*, 205*.

concerned with the "peace" element of the pronouncement, and it is therefore not really possible to determine the precise reading of Marcion's text in v. 5b.[208]

4.4.39 *Luke 10:19*

4.24.9—*Quis nunc dabit potestatem calcandi super colubros et scorpios?* | 4.24.12—... *tunc et scorpios et serpentes sanctis suis* [the Creator God's] *subdidit*, ...[209]

Tertullian adapts Luke 10:19 in the question he poses in 4.24.9, which attests the reading δίδωμι/δέδωκα ... τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφεων καὶ σκορπίων.[210] It is not clear whether the present or perfect form underlies Tertullian's *dabit*, though in either case Tertullian has altered the tense to the future. In addition, *calcandi* renders the Greek infinitive in numerous OL manuscripts. Finally, though the verse is not multiply cited outside of *Adversus Marcionem*, that the adaptation is following the word order in Marcion's text appears to be confirmed by the alteration of the order of numerous elements in the allusion back to the verse in 4.24.12.

4.4.40 *Luke 10:21*

4.25.1—*Quis dominus caeli invocabitur qui non prius factor ostenditur? Gratias enim, inquit, ago, et confiteor, domine caeli, quod ea quae erant abscondita sapientibus et prudentibus, revelaveris*[211] *parvulis. Quae ista? et cuius? et a quo abscondita? et a quo revelata?* | 4.25.3—... *ita nec dominus caeli nec pater Christi* ... | *Prax*. 26.8—... *Confiteor, inquit, tibi, Pater, quod absconderis haec a sapientibus*.[212]

Luke 10:21 is also attested by Epiphanius. Focusing simply on Tertullian's testimony, a first observation is that prior to citing the verse, Tertullian mentions *dominus caeli* and sets up his argument concerning this Lord being the Creator. The canonical text indicates that this Lord is not only Lord of Heaven but also καὶ τῆς γῆς, and the fact that neither Tertullian's introductory question nor the citation of the verse has this element increases the likelihood of its absence in Marcion's text. Second, the unexpected *gratias ago* at the beginning

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208 Tertullian focuses on the pronouncement of "peace" to connect Christ with Elisha as he follows the reference to Luke 10:5 with a loose citation of 2 Kgs 4:26.

209 There is a reference to Luke 10:20 in 4.7.13; however, Tertullian gives no indication that he is drawing the allusion from Marcion's text.

210 Tertullian's Latin cannot reveal whether τῶν was present before ὄφεων as attested in P^{45}, D, and a few other witnesses.

211 Moreschini's text reads *revelaveris* with R2 and R3, rejecting *revelaverit* in *M*, γ, and R1.

212 Additional allusions to Luke 10:21 occur in 4.25.5, 14.

of the citation is not present in *Prax*. 26.8, once again increasing the likelihood that it has come from Marcion's text.[213] Third, the presence of *tibi* in *Prax*. 26.8 could increase the probability that the otherwise universally attested σοί was not present in Marcion's text as it does not appear after *gratias ago* or after *confiteor*, but it may be a simple omission on the part of Tertullian.[214] Fourth, the absence of πάτερ in Marcion's text may gain some credence through its presence in *Prax*. 26.8, though it should be noted that Tertullian omits "Lord of heaven and the earth" in the latter reference, once more revealing that Tertullian can easily omit elements in his citations.[215] For each of these points the testimony of Epiphanius is necessary before coming to conclusions.

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213 *Gratias ago* (εὐχαριστῶ), according to IGNTP, is not attested for either Luke 10:21 or, according to Tischendorf and von Soden, Matt 11:25. A.F.J. Klijn, however, provides evidence from several church fathers and witnesses to the diatessaron for this reading ("Matthew 11:25 // Luke 10:21" in *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis: Essays in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger* [ed. Eldon Jay Epp and Gordon D. Fee; Oxford: Clarendon, 1981], 6–9). Though the evidence of other witnesses is necessary before coming to a conclusion, Klijn states that the addition of *confiteor* after *gratias ago* "is possibly from the hand of Tertullian, which means that Marcion's text probably read εὐχαριστῶ" (ibid., 9). In support of this view Kiljn cites Plooij, who argued " '*Confiteor*' is the common Latin version. Accordingly the addition of '*et confiteor*' by TERTULLIAN appears rather one of his frequent remarks in which he explains or corrects a reading divergent from the Greek Text he is acquainted with; he seems to regard '*gratias ago*' as an incorrect rendering of ἐξομολογοῦμαι" (*Further Study*, 82). It should be noted that Plooij's view requires Tertullian to have been reading Marcion's Gospel in Latin. In addition, it is not clear how a simple *et* before Tertullian's supposed clarification functions as a signal for a gloss. That Tertullian glosses citations is clear, though he often is quite transparent in indicating that he is doing so by using *id est* (cf., e.g., Luke 11:39–40 in 4.27.2 and Luke 18:20 in 4.36.4) or *utique* (cf. the comments in chapter 5, n. 361). Klijn seems to have changed his position a little over a decade later when he implied that the whole phrase appeared in Marcion's text as he commented on "the use of *Gratias . . . ago et confiteor* in Marcion, according to Tertullian" (A.F.J. Klijn, *Jewish-Christian Gospel Tradition* [SVigChr 17; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992], 111). Harnack's explanation was that εὐχαριστῶ καὶ was "der Deutlichkeit wegen hinzugesetzt," presumably by Marcion (*Marcion*, 206*).

214 Harnack noted that the omission is "sonst unbezeugt; vielleicht zufällig bei Tert." (*Marcion*, 206*).

215 In addition, Harnack, based on the allusion in 4.25.3, believed that πατήρ was present in Marcion's text in the final clause of Luke 10:21 where he reconstructed ναὶ ὁ πατήρ (ὅτι οὕτως ἐγένετο εὐδοκία ἔμπροσθέν σου) (*Marcion*, 206*). Braun also contends that the final element, though not cited by Tertullian, was present in Marcion's text (*Contre Marcion IV*, 315n2, 317n5).

Fifth, Tsutsui notes that in Tertullian's citation God is the subject of the "revealing" but not of the "hiding."[216] Harnack, who reconstructed the text as ὅτι ἅτινα ἦν κρυπτὰ σοφοῖς καὶ συνετοῖς ἀπεκάλυψας νηπίοις, contended that this wording was a tendentious alteration.[217] Tsutsui agrees, noting "Hier liegt wohl ein merkwürdiger Querschnitt der Gottes- bzw. der Erlösungslehre Marcions vor."[218] Braun, on the other hand, observes that the statement *ea quae … parvulis* "paraît avoir été remodelée par le citateur [Tertullian]."[219] Indeed, Harnack's attempt to support this formulation and its passive voice with "in der Auslegung bezeugt Tert. das Passiv" is not persuasive.[220] The primary reason for this shortcoming is that, as seen in the citation of 4.25.1 above, Tertullian attests both *abscondere* and *revelare* in the passive as he continues the argument. In fact, Tertullian begins his refutation *Si a deo Marcionis abscondita et revelata … satis inique* (4.25.1), and concludes that it is easier to believe that the same God who revealed things to babes kept them hidden before.[221] If this were all that Tertullian had said, Braun's position would appear more tenable; yet, Tertullian makes a final point, which reveals that Harnack and Tsutsui may be right after all, even if they themselves did not mention the strongest point in favor of their view. Tertullian's closing thoughts deal with the proposition that if Marcion's god revealed the things previously kept hidden by the Creator, then the former would have done a service for the latter.[222] Interestingly, Tertullian then states *Sed in destructionem, inquis* [Marcion], *uti traduceret eas* (4.25.6). Of course, one cannot be certain that Tertullian actually knows the argument Marcion made concerning the interpretation of this verse, but the presence of this statement at least increases the likelihood that Tertullian is reflecting the wording of Marcion's text in his original citation. Otherwise, since this final argument is only possible if the subject of the two verbs is different in the text, one would have to posit that Tertullian created a reading, then created a Marcionite interpretation of that reading, only to create a reply to that interpretation.

216 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 97.
217 Harnack, *Marcion*, 206*.
218 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 97.
219 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 315n2. Cf. also Wright, *Alterations*, 131–32.
220 Cf. Harnack, *Marcion*, 206*.
221 Tertullian makes this point in 4.25.5.
222 Cf. 4.25.5.

4.4.41 *Luke 10:22*

2.27.4—*Ceterum quia Patrem nemini visum etiam commune testabitur evangelium, dicente Christo: Nemo cognovit Patrem nisi Filius.* | 4.25.7—*Omnia sibi tradita dicit a patre.* | 4.25.10—*Sed nemo scit qui sit pater, nisi filius, et qui sit filius, nisi pater* [*nemo enim scit patrem nisi filius et filium nisi pater*][223] *et cuicumque filius revelaverit* … | *Praescr.* 21.2—… *quia nec alius patrem novit nisi filius et cui filius revelavit,* … | *Prax.* 8.3—*Apud nos autem solus Filius Patrem novit,* … | *Prax.* 24.4 [*sic*, 24.5]—… *Omnia mihi Pater tradidit* … | *Prax.* 26.9—*Hic quoque Patrem nemini notum nisi Filio adfirmat.*[224]

Luke 10:22 is attested by Eznik, in the *Adamantius Dialogue*, and possibly by Irenaeus. Before addressing specifics of Tertullian's testimony to the verse, a few comments first need to be made concerning the bracketed reading in 4.25.10. Braun rightly agrees with previous editors that these words, which agree with the reading of Matt 11:27, do not come from the hand of Tertullian but are an interpolation by a later copyist.[225] Gilles Quispel's attempt to explain the reference as it stands, by seeing Tertullian first cite the orthodox text of Luke and then the Marcionite text, is unpersuasive, primarily because it must read far too much into the conjunction *enim* and it overlooks the Matthean character of the bracketed text.[226]

The citation of Luke 10:22a here attests πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός for Marcion's text.[227] Given Tertullian's propensity to move pronouns, however, the TR reading παρεδόθη μοι, though unlikely, cannot be ruled out completely. In addition, the absence of μου, though supported by the readings in D and several OL manuscripts,[228] may be a simple omission in that Tertullian's citation in *Prax.* 24.5 also refers only to "the Father" and not "my Father."

223 Pamelius, Rigalti, Kroymann, and Evans viewed the elements in brackets as unoriginal and arising from a copyist's interpolation.

224 An additional allusion to Luke 10:22 occurs in 4.25.11.

225 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 322n2. Cf. also Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:470.

226 Gilles Quispel, *De Bronnen van Tertullianus' Adversus Marcionem* (Leiden: Burgersdijk & Niermans Templum Salomonis, 1943), 117. On his interpretation he notes "De beteekenis van 'enim' is dan: 'deze tekst mag wel aldus worden weergegeven, want in den marcionitischen Bijbel staat juist als in onzen Bijbel': οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός" (*Bronnen*, 117n3). Braun rightly states that Quispel's contention is not convincing (*Contre Marcion IV*, 322n2).

227 This is also Harnack's reconstruction (*Marcion*, 206*).

228 IGNTP also lists certain Vulgate manuscripts, sy^{s}, the Persian Diatessaron, and Eusebius as omitting the possessive pronoun.

In Luke 10:22b, three points must be made. First, the absence of καί at the outset is almost certainly a simple omission by Tertullian.[229] Second, though Harnack, with a view towards the other witnesses, reconstructed οὐδεὶς γινώσκει (ἔγνω?),[230] the present tense reading is clearly attested by Tertullian as he uses the perfect indicative in 2.27.4, *Praescr*. 21.2, and *Prax*. 8.3 and a perfect passive participle in *Prax*. 26.9.[231] Third, the inversion of "father" and "son" in Marcion's text so that it read τίς ἐστιν ὁ πατήρ εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ υἱός εἰ μὴ ὁ πατὴρ, an inversion also attested in the manuscript tradition and church fathers, may be supported by Tertullian citing the Matthean/Lukan order in *Praescr*. 21.2.[232]

Finally, Harnack reconstructed Luke 10:22c καὶ ᾧ ἐὰν ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψῃ.[233] The absence of βούληται is attested by several other church fathers, but Harnack's belief that it was absent in Marcion's text could be questioned since Tertullian omits the verb in *Praescr*. 21.2 as well.[234] On the other hand, though the subjunctive ἀποκαλύψῃ is attested in several church fathers for Luke 10:22//Matt 11:27 and could have been found in Marcion's text, Tertullian wrote *revelavit* in *Praescr*. 21.2 revealing that he may again be taking liberty with verb tense and mood when referring to the conclusion of this verse.[235]

4.4.42 *Luke 10:25*

4.19.7—…*Ecce legis doctor adsurrexit temptans eum*;…| 4.25.15—*In evangelio veritatis legis doctor dominum adgressus: Quid faciens, inquit, vitam aeternam consequar? In haeretico 'vita' solummodo posita est, sine 'aeternae'*

229 Harnack placed the conjunction in parentheses (*Marcion*, 206*).

230 Ibid.

231 It is interesting that Tertullian attests the present tense for Marcion and the perfect tense for his own text when Irenaeus, *Haer*. 4.6.1 takes pains to argue for the present tense against the perfect tense preferred by the heretics (cf. Braun [trans.], *Contre Marcion II*, 163n8).

232 Tertullian only cites part of the verse here, though that he has the "father" before the "son" leading into the final element of the verse reveals the Matthean/Lukan order. 2.27.4 and *Prax*. 26.9 reveal that Tertullian prefers simply to speak of no one knowing the Father except the Son, but this preference in a general allusion does not bear on the issue of the reversal of the elements when Tertullian cites the entire verse. Tsutsui reads great theological and christological significance into the change of word order (cf. "Evangelium," 97), a significance which is possible, but not necessarily required.

233 Harnack, *Marcion*, 206*.

234 It is also omitted in the allusion in 4.25.11 (cf. n. 224)

235 Nearly all witnesses read ἀποκαλύψαι in Luke 10:22//Matt 11:27, though the OL manuscript a reads *revelavit*.

mentione, … | 4.25.18—*Viderit nunc, si 'aeternam' nostri addiderunt:* … | *Carn. Chr.* 7.3—… *Ecce, inquit, surrexit legis doctor temptans eum,* …

Luke 10:25–28 is also attested by Epiphanius. Concerning Tertullian's testimony, first, he does not provide any insight into the precise wording of 10:25a, though it is clear that a νομικός approached Jesus.[236] Second, Harnack contended that, with D, Marcion's text did not read διδάσκαλε at the outset of the question.[237] There is, however, no way to know if this was indeed the case as its absence may be a simple omission on the part of Tertullian. Third, one finds here one of the few places where Tertullian explicitly notes an omission in Marcion's text. In addition, Tertullian not only notes that the "heretical Gospel" does not contain αἰώνιον, in 4.25.18 he indicates that the Marcionite view would be that the "orthodox" have added the word to the text. As no other extant manuscript attests this omission, Harnack and Tsutsui concluded that Marcion removed the adjective from his text.[238]

4.4.43 *Luke 10:27*

4.25.15—… *ut doctor de ea vita videatur consuluisse quae in lege promittitur a creatore longaeva* [*aeterna*]*, et dominus ideo illi secundum legem responsum dedisse: Diliges dominum deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua et totis viribus tuis, quoniam de lege vitae sciscitabatur.* | 4.27.4—… *dicenti: Diliges dominum deum tuum, ex toto corde et ex tota anima tua et ex totis viribus tuis, qui te vocavit ex Aegypto.* [Deut 6:5, 12] | 5.4.11—… *et hoc Creatoris est: Diliges Deum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua et ex totis viribus tuis* [Deut 6:5], *sive quae in proximum, et: Proximum tuum tamquam te Creatoris est.* [Lev 19:18] | 5.8.9—*Apostolum instruxerit principali praecepto quod probavit et Christus: Diliges Dominum de totis praecordiis et totis viribus et tota anima et proximum tibi tamquam te.* | *Scorp.* 6.11—… *quae deum scilicet diligens ex totis viribus suis,* … *ex tota anima qua,* …[239]

Continuing to focus only on Tertullian's testimony, several issues arise out of his comments on Luke 10:27. First, Tertullian's statement *dominus ideo illi secundum legem responsum dedisse* in 4.25.15 led Harnack to conclude that

236 Harnack reconstructed νομικός (τις ἐκπειράζων αὐτόν), but there is no good reason for suggesting the omission of ἀνέστη or the absence of καὶ ἰδού at the outset of the verse.

237 Harnack, *Marcion*, 207*. d and the Arabic Diatessaron also attest the absence of the vocative. In addition, it seems unnecessary to follow IGNTP in assuming that Tertullian here attests κτήσομαι for Marcion's text.

238 Cf. Harnack, *Marcion*, 207* and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 98.

239 Additional allusions to Luke 10:27//Matt 22:37//Mark 12:30 or Deut 6:5 occur in 2.13.5; *Jejun.* 2.8; and *Res.* 9.3.

Marcion put the following words into Jesus' mouth.[240] Harnack combined the omission of αἰώνιον in v. 25 and this form of the text to contend that one should not even consider Zahn's view that the truncated references are due to Tertullian himself,

> da die Tendenz so offenkundig ist und da Tert. hier den Text genau ins Auge gefaßt hat. (Er bemerkt ja sonst eine Auslassung höchst selten ausdrücklich).[241]

The logic of this argument, however, is not at all clear. Why does Tertullian's explicit reference to a missing element of the verse mean that he must copy all the elements present in the text? Braun also doubts the certainty of Harnack's assertion and rightly notes, "Même si celle-ci [the words of the reply] est énoncée par le légiste, elle est assumée par le Christ comme *réponse* à la consultation [emphasis original]."[242] Thus, Harnack's reconstruction (ὁ δὲ) κύριος ἀποκριθεὶς (εἶπεν)· ἐν τῷ νόμῳ (γέγραπται) should be questioned.

Second, in the citation of how one is to love the Lord your God, Harnack reconstructed the text with the preposition ἐξ for the first two elements, and ἐν for the third element. Both prepositions are found in the manuscript tradition for each element, but it is not entirely clear why Harnack opted for the latter preposition in the third element. Though it is possible that Tertullian's *ex* attests the Greek ἐξ for the first two elements, it is worth noting that, apart from 5.8.9., whenever Tertullian uses a preposition in quoting this passage from either testament, he always uses *ex*. Therefore, the use of *ex* may be due to Tertullian's own proclivity and it therefore does not allow a definite conclusion concerning the precise reading of these otherwise unproblematic elements in Marcion's text.

Finally, Tsutsui is convinced that the final element of loving your neighbor was deleted by Marcion, and that therefore, because of the loss of the link to

240 Harnack, *Marcion*, 207*. Tsutsui agrees ("Evangelium," 98). An additional implication of this view is that Marcion would have excised the questions in Luke 10:26. Braun questions Harnack's view and Lukas questions the relevance of either position stating, "Ob *Dtn* 6,5 gemäß Marcions Evangelium von Jesus selbst zitiert wird (so Harnack, Marcion, 206*) oder ob Jesus den Gesetzeslehre zur Zitation anleitet (so Braun, Contre Marcion 4, 327 Anm. 2), ist nicht entscheidbar und auch nicht so wichtig" (*Rhetorik*, 283n1320).

241 Harnack, *Marcion*, 207*. Zahn's comments are found in *Geschichte*, 2:470–71.

242 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 327n2. The same point can be made concerning Tertullian's comments in 4.25.16.

"neighbor," the parable of the Good Samaritan was also deleted.[243] Tsutsui's reasoning, however, is not convincing and he makes no mention of the fact that Tertullian also does not cite the fourth element in the series: καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ σου. Though this fourth element is also missing in D, several OL manuscripts, and a few other witnesses, given Tertullian's propensity to omit elements in a list, the possibility that he simply breaks off the citation, means that the remainder of v. 27 should be considered unattested, and not omitted.

4.4.44 *Luke 11:1*

4.26.1—*Cum in quodam loco orasset… adgressus eum* [Jesus] *ex discipulis quidam: Domine, inquit, doce nos orare, sicut et*[244] *Iohannes discipulos suos docuit.* | *Or.* 1.3—*Docuerat et Iohannes discipulos suos adorare;… Ideo nec extat, in quae verba docuerit Iohannes adorare,…*[245]

The reading of Marcion's text in the opening of Luke 11:1 cannot be constructed from Tertullian's allusion, though the *cum* may be representing ἐν τῷ εἶναι.[246] It is interesting that Harnack reconstructed the first two clearly attested elements of the verse as ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ προσευχόμενον and (εἶπέν) τις τῶν μαθητῶν (πρὸς αὐτόν), in neither case inverting the Greek word order according to Tertullian's Latin. Given the extremely weak or nonexistent manuscript evidence for Tertullian's order, Harnack was probably correct in these decisions;[247] however, under the influence of Tertullian placing *docuit* at the end of the clause, Harnack placed ἐδίδαξεν at the very end of the verse, noting that this position is otherwise unattested.[248] Apart from Harnack's haphazard derivation of Greek word order from the Latin, it is worth noting that Tertullian twice puts the "teaching" verb before his reference to John in two allusions to this verse in *Or.* 1.3. According to IGNTP, only l and one Georgian manuscript attest this position for the verb, and it is highly unlikely that Tertullian's phrasing

243 Concerning "love your neighbor as yourself," Tsutsui speculates "Marcion sympathisiert mit diesem Gebot und hat es in Gal 5,14 und Rom 13,9b stehen lassen. Ebendeshalb paßt es in diesen Zusammenhang, wobei vom irdischen Leben die Rede ist, nicht hinein" ("Evangelium," 98). Harnack stated that the words "haben vielleicht gefehlt" (*Marcion*, 206*), though he also speculated that "es mag eine Tendenz dahinter stecken [i.e., behind the omission]" (*Marcion*, 207*).

244 R3 and Gelenius read *sicut* and *sicut et* was restored by Pamelius.

245 An additional reference to Christ teaching the disciples how to pray occurs in 4.36.2.

246 Placed by Harnack in parentheses (*Marcion*, 207*).

247 According to IGNTP, the order τινὶ τώπῳ is attested in several OL manuscripts and the 13th century minuscule 2766 and the order τῶν μαθητῶν τις is otherwise unattested.

248 Harnack reconstructed the remainder of Luke 11:1 κύριε, δίδαξον ἡμᾶς προσεύχεσθαι, καθὼς καὶ Ἰωάννης τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ ἐδίδαξεν (*Marcion*, 207*).

here is being influenced by the actual word order of the verse as known to him. Thus, it is much more likely that in all these cases the word order is due to Tertullian, and in 4.26.1 is not reflecting Marcion's text. Second, though apart from the word order most of the verse is relatively unproblematic, the conflicting testimony in the manuscript tradition of Tertullian's works probably means that no firm decision is possible on whether Marcion's text read καθὼς καί or simply καθώς, with several OL and other manuscripts. Of course, if Moreschini's reconstruction is correct, and it likely is, the presence of the conjunction becomes more likely.

4.4.45 ***Luke 11:2***

4.26.3—*Cui dicam 'pater'?* | 4.26.4—*A quo spiritum sanctum postulem? ... Eius regnum optabo venire ...* | *Fug.* 2.5—*Sed in legitima oratione, cum dicimus ad patrem ...* | *Or.* 2.1—*... Pater qui in caelis es.* | *Or.* 3.2—*Id* [the Father's name] *ergo ut sanctificetur postulamus ...* | *Or.* 3.4—*... sanctificetur nomen tuum, ...* | *Or.* 5.1—*Veniat quoque regnum tuum ...* | *Prax.* 23.4—*... et nos erectos docebat orare: Pater noster, qui es in caelis, ...*

An important initial observation concerning Tertullian's attestation of the Lord's Prayer in Marcion's text is that he has rephrased the petitions as questions, which clearly creates additional challenges for reconstructing Marcion's wording.[249] Nevertheless, some insight can be gained from Tertullian's questions. The first question asks about the identity of the one addressed as *pater* (4.26.3). Though the remainder of the verse is unattested, in the other two instances where Tertullian cites the opening address he includes elements, albeit not in an identical manner, from the Matthean form of the prayer (*Or.* 2.1 and *Prax.* 23.4). Though Tertullian does not include any of the Matthean elements in the allusion in *Fug.* 2.5, their presence in the citations could lend credence to Marcion's text reading simply πάτερ, with P^{75}, א, and B.

Tertullian's second question is the curious *A quo spiritum sanctum postulem?* (4.26.4), which implies that the first supplication in the form of the prayer in Marcion's text was for the Holy Spirit. In *Or.* 3.2, 4 Tertullian reveals that his text read the expected petition for the name of the Father to be sanctified, and

249 An extensive discussion of Marcion's text of the Lord's Prayer can be found in Dieter T. Roth, "The Text of the Lord's Prayer in Marcion's Gospel," *ZNW* 103 (2012): 47–63. Though the following comments on the prayer are drawn from that article, only the central issues related to the readings are presented here and references to secondary literature are kept to a minimum. The challenges of reconstructing Marcion's text at this point were also noted by T. Baarda, "De korte tekst van het Onze Vader in Lucas 11:2–4: een Marcionitische corruptie?," *NedTT* 44 (1990): 277–78.

gives no indication of a petition for the Holy Spirit. Some later textual evidence for a petition for the Holy Spirit, though in an expanded form,[250] led Harnack to reconstruct Marcion's text as (ἐλθάτω) τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα (σου ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς καὶ καθαρισάτω ἡμᾶς).[251] Though some have followed Harnack in viewing this reading as that of Marcion's text,[252] Delobel is right in noting that there are several reasons for questioning this reconstruction.[253] First, in all the other witnesses, this phrase replaces the second petition ("thy kingdom come") and not the first petition.[254] Second, as will be seen, in all the other questions Tertullian poses concerning the elements of the prayer, he appears to preserve the original verb. Though not necessarily proving that the same is the case for *postulem* here, as Delobel correctly notes, it is "at least hypothetical to suppose a verb like 'advenire' (ἐλθέτω)."[255] Finally, there is no hint in Tertullian's argument of any of the elements placed in parentheses in Harnack's reconstruction. Thus, Harnack's reconstruction rightly recognizes that Marcion's text had some sort of request for the Spirit in place of the first petition, but may be wrong as to the wording

250 The four witnesses are 700, 162, Gregory of Nyssa, and Maximus. For the readings and discussion cf. Joël Delobel, "The Lord's Prayer in the Textual Tradition: A Critique of Recent Theories and Their View on Marcion's Role," in *The New Testament in Early Christianity: La réception des écrits néotestamentaires dans le christianisme primitive* (ed. Jean-Marie Sevrin; BETL 86; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989), 295 and Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (2d ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), 130–31.

251 Harnack, *Marcion*, 207*. Though Harnack placed some elements in parentheses, in the apparatus he stated that because Tertullian's testimony establishes that the first petition was for the Holy Spirit, Marcion's text would have read the way he reconstructed it, consonant with other sources. Harnack's conclusion may have been influenced by his belief that the original reading of Luke was πάτερ, ἐλθέτω τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμά σου [ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς] καὶ καθαρισάτω ἡμᾶς followed by the petition for daily bread ("Über einige Worte Jesu, die nicht in den kanonischen Evangelien stehen, nebst einem Anhang über die ursprüngliche Gestalt des Vater-Unsers," *SPAW* [1904]: 200 and idem, "Der ursprüngliche Text des Vater-Unsers und seine älteste Geschichte," in *Erforschtes und Erlebtes* [Reden und Aufsätze 4; Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1923], 28). Zahn, however, though reconstructing the text very similarly to Harnack, stated that the reading has no claim to originality (*Das Evangelium des Lucas* [4th ed., Kommentar zum Neuen Testament 3; Leipzig: Deichert, 1913], 767).

252 Delobel references several commentators accepting this view ("Extra-Canonical Sayings," 108–11). Cf. also Roth, "Text of the Lord's Prayer."

253 Delobel, "Lord's Prayer," 296 and idem, "Extra-Canonical Sayings," 110.

254 Rudolf Freudenberger highlights this point in concluding that Harnack's reading is "nicht ganz legitim" ("Zum Text der zweiten Vaterunserbitte," *NTS* 15 [1968–1969]: 421).

255 Delobel, "Lord's Prayer," 296.

of that request.[256] The unfortunate reality, as Chase had already observed at the end of the nineteenth century, is that "Tertullian gives no evidence as to the precise wording of the clause."[257]

The opening to the third question contains a reference to both βασιλεία and the verb ἔρχομαι; therefore, Harnack reconstructed ἐλθάτω ἡ βασιλεία σου.[258] Since Tertullian has constructed his argument with references to the Father in the third person, and IGNTP lists only 565 as omitting σου, there is no reason to assume that the second person possessive pronoun was not present in Marcion's text.

4.4.46 *Luke 11:3*

4.26.4—*Quis mihi dabit panem cottidianum?* | *Or.* 6.2—*…panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie…petendo panem quotidianum…* | *Or.* 6.4—*Merito autem adiecit: da nobis hodie,…*[259]

This petition is also attested by Origen. Tertullian's question reflects both ἄρτος ἐπιούσιος and the verb δίδωμι. In *Or.* 6.2, 4 Tertullian includes *nobis* in his citation, though once again, given the manner in which Tertullian frames his discussion there is no reason to posit anything in Marcion's text corresponding to Tertullian's *mihi*.

4.4.47 *Luke 11:4*

4.26.4—*Quis mihi delicta dimittet?…Quis non sinet nos deduci in temptationem?* | *Fug.* 2.5—*Sed in legitima oratione, cum dicimus ad patrem: ne nos inducas in temptationem…ab eo illam profitemur accidere a quo veniam eius deprecamur. Hoc est enim quod sequitur: sed erve nos a maligno, id est: ne nos induxeris in temptationem permittendo nos maligno. Tunc enim eruimur diaboli manibus, cum illi non tradimur in temptationem.* | *Or.* 7.1—*Docet itaque petamus dimitti nobis debita nostra.* | *Or.* 7.2—*…quod remittere nos quoque profitemur debitoribus nostris.* | *Or.* 8.1–3—*Ne nos inducas in temptationem, id est ne nos patiaris induci, ab eo utique qui temptat. Ceterum absit ut Dominus temptare*

256 Cf. also Andrew J. Bandstra, "The Lord's Prayer and Textual Criticism: A Response," *CTJ* 17 [1982]: 92n8 and Delobel, "Lord's Prayer," 296–97.

257 Frederic Henry Chase, *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church* (TS 1.3; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1891), 26–27.

258 Harnack's view of the original form of the Lord's Prayer in Luke (cf. n. 251) led him to posit that the presence of this petition was a pre-Marcionite intrusion from Matthew into the text used by Marcion (*Marcion*, 208* and idem, "Der ursprüngliche Text," 28). Harnack without comment offered the spelling ἐλθάτω as found in א and several other manuscripts, instead of ἐλθέτω.

259 An additional allusion to Luke 11:3//Matt 6:11 occurs in *Jejun.* 15.6.

videatur, quasi aut ignoret fidem cuiusque aut deicere <*sit*> [*ge*]*stiens. Diaboli est et infirmitas et malitia*… | *Or.* 8.6—*Eo respondit clausula, interpretans quid sit: ne nos deducas in temptationem; hoc est enim: sed devehe nos a malo.* | *Pud.* 2.10—*Debitoribus denique dimissuros nos in oratione profitemur*, …

The question alluding to Luke 11:4a refers to ἁμαρτίαι and the verb ἀφίημι. The other references by Tertullian to this petition in *Or.* 7.1, 2 and *Pud.* 2.10 reflect the Matthean wording (*debitum* rendering ὀφείλημα), likely supporting the view that Marcion's text contained the Lukan wording. As above, *mihi* does not reflect an element in Marcion's form of the petition. Thus, Harnack's reconstruction, (καὶ) ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἁμαρτίας (ἡμῶν), is generally acceptable, even if it would be more accurate to avoid referring to the unattested ἡμῶν.[260] Somewhat curiously, in the running text of his reconstruction Harnack followed this phrase with an ellipsis, but in the apparatus he stated that it is "wahrscheinlich" that Marcion's text continued with καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀφίομεν παντὶ ὀφείλοντι ἡμῖν. Nevertheless, the second half of the phrase is unattested and further speculation is unadvisable.

Tertullian's final question concerning the Lord's Prayer attests πειρασμός and a passive form of the verb εἰσφέρω.[261] In addition, only in this final petition does Tertullian use the pronoun *nos*. Harnack was convinced that Marcion had tendentiously altered the passage to read (καὶ) μὴ ἄφες ἡμᾶς εἰσενεχθῆναι εἰς πειρασμόν.[262] This reading has often been cited as the reading of Marcion's text,[263] but Schmid has recently questioned the validity of this view.[264] Schmid points out, as also noted above, that Tertullian did not cite this, or any, petition from the Lord's Prayer but remodeled Marcion's text into questions.[265] In addition, in *Fug.* 2.5 and *Or.* 8.1–3, Tertullian glosses the active reading of this petition with a passive explanation. In other words, Tertullian himself has a theological tendency to avoid the impression that the Lord was the tempter. Schmid correctly concludes that because the form of Tertullian's question reflects his own theological concerns serious doubts must be raised as to the

260 Harnack, *Marcion*, 207*.

261 Elements of the following discussion also appeared in summary form in Roth, "Marcion's Gospel: Relevance, Contested Issues, and Reconstruction," 292.

262 Harnack, *Marcion*, 207*–8*.

263 Cf. the references in Roth "Text of the Lord's Prayer," 61.

264 Schmid, "How Can We Access?," 143–44 discusses the petition in the light of *Or.* 8.1–3. The additional evidence from *Fug.* 2.5 presented here only serves to confirm his view.

265 Ibid., 143.

validity of Harnack's reconstruction and the positing of a Marcionite textual emendation.[266]

4.4.48 *Luke 11:5*

4.26.8—*Sic et praemissa similitudo nocturnum panis petitorem amicum facit, non alienum, et ad amicum pulsantem, non ad ignotum.... ad eum pulsat ad quem ius illi erat, cuius ianuam norat, quem habere panes sciebat,...* | 4.26.9—*...sero pulsatur,...* | *Or.* 6.3—*Sed et nocturnus ille pulsator panem pulsabat.* | *Praescr.* 11.5—*Panem vicinus non habebat et ideo pulsabat: ubi apertum est ei et accepit, pulsare cessavit.* | *Praescr.* 12.3—*...etiam pulsator ille vicini ianuam tundebat,...*

Luke 11:5 is also attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian's allusion in 4.26.8 provides only a few hints concerning the wording in Marcion's text. The use of a general time frame (*nocturnum*) is also found in *Or.* 6.3 and the mention of *panis* without an indication of the number of loaves appears in both *Or.* 6.3 and *Praescr.* 11.5, indicating that these phrasings are likely due to Tertullian's own hand. In addition, it is noteworthy that in every reference to Luke 11:5 Tertullian uses the verb *pulsare* even though "knocking" is not explicitly mentioned in Luke's text. Thus, κρούω did not appear at this point in Marcion's Gospel.

4.4.49 *Luke 11:9*

4.26.5—*Proinde a quo petam, ut accipiam? apud quem quaeram, ut inveniam? ad quem pulsabo, ut aperiatur mihi? quis habet petenti dare,...* | 4.26.6—*Denique si*[*c*] *accipere et invenire et admitti laboris et instantiae fructus est illi qui petiit*[267] *et quaesivit et pulsavit,...* | *Bapt.* 20.5—*Petite et accipietis inquit: quaesistis enim et invenistis, pulsastis et apertum est vobis.* | *Or.* 10—*...Dominus... seorsum post traditam orandi disciplinam, petite, inquit, et accipietis,...* | *Praescr.* 11.7–10—*Adeo finis est et quaerendi et pulsandi et petendi. Petenti enim dabitur, inquit, et pulsanti aperietur et quaerenti invenietur. Viderit qui quaerit semper quia non invenit; illic enim quaerit ubi non invenietur. Viderit qui semper pulsat quia numquam aperietur: illuc enim pulsat ubi nemo est. Viderit qui semper petit quia numquam audietur; ab eo enim petit qui non audit.*[268]

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266 Schmid, "How Can We Access?," 144.

267 Moreschini's text reads *petiit* with R3 (paralleling the perfect tense of *quaesivit* and *pulsavit*), rejecting *petit* in *M*, γ, R1, and R2.

268 Additional allusions to Luke 11:9//Matt 7:7 occur throughout *De praescriptione haereticorum: petite et accipietis* (8.11), *quaerite et invenietis* (8.2, 4, 15; 9.1, 6; 10.7, 9; 43.2), and *pulsate et aperietur vobis* (8.7).

Luke 11:9 is also partially attested by Epiphanius. Curiously, though Harnack reconstructed the phrasing of the Lord's Prayer in Marcion's text based on Tertullian's questions, he did not do so for Luke 11:9.[269] The imperative verb in each of the elements remains constant throughout Tertullian's references to this verse, and there appears to be no good reason to doubt that Marcion's text read αἰτεῖτε, ζητεῖτε, and κρούετε.[270] The situation is different, however, for the second verb in each element. Only *invenire* (attesting εὑρίσκω) remains constant in Tertullian's citations, though the reformulation into a question in 4.26.5 does not allow a definitive decision on whether Marcion's text read εὑρήσετε or εὑρήσεται.[271] That the counterpart to κρούετε was ἀνοιγήσεται[272] also appears established, not only because the manuscript tradition here attests no lemma other than ἀνοίγω, but also because *admittere* in 4.26.6 is rather obviously Tertullian's own word.[273] The counterpart to αἰτεῖτε in Tertullian's testimony is slightly less certain. In 4.26.5 he first uses *accipere*, though immediately after the three questions he uses *dare*. Tertullian's other attestations also vary as he uses *accipere* in 4.26.6, *Bapt*. 20.5, and *Or*. 10; *dare* in *Praescr*. 11.7; and *audire* in *Praescr*. 11.10. Given the variation and that IGNTP indicates that only a handful of church fathers attest λήψεσθε, it may well be that this reading is due to Tertullian and was not the reading of Marcion's text.[274]

4.4.50 *Luke 11:11–13*

4.26.10—*Ipse* [the Creator] *est qui scit quid filii postulent. Nam et panem petentibus de caelo dedit manna, et carnem desiderantibus emisit ortygometram, non serpentem pro pisce nec scorpium pro ovo. . . . Ita et spiritum sanctum is dabit . . .* | *Or*. 6.3—. . . *Numquid filio panem poscenti lapidem tradit?*

Luke 11:11–13 are also attested by Epiphanius and in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Tertullian's testimony alludes to the presence of ὁ υἱός asking and the phrases dealing with "instead of a fish giving a serpent" (v. 11) and "instead of an egg giving a scorpion" (v. 12). In *Or*. 6.3 Tertullian refers to the giving of the stone

269 Cf. Harnack, *Marcion*, 208*.

270 Tertullian also cites the elements in this order in *Bapt*. 20.5. It is interesting that in *Praescr*. 11.7–10 Tertullian introduces the quotation with the order "seek, knock, ask," has the order "ask, knock, seek" for the quotation itself, and, following the quotation, discusses the elements in the order "seek, knock, ask."

271 Numerous witnesses, including ℵ and D, read the latter.

272 The form could also be ἀνοιχθήσεται as in D and numerous other witnesses.

273 *Aperire* is used in all of Tertullian's other citations and allusions.

274 λαμβάνω appears in v. 10, which may have influenced the rendering of v. 9. The same phenomenon occurs in the Matthean version. Von Soden lists sy^s and sy^c as reading λήψεσθε in Matt 7:7, noting the influence from v. 8.

instead of bread as found only in Matt 7:9,[275] which may increase the likelihood that in 4.26.10 the reference is being governed by Marcion's text. For v. 13 Tertullian alludes to the statement δώσει πνεῦμα ἅγιον.

4.4.51 *Luke 11:15*

4.26.11—... *in Belzebule*[276] *dictus eicere daemonia*:... | 4.28.2—... *scilicet super ipso dicentes: Hic non expellit daemonia nisi in Belzebule* ...

In 4.26.11 Tertullian adapts Luke 11:15 and the accusation of the Pharisees ἐν βεελζεβοὺλ[277] ... ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια (v. 15). The verse is not cited outside of *Adversus Marcionem*, but when Tertullian makes a reference back to this accusation in 4.28.2 he cites it in one of its Matthean forms (Matt 12:24).[278] Thus, the likelihood that Tertullian's adaptation is following Marcion's text in 4.26.11 is increased. Also, Tertullian's omission of the description of Beelzebul as ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων in both references perhaps reveals that the descriptor is not important for him.[279]

4.4.52 *Luke 11:21–22*

4.26.12—*Merito igitur adplicuit ad parabolam fortis illius armati, quem validior alius oppressit*,... | 5.6.7—*Etiam parabola fortis illius armati, quem alius validior oppressit et vasa eius occupavit*,...

Luke 11:21–22 is also not multiply cited outside of *Adversus Marcionem*, but Tertullian does reference the text in 4.26.12 and then again in 5.6.7. The Lukan provenance of the saying is confirmed by the description of the strong man as *armati* (καθωπλισμένος), as it is not found in the parallel Matt 12:29// Mark 3:27. Though none of the Synoptics explicitly identify the illustration as a parable, Tertullian twice cites it as such. The *illius* appearing in both adaptations is clearly Tertullian's own addition, as is *alius*, which Tertullian inserts in two different places. For Marcion's text, Tertullian therefore attests ὁ ἰσχυρὸς

275 It should be noted, however, that the Matthean reading also appears in most manuscripts of Luke.

276 In the interaction with Luke 11:14–22, the manuscripts and editions of Tertullian offer variant spellings of Beelzebul. Moreschini follows the spelling found in Gelenius, Pamelius, and Kroymann. The Greek rendering here will follow the spelling found in the Majority Text without implying that this definitely was the orthography in Marcion's text.

277 On the spelling of Beelzebul, cf. n. 276.

278 The reading in Matt 9:34 is much closer to Luke 11:15.

279 In 4.26.12 Tertullian does mention that Jesus connected *principem daemoniorum, quem Beelzebub et satanam supra dixerat* with the parable of the strong man, but it is not entirely clear from where Tertullian draws the term and the fact remains that he does not refer to the "prince of demons" in his other references.

καθωπλισμένος (v. 21) and ἰσχυρότερος ... νικήσῃ [νικήσει is attested in several manuscripts, but is less likely] (v. 22).[280]

4.4.53 *Luke 11:27–28*

3.11.3—*Nam et mulier quaedam exclamaverat: Beatus venter qui te portavit, et ubera quae hausisti.* | 4.26.13—*Exclamat mulier de turba, beatum uterum qui illum portasset, et ubera quae illum educassent. Et dominus: Immo beati qui sermonem dei audiunt et faciunt, ...* | *Carn. Chr.* 7.13—*Eodem sensu denique et illi exclamationi respondit, non matris uterum et ubera negans, sed feliciores designans, qui verbum dei adiunt* [*sic*].

V. 27 is also attested by Ephrem. Tertullian's testimony to v. 27 in 3.11.3 and 4.26.13 indicates that his use of *exclamare* does not appear to render a single Greek verb, but the idea expressed by "a woman from the crowd" ἐπάρασα φωνὴν. There is also a rather unproblematic reference to the womb that bore Jesus and the breasts that nursed him being called blessed (μακαρία ἡ κολία ἡ βαστάσασά σε καὶ μαστοὶ οὓς ἐθήλασας).[281]

Harnack believed Tertullian's testimony to reveal two specific readings in v. 28: (1) ἀκούοντες after τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ instead of before it and (2) ποιοῦντες instead of φυλάσσοντες.[282] The first reading is suspect because in *Carn. Chr.* 7.13 Tertullian also places *audiunt* after the reference to the word of God, revealing that this otherwise unattested order is most likely due to Tertullian's own hand. Concerning the second point, IGNTP does reveal slight manuscript evidence for this reading; however, as was seen in the discussion above of Luke 8:21, Tertullian immediately refers back to 8:21 after citing Luke 11:28. It is worth noting that Luke 8:21 concludes with a reference to "hearing" and "doing" the word of God. Therefore, it is possible that the connection between Luke 8:21 and 11:28 in Tertullian's argument has led him to write *audiunt et faciunt*, thus rendering it unclear whether Marcion's text really read as Harnack thought.[283]

280 Though Harnack, *Marcion*, 209* cited Tertullian's allusions to these verses he provided no reconstruction of them. In addition, though Aalders wrote that there is "no doubt" that Tertullian wanted to translate the two actions in the Greek text (ἐπελθὼν νικήσῃ) with *oppressit* ("Tertullian's Quotations," 267), it is not clear that this is the case.

281 Harnack offered the same reconstruction, though placing οὓς ἐθήλασας in parentheses. The OL manuscripts render the Greek with both *sugere* and *lactare*, and there is no reason to posit that Tertullian's rendering reflects any other Greek text, particularly as the Greek is almost uniform in the manuscript tradition. Both the OL and Vulgate also place the pronouns prior to the verb, as does Tertullian (*te portavit, illum portasset*).

282 Harnack, *Marcion*, 209*. Plooij, *Further Study*, 84 also assumes the latter reading in Marcion's text.

283 In *Carn. Chr.* 7.13 Tertullian makes no reference to the second element.

4.4.54 *Luke 11:29*

4.27.1—*… iubet omni petenti dare, et ipse signum petentibus non dat*; … | *Fug.* 13.2—*Atque adeo omni petenti dari iubet, ipse signum petentibus non dat.*

Luke 11:29 is also attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian's testimony in 4.27.1 indicates a reference to the phrase σημεῖον οὐ δοθήσεται. That there is no need to posit a direct reference in the text of someone "asking" for a sign is clear from Tertullian's use of *petere* in *Fug.* 13.2 as well.

4.4.55 *Luke 11:33*

4.27.1—*… negat lucernam abstru<d>endam, sed confirmat super candelabrum proponendam, ut omnibus luceat*; … | *Cult. fem.* 2.13.2—*Si lucernam tuam sub modio abstruseris*, … | *Praescr.* 26.4—*Ipse docebat lucernam non sub modium abstrudi solere sed in candelabrum constitui ut luceat omnibus qui in domo sunt.*

Tertullian's use of this verse in his argument provides little insight into the actual wording of Marcion's Gospel. That it included some mention of hiding a λυχνός and the idea of ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν is obvious; however, Harnack also believed that the end of the verse in Marcion's text was Matthean.[284] Once again it may simply be that Tertullian slipped into the, for him, more familiar Matthean wording (he cites Matt 5:15 in *Praescr.* 26.4), which works equally well for the purposes of Tertullian's argument: Marcion's Christ hid his light from men for ages even though he commanded a lamp not to be hidden but placed on a lampstand in order to give light to all.

4.4.56 *Luke 11:52*

4.27.9—*Quam vero clavem habebant legis doctores nisi interpretationem legis? ad cuius intellectum neque ipsi adibant, non credentes scilicet—nisi enim credideritis, non intellegetis* [Isa 7:9]—*, neque alios admittebant*: … | 4.28.2—*… quae clavem agnitionis habens nec* [*in*] *ipsa*[*m*] *introiret nec alios sineret*, …

Though not multiply cited outside of *Adversus Marcionem*, a second allusion to v. 52 in 4.28.2 provides some insight into Tertullian's testimony. In 4.27.9 Tertullian makes reference to τοῖς νομικοῖς and 4.28.2 reveals that not only τὴν κλεῖδα, but probably also τῆς γνώσεως were present in the verse.[285] The phrasing

284 Harnack, *Marcion*, 209*. It is not clear why Harnack included the unattested ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον in his reconstruction, but not the attested ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν.

285 In 4.28.2 Tertullian applies the words spoken to the lawyers to the Pharisees (Luke 12:1). Tsutsui rightly notes "Das Wort 'agnitio', das Tertullian in dem Zitat bezeugt, ist nicht das genaue Äquivalent des griechischen 'γνῶσις', das gewöhnlich mit 'scientia' übersetzt wird" ("Evangelium," 102). However, his conclusion that Marcion may have replaced the Greek word in his text is problematic. First, his argument by analogy "Aus Röm 11,33 hat Marcion

of Tertullian's reference to v. 52 in 4.27.9 has been shaped by the citation of LXX Isa 7:9, with which Tertullian glossed the verse, and there is no reason to posit that Marcion read a Greek term more closely approximating the Latin adjective *intellectus* (4.27.9). In addition, a comparison of the references also reveals the fluidity with which Tertullian renders v. 52b, making its reconstruction with any degree of certainty impossible.[286] Finally, *nec alios sineret* in 4.28.2 may well have arisen from the parallel in Matt 23:13.

4.4.57 *Luke 12:2*

4.28.2—… *adicit: Nihil autem opertum, quod non patefiet, et nihil absconditum, quod non dinoscetur*, …[287] | *Paen.* 6.10—*Nihil occultum quod non revelabitur*: … | *Virg.* 14.3—… *Nihil occultum quod non revelabitur*, …

Harnack reconstructed this verse οὐδὲν δὲ συγκεκαλυμμένον, ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται, καὶ οὐδὲν κρυπτόν, ὃ οὐ γνωσθήσεται.[288] This reconstruction reads as the text of NA[28] with two exceptions. First, ἐστίν after συγκεκαλυμμένον has been omitted.[289] It is not clear, however, that this omission should be posited for Marcion's text because in both Luke 12:2 and Matt 10:26 ἐστίν appears in

'γνῶσις' gestrichen (s. Harnack109* [*sic*])" is questionable as Harnack simply assumed that the unattested elements in Tertullian's citation of the verse were deleted by Marcion. Second, the assumption that because Tertullian deviated from "normal" translation words a different Greek text was present is hazardous precisely because Tertullian constantly varies the vocabulary he employs in biblical citations (for further discussion on this point cf. Roth, "Did Tertullian Possess?," 439).

286 After the reference to the lawyers, Harnack reconstructed τὴν κλεῖδα τῆς γνώσεως κτλ. It is not entirely clear what Harnack meant to indicate with his κτλ.; however, the most straight-forward implication that the remainder of the verse read as canonical Luke is not provable. In addition, this fluidity, along with what may be a generic reference to the scribes "having" the keys without any clear intention of rendering the verb found in Marcion's text seems to preclude the somewhat incautious conclusion: "Marcion … read ἔχετε" (Gilles Quispel, "The Gospel of Thomas and the New Testament," *VC* 11 [1957]: 202). Tertullian's question and passing comment does not necessarily reveal what verb Marcion read.

287 Moreschini's text reads *dinoscetur w*ith Rhenanus's editions, rejecting *dinosceretur* in *M* and γ.

288 Harnack, *Marcion*, 211*.

289 IGNTP lists a few manuscripts that attest ἐστίν before συγκεκαλυμμένον. In addition, a variant spelling συνκεκαλυμμένον is attested in P[75], D, W, Θ, and 2766, whereas κεκαλυμμένον is attested in P[45], א, C*, and 1241. For this reason the precise rendering of *opertum* is uncertain.

the text, and yet Tertullian does not offer it in either of his other two citations.[290] Second, an additional οὐδέν has been inserted before κρυπτόν. Unfortunately, this element of the verse is not multiply cited, but its complete absence in the textual tradition of both Matthew and Luke may lend some credence to the supposition that the repetition is due to Tertullian himself.[291]

4.4.58 *Luke 12:3*

4.28.2—*…cum subiciat etiam quae inter se mussitarent vel inter se tractarent… in apertum processura et in ore hominum futura ex evangelii promulgatione.* | *Praescr.* 26.2—*…ipse praeceperat si quid in tenebris et in abscondito audissent, in luce et in tectis praedicarent.*

Luke 12:3 is another case where little concerning the precise wording of Marcion's text can be gleaned from Tertullian's allusion. Apart from the likely presence of κηρυχθήσεται, the only insight is that the use of *mussitare* in 4.28.2 may have arisen from a closer rendering of the text (πρὸς τὸ οὖς ἐλαλήσατε) than offered in the general *audire* in *Praescr*. 26.2.[292]

4.4.59 *Luke 12:4–5*

4.28.3—*Deinde conversus ad discipulos: Dico autem, inquit, vobis amicis, nolite terreri ab eis qui vos solummodo occidere possunt, nec post hoc ullam in vobis habent potestatem… demonstrabo autem vobis quem timeatis: timete eum qui postquam occiderit potestatem habeat*[293] *mittendi in gehennam—creatorem*

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290 Though Harnack believed the textual tradition to unanimously include ἐστίν in Luke, IGNTP lists two minuscules, one lectionary, and Hilary as omitting it, along with Tertullian and Marcion. In any case, the evidence is scant.

291 According to IGNTP, numerous OL manuscripts, and manuscripts of other ancient versions, attest οὐδέ instead of καί. It is curious, however, to find Marcion also listed as a witness for this reading as one would not expect *neque* of the OL manuscripts and *et nihil* to be listed as evidence for the same Greek reading.

292 Plooij, *Further Study*, 82 argued that *mussitarent* was rendering a different text than that found in any general tradition and that the *in apertum* reflects the same reading behind the Liége Diatessaron's *oppenbare*. This suggestion is interesting, though to posit the language here as further evidence for a close relation between Tatian's and Marcion's text of the Gospel seems slightly tenuous. Cf., however, William L. Petersen's assessment that this is one of two "of the most convincing" examples of readings common to Tatian and Marcion (*Tatian's Diatessaron: Its Creation, Dissemination, Significance, and History in Scholarship* [Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 25; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994], 192–93).

293 Moreschini's text reads the subjunctive *habeat* against the indicative *habet* in *X*, Pamelius, Rigalti, Oehler, and Evans.

utique significans—; ita<que>[294] *dico vobis, hunc timete.* | 4.28.4—*Hi ergo erunt quos supra praemonet ne timeant tantummodo occidi, ideo praemittens non timendam occisionem,* . . . | *Fug.* 7.2—*Nolite timere eos, inquit qui occidunt corpus, animae autem nihil valent facere, sed timete eum, qui et corpus et animam perdere potest in gehennam.* | *Pud.* 2.7— . . . *non solum corpus, verum et animas occidens in gehennam.* | *Res.* 35.1—*Sed et praecipit eum potius timendum, qui et corpus et animam occidat in gehennam,* . . . *non qui corpus occidant, animae autem nihil nocere possint,* . . . | *Scorp.* 9.6— . . . *non eos timendos, qui solum corpus occidant, animam autem interficere non valeant, sed illi potius metum consecrandum, qui et corpus et animam occidere et perdere possit in gehennam.* | *Scorp.* 10.8— . . . *timorem eorum, qui solum corpus occidunt, animae autem nihil faciunt:* . . . | *Scorp.* 12.5—*Qua poena timorem puniat, nisi quam negator relaturus est cum corpore et anima occidendus in gehenna?*[295]

These verses are also attested by Epiphanius. Since Tertullian's citations of this saying in his other works are all based on the parallel in Matt 10:28, several Lukan elements are not multiply cited. Among them is the opening phrase in 4.28.3, *dico autem vobis amicis*, rendering λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν τοῖς φίλοις (Luke 12:4a).[296] At the end of the phrase Harnack placed the canonical μου in parentheses with a question mark, but contended that Marcion removed the pronoun purposely to negate the thought that Jesus considered the twelve disciples to be friends.[297] Tsutsui, however, rightly responds "ob 'μοῦ' hier steht oder fehlt, die Anrede verändert sich inhaltlich nicht."[298] Once again, however, μου is simply unattested.

The remainder of Luke 12:4 presents numerous challenges in interpreting Tertullian's testimony. Following the Latin of Tertullian's citation given above, Harnack reconstructed μὴ φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμᾶς μόνον ἀποκτέννειν δυναμένων καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μηδεμίαν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐχόντων ἐξουσίαν.[299] The first four words follow the nearly universally attested Lukan text, but then the reading diverges rather radically, following no known Lukan reading. Harnack rightly saw no advantage for Marcion's interests in this wording, but also contended that one

294 R2 and R3 read *itaque*, whereas R1, *M*, γ, and Latinius's note read *ita*.

295 Additional allusions to Luke 12:4–5 occur in 4.28.5 and *An.* 13.3.

296 Harnack's placement of ὑμῖν in parentheses with a question mark is due to Epiphanius's testimony (*Marcion*, 211*).

297 Ibid. This comment was an addition to the second edition. In *Marcion*^{1}, 193* Harnack did not question the presence of μου.

298 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 102. According to IGNTP, μου is omitted in X, 131, 213, and 1242*.

299 Harnack, *Marcion*, 211*.

could not assume that Tertullian arbitrarily changed the text.[300] Yet, one finds several indications pointing to a possible argument for the view that Tertullian is largely responsible for this unique text.

First, the addition of the adverb *solummodo* clearly reflects a common addition by Tertullian to the idea of Luke 12:4//Matt 10:28, as *solum* appears in *Pud*. 2.7 and *Scorp*. 9.6; 10.8. Second, the idea of *possunt occidere* is easily explained as a Matthean influence on Tertullian's rendering, as it has already been noted that Tertullian elsewhere always references Matt 10:28 (cf. *Fug*. 7.2; *Res*. 35.1; and *Scorp*. 9.6). Third, Braun notes that the omission of *corpus* (τὸ σῶμα) is not significant, as Tertullian has used the expression of Luke 12:5, where the canonical text also simply mentions killing without the verb having an object.[301] It is possible, though not provable, that Tertullian replaced *corpus* with *vos*. Finally, though *nec post hoc* could be rendering the Lukan καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, Tertullian again may well have inserted a second person plural pronoun and drawn the idea of *potestas* from Luke 12:5. For these reasons it is at least open to question whether or not Marcion's text read in the manner presented by Tertullian, and more likely that Tertullian began by rendering the verse more accurately and then simply referred to the concepts of Luke 12:4 influenced by his own emphases, Matt 10:28, and the following verse.

For v. 5, once again the opening element is not multiply cited since Tertullian elsewhere references Matt 10:28; however, he attests the relatively unproblematic ὑποδείξω δὲ ὑμῖν τίνα φοβηθῆτε. Most of the remainder of the verse does not present significant challenges, though it is worth noting that Tertullian attests the order ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα and could be attesting βαλεῖν, found in P^{45}, W, and a few other witnesses, instead of ἐμβαλεῖν. Further comment on this verse, however, requires incorporating the testimony of Epiphanius.

4.4.60 *Luke 12:8–9*

4.28.4—*Sed habeo et de sequentibus sumere: Dico enim vobis, omnis qui confitebitur <in> me*[302] *coram hominibus, confitebor in illo coram deo.... Et omnis qui negavit me coram hominibus, denegabitur coram deo,...* | *Cor*. 11.5—*... Iesus negaturus omnem negatorem et confessurus omnem confessorem ...* | *Fug*.

300 Ibid. Tsutsui apparently believes that Marcion was responsible for this form of the text contending that the key to the changes is the idea that "der nicht zu fürchtende (V. 4a) und der zu fürchtende (V. 5) bezeichnen nach Marcions Auffasung denselben, nämlich den Schöpfergott" ("Evangelium," 103). Apart from this view not explaining all the variants, it requires the plural subject of v. 4 and the singular subject of v. 5 to be identical.

301 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 357n6.

302 R3 reads *in me*, whereas R1, R2, *M*, and γ read *me*.

7.1—*Qui confessus fuerit me et ego confitebor illum coram patre meo.* | *Idol.* 13.6—*Qui autem confusus super me fuerit penes homines, et ego confundar super illo, inquit, penes patrem meum, qui est in caelis.* | *Prax.* 26.9—*Est Patris Filius confessurus confessores et negaturus negatores suos apud Patrem,…* | *Scorp.* 9.8—*Omnis igitur, qui in me confessus fuerit coram hominibus, et ego confitebor in illo coram patre meo, qui in caelis est. Et omnis, qui me negaverit coram hominibus, et ego negabo illum coram patre meo, qui in caelis est.* [in 9.9 Tertullian makes the point that Christ did not say *qui me confessus fuerit* and in 9.11 that Christ did say *qui me negaverit* and not *qui in me*] | *Scorp.* 9.13—*Plus est autem quod et confusioni confusionem comminatur: qui me confusus fuerit coram hominibus, et ego confundar eum coram patre meo, qui est in caelis.* | *Scorp.* 10.4—[Jesus did not say] *qui in me confessus fuerit coram hominibus in caelis, et ego in illo confitebor coram patre meo, qui in caelis est.*[303]

Luke 12:8 is also attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian's other citations appear to be drawn from Matt 10:32, so once again the opening words in Luke are not multiply cited. Harnack reconstructed λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν and contended that Marcion replaced δέ with γάρ because he had omitted vv. 6–7.[304] Braun rightly points out, however, that Epiphanius's testimony explicitly indicates only that v. 6 was omitted, and Braun even argues that the manner in which Tertullian introduces his citation of v. 8 may reveal that it did not follow directly after v. 5 in Marcion's Gospel.[305] In any case, since Luke 12:7 is unattested it is precarious to build an argument for a textual emendation based on its omission.

Numerous difficulties also arise in the elements of Luke 12:8 that are multiply cited. First, the disagreement in the editions concerning whether Tertullian wrote *in me* or *me* means that Harnack's insistent, though unclear, "der Unterschied von μέ und ἐν αὐτῷ ist beabsichtigt" cannot be accepted.[306] Second, Harnack reconstructed πᾶς ὅς ὁμολογήσει, which certainly is possible.[307] Tertullian's use of the future perfect in other citations tends to confirm Harnack's reconstruction, though a possible influence due to the Matthean future cannot be entirely ruled out. Third, Harnack believed Marcion's text

303 A probable allusion to Luke 12:8//Matt 10:32 occurs in *Scorp.* 15.6. On the influence of the idea of being ashamed from Luke 9:26 in *Fug.* 7.1, *Idol.* 13.6, and *Scorp.* 9.13, cf. n. 186.

304 Harnack, *Marcion*, 212*. Similar comments are found in Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:474 and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 103.

305 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 359n4.

306 Harnack, *Marcion*, 212*.

307 A, B*, D, Γ, Δ, and numerous minuscules read the future active indicative of Matt 10:32 instead of the Lukan aorist active subjunctive.

twice employed the preposition ἐνώπιον in v. 8.[308] Although Epiphanius attests ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ for the end of the verse, Tertullian's testimony cannot be used to posit the prior reading ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, for this would require the assumption that *coram* renders ἐνώπιον in the second instance (if Epiphanius can be trusted) and therefore must do so in the first.[309] Apart from the fact that there is no other manuscript evidence for ἐνώπιον appearing in Luke 12:8, in *Scorp*. 9.8 *coram* renders ἔμπροσθεν.[310] Additionally, Tertullian apparently has no problem rendering the same Greek preposition with *penes* (*Idol.* 13.6) or *apud* (*Prax*. 26.9). Fourth, in the discussion above on Luke 9:26 it was already noted that Tertullian's phrasing of the concept of confessing and being ashamed/denying is strongly shaped by Matt 10:32–33. Therefore, once again it is possible that the attested ὁμολογήσω does not actually reflect Marcion's text, but Tertullian's proclivities.[311] Finally, Tertullian does not attest τῶν ἀγγέλων at the end of v. 8.[312] That Tertullian is following Marcion's text to some degree is evident by the presence of *deus* and not *pater*, as found in Matt 10:32 and Tertullian's other citations. The evidence of Epiphanius, however, must be included before drawing a final conclusion.

Harnack reconstructed Marcion's text of 12:9 as καὶ πᾶς ὃς ἠρνήσατό με ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀπαρνηθήσεται ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ.[313] First, Harnack noted that καί instead of δέ, and πᾶς ὃς ἠρνήσατό instead of ὁ ἀρνησάμενος are otherwise unattested. Even if *et* attests καί and not δέ, Tertullian uses *et* in *Prax*. 26.9, *Scorp*. 9.8, and, though with the elements in reverse order, in *Cor*. 11.5. In addition, Tertullian, apart from the placement of *me*, renders the opening in essentially

308 Harnack, *Marcion*, 212*.

309 Thus it is at best questionable for IGNTP to state "Marcion ap TE" as attesting the reading ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Petersen called the IGNTP apparatus here "misleading and confused" (William L. Petersen, "Patristic Biblical Quotations and Method: Four Changes to Lightfoot's Edition of *Second Clement*," *VC* 60 [2006]: 397n38).

310 Tischendorf, von Soden, and NA[28] attest no manuscript variation for the preposition in Matt 10:32.

311 Harnack recognized that it is the Matthean reading, yet also placed it in his reconstruction of Marcion's text (*Marcion*, 212*). IGNTP indicates that though no other witnesses attest this precise reading, the minuscules 1338 and 2757, along with aeth attest ὁμολογήσω κἀγώ.

312 Tischendorf, von Soden, and NA[27] indicate that א* also omits these words; however, IGNTP indicates that τῶν ἀγγέλων was present and that τοῦ θεοῦ was omitted. All references to an omission have been removed from NA[28] and from the on-line images at www.codexsinaiticus.org it can be seen that the entire phrase τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ has been written by a corrector and that the original wording is illegible.

313 Harnack, *Marcion*, 212*.

the same way in *Scorp.* 9.8, and he also uses the adjective *omnis* in *Cor.* 11.5. Therefore, the entire opening seems to be reflecting Tertullian's own manner of citation rather than elements in Marcion's text.[314] Second, concerning the conclusion of the verse, as above, *deus* instead of *pater* (Matt 10:33), reveals a likely point of contact with Marcion's text, though the omission of τῶν ἀγγέλων is in some ways dependent upon the decision concerning its omission at the end of Luke 12:8. Finally, the same uncertainty of whether *coram* is rendering ἐνώπιον or ἔμπροσθεν in Luke 12:8 also occurs in 12:9.[315]

4.4.61 *Luke 12:10*

4.28.6—… *Qui dixerit in filium hominis, remittetur illi, qui autem*[316] *dixerit in spiritum sanctum, non remittetur ei.* | *Pud.* 13.19—*Hymenaei autem et Alexandri* [1 Tim 1:20] *crimen si et in isto et in futuro aevo inremissibile est, blasphemia scilicet,* …

Tertullian's testimony in 4.28.6, as already noted by Harnack,[317] renders a text that has elements of both Luke 12:10 and Matt 12:32. The fact that such harmonization is attested in the manuscript tradition, reveals that harmonization could have been present in Marcion's Gospel. Further confirmation for this view may be found in the observation that there is no mention of the clearly Matthean *in futuro aevo* in Tertullian's work against Marcion, which Tertullian highlighted in *Pud.* 13.19.[318] Nevertheless, there are numerous challenges to unraveling the precise reading of Marcion's text and the possibility of Matthean readings arising from Tertullian cannot be excluded completely.

Harnack reconstructed this verse (καὶ) ὅς ἂν εἴπῃ εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ, ὃς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ.[319] First, Harnack contended that, as in Matthew, πᾶς at the sentence opening was missing. IGNTP lists only Marcion and Pacianus as attesting this omission, and since Tertullian begins his citation with *qui*, it is precarious to conclude, as

314 In addition, it is worth noting that the entire OL manuscript tradition offers *qui … negaverit* (*abnegaverit* in r[1]) for the opening of Luke 12:9. The rendering can easily be understood as a translation of an articular participle. IGNTP does not view Marcion or the OL manuscripts as attesting a Greek finite verb.

315 Both prepositions are attested in both occurrences in the Greek manuscript tradition.

316 Some disagreement exists among the manuscripts and editors of Tertullian as Rigalti, Oehler, Kroymann, and Evans read *qui autem* but θ, Gelenius, and Pamelius read *autem qui*.

317 Harnack, *Marcion*, 212*.

318 According to IGNTP this Matthean element is found in D, c, d, e, 827 and some Ethiopic manuscripts.

319 Harnack, *Marcion*, 212*–13*.

Harnack apparently does, that καί may have been present but πᾶς was not. Both words are simply unattested.

Second, *dixerit* is likely a future perfect indicative, which Harnack understood as rendering a Greek aorist subjunctive (εἴπῃ). IGNTP, however, interprets the OL manuscripts in which it appears as rendering a Greek future.[320] Further complicating the issue is that Matt 12:32 twice reads ὃς ἐὰν εἴπῃ and D, in the first occurrence in Luke 12:10, reads ὃς ἂν ἐρεῖ. Given that the OL manuscript tradition uniformly offers *qui dixerit* for both occurrences in Matt 12:32, Harnack's view, reading Greek subjunctives, may be more likely.

Third, Harnack's reconstruction omits λόγον after the first εἴπῃ, even though it is never absent in any of the extant evidence of Luke 12:10. It is more likely that this omission is due to Tertullian himself, an omission that creates a perfect parallel between the two elements of the verse.

Fourth, Luke speaks of "blaspheming" the Holy Spirit where Tertullian's quote repeats the idea of "speaking against." Once again, it is true that this reading creates a better parallel, and it is also the reading of Matthew; however, it is also attested in numerous OL manuscripts. In addition, Tertullian mentions blasphemy/ blaspheming six times in the immediate context of the quote and it is unlikely that he would have avoided a reference to a term factoring so prominently in his discussion. Thus, this reading may have been that of Marcion's text.

Fifth, with D and numerous other manuscripts it is possible that Marcion's text read τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον instead of τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, though Tertullian's own proclivity of altering the word order must also be taken into account. Finally, though αὐτῷ at the conclusion of the verse again creates a perfect parallel, its presence in numerous manuscripts reveals that Tertullian could have read it in Marcion's text.

4.4.62 *Luke 12:16, 19–20*

4.28.11—*Ab eo ergo erit et parabola divitis blandientis sibi de proventu agrorum suorum, cui deus dicit: Stulte, hac nocte animam tuam reposcent; quae autem parasti, cuius erunt?* | *Or.* 6.4—*Cui rei parabolam quoque accommodavit illius hominis, qui provenientibus fructibus ampliationem horreorum et longae securitatis spatia cogitavit ea ipsa nocte moriturus.*

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320 IGNTP lists only Marcion, Athanasius, and *l*70 as attesting εἴπῃ. It should be noted, however, that the IGNTP apparatus for this verse is problematic. It views a, c, d, r[1], and e (all reading *dixerit*) as attesting ἐρεῖ at the beginning of the verse and for the second occurrence sees b, ff[2], i, q, r[1], and e (again all reading *dixerit*) as attesting ἐροῦντι (instead of τῷ βλασφημήσαντι). IGNTP lists these OL manuscripts, in the latter instance, as attesting ἐροῦντι λόγον, when none of them, according to *Itala*, here uses *verbum* or *sermo*.

In 4.28.11 Tertullian makes a reference to Luke 12:16 that seems to require the unproblematic words παραβολήν and [ἀνθρώπου τινὸς implied] πλουσίου. Harnack apparently believed that *de proventu agrorum suorum* was referring to εὐφόρησεν ἡ χώρα (v. 16), though Tertullian introducing the phrase with *blandientis sibi* more likely points to v. 19 being in view.[321] Even if this suggestion is correct, the precise wording remains elusive. Based on the citation of v. 20 Harnack reconstructed εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεός· ἄφρων, ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ τὴν ψυχήν σου ἀπαιτοῦσιν (ἀπὸ σοῦ)· ἃ δὲ ἡτοίμασας, τίνος ἔσται;[322] Tertullian provides a nearly verbatim rendering of the Greek text, here identical in the Majority Text and NA[28], though a few points warrant mention. First, the omission of δέ is almost certainly due to Tertullian. Second, his use of a future (*reposcent*) once again is attributable to his citation habit and therefore does not necessitate a future in Marcion's text.[323] Third, Harnack placed ἀπὸ σοῦ in parentheses, and though it is absent in a few other witnesses, it may well have been a simple omission by Tertullian. Finally, τίνος is attested by D, most OL manuscripts, and numerous church fathers, and likely was Marcion's reading. Though Tertullian has an allusion to this parable in *Or*. 6.4, it unfortunately does not provide insight into the phrasing of Marcion's text on any of these points.

4.4.63 *Luke 12:24*

4.21.1—*… qui et corvos alit …* | 4.29.1—*… cuius et corvi non serunt nec metunt nec in apothecas condunt, et tamen aluntur ab ipso, …* | *Mon*. 16.2—*Habet Deum etiam corvorum educatorem, etiam florum excultorem.* | *Ux*. 1.4.7—*… qui volatilia caeli nullo ipsorum labore pascit, …*

Concerning Tertullian's discussion of Luke 12:24, 27 Braun notes,

> Dans tout ce passage, T. ne s'astreint pas à une fidélité littérale: il récrit le texte évangélique en lui imprimant un certain rythme rhétorique (triple anaphore de *cuius*, parallélismes).[324]

321 In v. 19 the rich man addresses his own soul telling it ἔχεις πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ κείμενα εἰς ἔτη πολλά· ἀναπαύου, φάγε, πίε, εὐφραίνου. It would also make sense contextually for Tertullian to be referring to this statement right before citing God's response.

322 Harnack, *Marcion*, 213*.

323 Thus, IGNTP questionably lists Marcion along with gat and Irenaeus as reading ἀπαιτήσουσιν.

324 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 367n4. Lukas refers to a "Stück kunstvoller Prosa" (*Rhetorik*, 293n1346). Harnack, *Marcion*, 214* rightly rejected the contention of Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:475 that vv. 24, 27–28 were excised from Marcion's text.

Though this observation is correct, some insight into Marcion's text can still be gained. First, *corvi* attests the Lukan κόρακας, which likely was the reading in Marcion's text even if elsewhere Tertullian makes reference to both *corvus* (4.21.1, *Mon.* 16.2) and *volatilia caeli* (*Ux.* 1.4.7; cf. Matt 6:26).[325] Second, Tertullian's allusion to the words σπείρουσιν and θερίζουσιν is unproblematic.[326] Third, Harnack notes that *nec in apothecas condunt* is Matthean and then leaves unanswered the question of whether Tertullian's memory of Matt 6:26 has influenced the wording or whether Marcion's text had been harmonized to Matthew. The fact that, according to IGNTP, only 903 attests this harmonization may make the former view more likely. Finally, there is also an allusion to the phrase καὶ ὁ θεὸς τρέφει αὐτούς. Harnack's contention that this final phrase was not present in Marcion's Gospel despite Tertullian's testimony, and Tsutsui's suggestion that it was present, but in an altered and passive form,[327] can be considered only once Luke 12:27–28 has also been discussed.

4.4.64 *Luke 12:27–28*

4.21.1—*… et flores agri vestit, …* | 4.29.1—*… cuius et lilia et foenum non texunt nec nent, et tamen vestiuntur ab ipso, cuius et Salomon gloriosissimus, nec ullo tamen flosculo cultior?* | 4.29.3—*Interim cur illos modicae fidei incusat, id est cuius fidei?* | *Idol.* 12.2—*Et vestitus habemus exemplum lilia.* | *Ux.* 1.4.7—*… qui lilia agri tanta gratia vestit, …*

That Luke 12:28a was not present is attested by Epiphanius. Here, several points concerning Tertullian's testimony need to be made. First, that Tertullian is to some extent following Marcion's text in 4.29.1 is supported by the absence of the Matthean *agri* (cf. Matt 6:28) found in 4.21.1 and *Ux.* 1.4.7. Second, Tertullian's allusion to Luke 12:27 attests not only κρίνα, but also the verbs ὑφαίνει and νήθει. Unfortunately these elements are not multiply cited, but that this may have been the reading in Marcion's Gospel is confirmed by these verbs also appearing in D, d, Clement of Alexandria, sy^s, and sy^c.[328] Harnack believed that Marcion's text read οὐχ ὑφαίνει οὔτε νήθει,[329] though the fact that these other witnesses attest οὔτε νήθει οὔτε ὑφαίνει may mean that the slightly

325 Only a few witnesses, though they include D and a handful of OL manuscripts, attest the Matthean τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ in Luke 12:24.

326 The negation of the action by Tertullian (*non … nec*) does not definitively reveal whether the Greek read οὐ … οὐδέ (with P^{45}, P^{75}, A, B, W, and most other manuscripts) or οὔτε … οὔτε (with ℵ, D, L, Q, 579, 892, and e).

327 Harnack, *Marcion*, 214* and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 104.

328 Luke reads οὐ κοπιᾷ οὐδὲ νήθει. "Toil" and "spin" is also the reading in Matt 6:28.

329 Harnack, *Marcion*, 214*.

different phrasing, possibly under the influence of 12:24 and νήθει being the second action in both Matthew and Luke, is due to Tertullian.

Third, Harnack attempted to support his view that Tertullian committed an error due to his remembering the canonical text in the reference to “feeding” in Luke 12:24 noted above, stating

> Dies [an error] ist umso wahrscheinlicher, als er gleich darauf [4.29.1] ein sicher inkorrektes Referat bringt, sofern bei Luk. von den Lilien nicht gesagt wird, daß Gott sie bekleidet, sondern nur vom Gras.[330]

It is worth noting that not only does Luke not make the statement that the lilies are clothed, neither does Matthew (cf. Matt 6:28–30); yet, in both *Idol.* 12.2 and *Ux.* 1.4.7 Tertullian speaks of the clothing of the lilies. Therefore, it does seem that Tertullian tends to collapse the reference to the lilies with the opening phrase of Luke 12:28//Matt 6:30 (εἰ δὲ ἐν ἀγρῷ τὸν χόρτον ... ὁ θεός ἀμφιέζει)[331] and it is likely that Tertullian’s general references to vv. 24 and 27 include elements not arising from Marcion’s text, but rather from how Tertullian remembers and tends to cite this pericope.[332] Fourth, Tertullian’s reference to Solomon attests the final phrase of v. 27, though the allusion does not offer the precise wording. Finally, in 4.29.3 Tertullian’s argument requires the presence of ὀλιγόπιστοι at the end of Luke 12:28.

4.4.65 *Luke 12:31*

3.24.8—*Et evangelium vestrum quoque habet: Quaerite primum regnum Dei, et haec adicientur vobis.* | 4.29.5—*Quaerite enim, inquit, regnum dei, et haec vobis adicientur, ...* | *Or.* 6.1—*Nam et edixerat Dominus: Quaerite prius regnum et tunc vobis etiam haec adicientur.*

This verse is also attested by Epiphanius. Concerning Tertullian’s testimony, first, in both 3.24.8 and 4.29.5 Tertullian appears to be interacting with Marcion’s text. It is interesting to note, therefore, that *enim* is not present in the

330 Ibid.

331 The multiple citations reveal that one should most certainly question Volckmar’s strenuous denial that Matthew influenced Tertullian here (*Das Evangelium Marcions*, 47).

332 Therefore, though the charts in chapter 3 reveal that Tertullian alludes to Luke 12:28 in 4.29.1 and Epiphanius attests its omission, Tertullian may have created the allusion due to the manner in which he tends to refer to the passage rather than by seeing v. 28a in Marcion’s text. It is not necessary to follow Hahn in the supposition that Tertullian was reading a verse in Marcion’s Gospel that later Marcionites removed (*Das Evangelium Marcions*, 169).

former, the Matthean *primum* is not present in the latter,[333] and, once again revealing Tertullian's tendency to move pronouns, *vobis* follows the verb in the former but precedes the verb in the latter. Second, in *Or.* 6.1, Tertullian does not use a conjunction at the opening of the citation raising the possibility that *enim*, like *nam* in *Or.* 6.1, is not part of the citation in 4.29.5, but part of the flow of Tertullian's argument.[334] Third, the absence of *dei* in *Or.* 6.1, possibly under the influence of Matt 6:33,[335] increases the likelihood of the reading βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ in Marcion's text.[336] A final observation is that in all of these citations Tertullian writes *haec*, never including the πάντα found in Matt 6:33.

4.4.66 *Luke 12:57*

4.29.15—*Merito exprobrat etiam quod iustum non a semetipsis iudicarent.* | 4.29.16—… *mandaret iuste iudicare* … | *Cor.* 4.5—… *dicente domino: cur autem non et a vobis ipsis quod iustum iudicatis?*

Harnack contended that due to the wording of Tertullian's reference to Luke 12:57 in 4.29.15 the unattested τί δέ was missing in Marcion's text.[337] Even though D, b, d, and sy^c omit these words, and they are attested in Tertullian's citation in *Cor.* 4.5, the omission could easily have occurred due to the flow of Tertullian's argument.[338] Also, Harnack offered καὶ τὸ δίκαιον οὐκ ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν κρίνετε for Marcion's text, noting "die Wortstellung sonst: ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν κρίνετε τὸ δίκαιον."[339] Tertullian, however, always places the reference to that which is "just" before the verb (cf. 4.29.16 and *Cor.* 4.5).[340] Thus, Harnack's inversion of the elements based on the allusion to Marcion's text is questionable.

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333 It is curious, therefore, that Williams, "Reconsidering Marcion's Gospel," 492 notes both of Tertullian's attested readings, but earlier in his article offers no nuance to his assertion "Tertullian has *primum*" against Epiphanius and Luke (ibid., 481n14).

334 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:476 and Evans (trans.), *Adversus Marcionem*, 2:427 also viewed *enim* as part of Tertullian's argument. The Moreschini/Braun text has *enim* in italics, indicating that they consider it part of the citation (*Contre Marcion IV*, 370–71).

335 NA^{28} places τοῦ θεοῦ in brackets in Matt 6:33.

336 This reading is also attested by P^{45}, A, D^1, many OL manuscripts, along with numerous other manuscripts (cf. NA^{28}).

337 Harnack, *Marcion*, 217*.

338 Thus, Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:477 correctly noted that it is unclear whether τί δέ was present or absent.

339 Harnack, *Marcion*, 217*.

340 According to IGNTP Hillary is the only other witness for a change of order to τὸ δίκαιον κρίνετε.

4.4.67 *Luke 12:58–59*

4.29.16—*Nam et iudicem, qui mittit in carcerem nec ducit inde nisi soluto etiam novissimo quadrante,*… | *An.* 35.1—…*exsoluat novissimum quadrantem*… | *An.* 35.2—…*ne aliquo commercio negotiorum iniuria provocatus abstrahat te ad suum iudicem, et ad custodiam delegatus ad exsolutionem totius debiti arteris.*

Part of Luke 12:58 is also attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian's testimony to v. 58 attests κριτής and the words βαλεῖ εἰς φυλακήν.[341] For v. 59 Tertullian attests οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃς ἐκεῖθεν ἕως καί and the Matthean τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην, which may be due to Tertullian's own familiarity with the Matthean phrasing (cf. *An.* 35.1). According to IGNTP, the reading also occurs in D and, in a slightly different order, in nearly every OL manuscript, Irenaeus, and Ambrose. ἀποδῷς is also attested and may have preceded the phrase, as in D (cf. Matt 5:26);[342] however, Tertullian's proclivity to Matthew's reading may once again be the reason for the phrasing here (cf. *An.* 35.1).[343]

4.4.68 *Luke 13:28*

1.27.2—…*cui nullus dentium frendor horret in exterioribus tenebris*:… | 4.30.4—…*illic erit fletus et dentium frendor*.[344] | 4.30.5—*Ergo erit poena a quo fit exclusio in poenam, cum videbunt iustos introeuntes in regnum dei, se vero detineri foris.* | *Res.* 35.12—*Ceterum unde erit fletus et dentium frendor, nisi ex oculis et ex dentibus?*

Luke 13:28 is also attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian multiply cites the elements of v. 28a attested in 4.30.4: ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων. The adaptations in 1.27.2 and *Res.* 35.12 reveal that the word order *dentium frendor* is due to Tertullian and does not reflect a change of order in Marcion's text.[345] The remainder of the verse is not multiply cited, and Tertullian's adaptation reflects the reading ὅταν ὄψεσθε τοὺς δικαίους εἰσερχομένους εἰς τὴν

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341 Tertullian's comment in the present tense (*mittit*) cannot reveal whether Marcion's text read βαλεῖ (attested by P^{75}, א, B, D, and other manuscripts) or βάλλῃ.

342 D also reads the irregular form of the subjunctive (ἀποδοῖς).

343 This is another instance where Harnack did not follow Tertullian's word order as he reconstructed τὸν ἔσξατον κοδράντην ἀποδῷς (*Marcion*, 217*).

344 Moreschini follows the reading of *M* and Kroymann. *F, R*, and the other editors read *frendor dentium*, and *X* reads *stridor dentium*.

345 Every occurrence of the phrase ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων in the Gospels is identical (cf. Matt 8:12; 13:42, 50; 22:13; 24:51; 25:30; and Luke 13:28). Thus, though the reference to *in exterioribus tenebris* reveals that Matt 8:12; 22:13; or 25:30 has influenced the reference in 1.27.2, the wording of the phrase in question remains identical. IGNTP's statement that "Marcion ap TE" attests a variant word order is, in the light of the evidence that the variation is due to Tertullian's own hand, problematic.

βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑμᾶς δὲ κρατουμένους ἔξω. There are several readings here worth discussing. First, ὄψεσθε is the reading of B*, D, and numerous other manuscripts. Second, τοὺς δικαίους instead of Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ καὶ πάντας τοὺς προφήτας is a unique reading. Third, εἰσερχομένους is also attested in most OL manuscripts, and according to IGNTP, two Vulgate manuscripts, Faustus of Mileve, and Lucifer. Fourth, εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν is also attested by a², c, ff², q, Ambrose, Faustus of Mileve, and Lucifer. Fifth and finally, κρατουμένους is a unique reading. Once again, the evidence of Epiphanius must be included before reaching conclusions.

4.4.69 *Luke 14:14*

4.31.1—[Answering the question "what sort of people must be invited?"] … *qui scilicet [et] humanitatis*[346] *istius vicem retribuere non possint. Hanc si Christus captari vetat, in resurrectione eam repromittens,* … | *Res.* 33.7 – … *Retribuetur tibi in resurrectione iustorum.*

Luke 14:14a is not multiply cited, and Harnack offered the reconstructed phrase οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἀνταποδοῦναι.[347] It is likely that *non possint* renders οὐκ ἔχουσιν, though all OL manuscripts read *non habent*, and it is clear that *retribuere* is rendering ἀνταποδοῦναι.[348] Tertullian's allusion to 14:14b reflects the universally attested ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει. Though Tertullian includes *iustorum* in his citation of this verse in *Res.* 33.7, this fact does not increase the likelihood of its omission in Marcion's text as Tertullian not attesting the genitive can easily be explained as a simple omission due to the general allusion to the verse in 4.31.1. In addition, merely mentioning the resurrection suffices for Tertullian's argument.

4.4.70 *Luke 15:3–10*

4.32.1—*Ovem et dracmam perditam quis requirit?* … *is perdidit qui habuit, is requisivit qui perdidit, is invenit qui quaesivit, is exultavit qui invenit.* | 4.32.2—*utriusque parabolae* … *Atque adeo exultare illius est de paenitentia peccatoris, id est de perditi recuperatione,* … | *Pud.* 9.4—*Et duo utique filii illuc spectabunt, quo et drachma et ovis* | *Pud.* 9.20—… *ovem et drachmam* …

346 R2 and R3 read *humanitatis*, whereas R1, *M*, and γ read *et humanitatis*.

347 Harnack, *Marcion*, 218*.

348 According to IGNTP, no verb other than ἔχω is attested in the extant witnesses. Braun notes, "le mot *retribuere* vient directement du v. 14 (ἀνταποδοῦναι)" (*Contre Marcion IV*, 388n4). Also, the same Latin lemma is used to render the same Greek word in Luke 14:14b in *Res.* 33.7. Tsutsui erroneously provides a truncated reference to Tertullian's wording, which resulted in *retribuere* not being attested in his text ("Evangelium," 109).

In 4.32 Tertullian alludes to the two parables found in Luke 15:3–10.[349] Only a handful of words from these verses are attested: παραβολήν (v. 3); πρόβατα and δραχμάς (vv. 4, 8); and the series of verbs ἀπόλλυμι (vv. 4, 8), ζητέω (v. 8), εὑρίσκω (vv. 5, 9), and συγχαίρω (vv. 6, 9). In addition there is a reference to the idea of χαρά ... ἐπί ... ἁμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντι (vv. 7, 10) in 4.32.2. The fact that Tertullian refers to the Creator himself rejoicing may reveal that τῶν ἀγγέλων was missing in v. 10.[350] Unfortunately, Tertullian's allusions to Luke 15:3–10 in *Pud.* 9.4, 20 are even more general than in *Adversus Marcionem* and cannot provide further insight into Marcion's text.

4.4.71 *Luke 16:9*

4.33.1—*Admonens enim nos de saecularibus suffragia nobis prospicere amicitiarum ... Et ego, inquit, dico vobis, facite vobis amicos de mamona iniustitiae, ...* | *Fug.* 13.2—*Facite autem vobis amicos de mammona: quomodo intellegendum sit, ...* | *Pat.* 7.10—*Quomodo amicos de mammona fabricabimus nobis si eum in tantum amaverimus ut amissum non sufferamus?*

Only Luke 16:9a is attested for Marcion's text and Harnack reconstructed καὶ ἐγὼ λέγω ὑμῖν, ποιήσατε ὑμῖν φίλους ἐκ τοῦ μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας.[351] The likelihood that the citation in 4.33.1 is generally following Marcion's text is increased by the more abbreviated citation in *Fug.* 13.2 and the allusion in *Pat.* 7.10 where Tertullian twice reveals that his primary interest in the verse is restricted to the main idea of making friends through mammon. Though Marcion's text may have read λέγω ὑμῖν,[352] Tertullian's propensity to alter the position of pronouns makes the order no more than possible. The same point is relevant for the placement of the pronoun associated with ποιήσατε in Marcion's text, particularly as it follows the verb in A, D, and several other witnesses along with the Majority Text but precedes it in NA²⁸.[353] In addition to the question regarding the position of the second pronoun, Harnack himself observed that this ὑμῖν is

349 On the structure and argument of 4.32 cf. the comments in Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 398–99n3.

350 This is the view of Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:479 and Harnack, *Marcion*, 219*, though the latter's statement that the excision "ist nicht zweifelhaft" may be an overstatement.

351 Harnack, *Marcion*, 219*.

352 IGNTP lists D, M, several minuscules, several OL manuscripts, numerous versions, and Hilary as attesting this order.

353 NA[28] follows P[75], ℵ*, B, L, and a few other manuscripts. It is worth noting that Tertullian places the pronoun after *facere* in all three references, though given the divided manuscript tradition and Tertullian's citation habit, this fact does not provide additional insight into Marcion's text.

"nicht sicher."[354] Given that Tertullian writes *vobis* in *Fug*. 13.2 and *nobis* in *Pat*. 7.10, it seems more likely that Tertullian is rendering ἑαυτοῖς with datives whose person is being governed by the main verb.[355]

4.4.72 *Luke 16:13*

4.33.1—*Quibus duobus dominis neget posse serviri, quia*[356] *alterum offendi sit necesse, alterum defendi, ipse declarat, deum proponens et mamonam.* | 4.33.2—…[Christ] *ammentavit hanc sententiam: Non potestis deo servire et mamonae.… denique non potestis deo servire… et mamonae,…* | *An*. 16.7—…*non potestis duobus dominis servire,…* | *Cor*. 12.4—…*hoc erit non potestis deo servire et mammonae* [*sic*],… | *Idol*. 12.2—…*nemo duobus dominis servire potest.* | *Spect*. 26.4—*Nemo enim potest duobus dominis servire.*[357]

This verse is also attested in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. According to 4.33.1, the opening of the verse had some negation of the idea δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν, but no further insight into the wording of Marcion's text can be gained. The fact that in *An*. 16.7, *Idol*. 12.2, and *Spect*. 26.4 Tertullian cites the Matthean parallel (Matt 6:24) means that the omission of οἰκέτης may very well be a simple omission by Tertullian. Though Harnack did not offer the phrase for Marcion's text, he did wonder whether τὸν ἕνα μισήσει καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀγαπήσει was omitted by chance.[358] Regardless of whether it was or not, the phrase is simply unattested for Marcion's text by Tertullian. Based on Tertullian's testimony, Harnack reconstructed the remainder of the verse as ἑνὸς γὰρ (καταφρονήσει) καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀνθέξεται· οὐ δύνασθε θεῷ δουλεύιν καὶ μαμωνᾷ, though again wondering if ἤ was really missing and whether Marcion had a word other than καταφρονήσει.[359] Three points must be made here. First, surely the omission of the disjunctive particle cannot be determined from Tertullian's allusion, but it is also not possible to establish the presence of γάρ from Tertullian's *quia*. Second, Harnack argued, "ἀνθέξεται und καταφρονήσει hier umgestellt,"[360] but this is reading too much into Tertullian's allusion. In addition, Braun rightly observes that the use of *offendere* and *defendere* is

354 Harnack, *Marcion*, 220*.

355 Additionally, all OL witnesses read *facite vobis* here and IGNTP lists 1215 and 1295 as the only Greek manuscripts attesting ὑμῖν instead of ἑαυτοῖς (230, 348, 477, 1216, and 1579 apparently have both pronouns).

356 Moreschini's text reads *quia* with Rhenanus's editions, rejecting the reading *qui* in *M* and γ.

357 Additional allusions to Luke 16:13//Matt 6:24 occur in *Cor*. 1.1, 12.5; *Fug*. 12.6; *Idol*. 19.2; and *Ux*. 2.3.4.

358 Harnack, *Marcion*, 220*.

359 Ibid.

360 Ibid. The reversed order of the verbs is also listed as Marcion's reading in IGNTP.

due to Tertullian using etymologically related words in his antithesis, rendering Harnack's question about a different word in Marcion's text unnecessary.[361] Third, the final element of the verse is quoted in 4.33.2. The Greek of Luke and Matthew are identical, and Tertullian cites the verse with the same word order in *Cor*. 12.4 confirming that Harnack's reconstruction is correct at this point.

4.4.73 *Luke 16:16*

4.33.7—... *dicens: Lex et prophetae usque ad Iohannem, ex quo regnum dei adnuntiatur*. | 5.2.1—... *Lex et prophetae usque ad Iohannem* ... | 5.8.4—... *Lex et prophetae usque ad Iohannem* ... | *Adv. Jud*. 8.14—... *lex et prophetae, inquit, usque ad Iohannem baptistam*. | *Adv. Jud*. 13.26—... *lex et prophetae usque ad Iohannem fuerunt*, ... | *Jejun*. 2.2—... *lex et prophetae usque ad Iohannem*. | *Jejun*. 11.6—... *lex et prophetae usque ad Iohannem*. | *Prax*. 31.1—*Quod opus evangelii, quae est substantia novi testamenti statuens legem et prophetas usque ad Iohannem, si non exinde Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, tres crediti, unum deum sistunt?* | *Pud*. 6.2—... *lex et prophetae usque ad Iohannem* ...[362]

Elements of Luke 16:16 are also attested by Epiphanius. As is evident from the numerous citations of this verse in Tertullian, he is usually exclusively interested in the first element of the verse, which is also the element paralleled, though with differences in word order and the verb, in Matt 11:13. It is notable that Tertullian is extremely consistent in his citation of this element with each occurrence appearing practically verbatim.[363] Harnack reconstructed ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται ἕως Ἰωάννου, though whether Marcion's text read ἕως or μέχρι cannot definitively be determined from Tertullian's Latin alone.[364] Luke 16:16b is not multiply cited, and Luke 16:16c is unattested for Marcion's text by Tertullian. For v. 16b Harnack wrote ἐξ (ἀφ') οὗ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγελίζεται, and he is right to note the challenge of attempting to determine which Greek preposition stood in Marcion's text.[365] It is worth noting, however, that the

361 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 401n3.

362 An additional allusion to Luke 16:16 occurs in 3.23.3.

363 The only differences among the 10 citations/allusions are the addition of *baptistam* in *Adv. Jud*. 8.14 and *fuerunt* in *Adv. Jud*. 13.26.

364 Harnack, *Marcion*, 220*. The OL witnesses all read *usque ad* in Luke 16:16. μέχρι only occurs elsewhere in the Gospels in Matt 11:23 and Matt 28:15, where most OL witnesses render it *usque in*. However, Matt 11:23 is particularly interesting in that earlier in the verse ἕως occurs where aur, b, d, f, ff², h, l, and q render it *usque ad* and a, c, ff¹, and g¹ render it *usque in* (k reads *quomodo in*).

365 Harnack, *Marcion*, 220*; cf. also Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:479. IGNTP states that Marcion, along with a, b, c, d, ff², gat, i, l, r¹, Ambrosiaster, and Rufinus attest ἐξ ὅπου. Though *quo* could be understood in this way, the meaning in context seems to make Harnack's ἐξ οὗ preferable.

clearly Lukan ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγελίζεται,[366] which, given Tertullian usually being interested only in v. 16a, has probably arisen out of Marcion's text.[367]

4.4.74 *Luke 16:22*

3.24.1—...*apud inferos in sinu Abrahae refrigerium.* | 4.34.10—...*subsequens argumentum divitis apud inferos dolentis et pauperis in sinu Abrahae requiescentis.* | 4.34.11—...*sinum et portum....Abrahae sinum pauperi...Abrahae sinus.* | *An.* 7.4—...*in sinu Abrahae,...* | *An.* 55.2—...*in Abrahae sinu...*

Luke 16:22 is also attested by Epiphanius and in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Tertullian's allusion in 4.34.10, 11 includes a reference to ὁ πτωχός and to εἰς τὸν κόλπον Ἀβραάμ.[368] The references in 3.24.1 and *An.* 7.4, 55.2 once again reveal Tertullian's own proclivity to vary word order, which indicates that *Abrahae sinum* and *Abrahae sinus* in 4.34.11 should not be used to determine the word order in Marcion's Gospel.

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366 During the workshop at the XVI International Conference on Patristics Studies (Oxford) on Marcion organized by Markus Vinzent and me, Matthias Klinghardt stated that Marcion's Gospel did not read εὐαγγελίζεται based on Tertullian's use of the verb *adnuntiare*. This argument, however, fails to convince. First, according to IGNTP, apart from 179[c] (179* omitted the verb) and 544 where βιάζεται is read, the manuscript tradition universally attests εὐαγγελίζεται. Second, though in the Vulgate *adnuntiare* usually renders words built off of the root ἀγγέλλω and εὐαγγελίζω is most often rendered with *evangelizare*, εὐαγγελίζω is translated with *adnuntiare* in Acts 10:36; 11:20; 13:32; 14:15; 17:18; 1 Thess 3:6; and Heb 4:6 (in addition *praedicare* [*evangelium*] is used in Rom 15:20; 1 Cor 9:18; and 15:1, 2; and *nuntiare* in Heb 4:2). Finally, the most significant argument against Klinghardt's position is based on Tertullian's own vocabulary. According to Gösta Claesson, *Index Tertullianeus* (3 vols.; Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1974–1975), *s.v.*, Tertullian uses forms of *adnuntiare* 95 times in his works (21 times in *Marc.*4) and forms of *evangelizare* 28 times (8 times in *Marc.* 4). Thus, Tertullian has a clear, general preference for the verb *adnuntiare*. In addition, Tertullian also employed *adnuntiare* in Luke 4:43 (cf. chapter 5.6) where εὐαγγελίζω is, according to IGNTP, universally attested. Taken together, these points should lead to significant caution concerning a posited, otherwise unattested Greek reading behind Tertullian's attestation of Marcion's Gospel in Luke 16:16 (and 4:43).

367 This reading is quite significant for the discussion concerning the relationship between Marcion's Gospel and Luke. Concerning the presence of Lukan redactional material in Marcion's text Wolter notes "Ein besonders augenfälliges Beispiel dafür ist das typisch lukanische Syntagma βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ κηρύσσειν/εὐαγγελίζεσθαι (Lk. 4,43; 8,1; 16,16; Apg 20,25; 28,23.31; sonst nirgends im Neuen Testament), das nach Tertullian, Adv. Marc. 4,8,9; 33,7 bei Lk 4,43; 16,16 auch im 'Evangelium' Markions stand" (*Lukasevangelium*, 3). The point is important, though Acts 28:23 employs the verbs ἐκτίθημι and διαμαρτύρομαι.

368 Luke 16:23, which is not multiply cited and therefore discussed in the next chapter, also seems to be in view in the references in 4.34.10, 11.

4.4.75 *Luke 16:29*

4.34.10—*. . . Habent illic Moysen et prophetas, illos audiant.* | 4.34.14—[Abraham's bosom] *admonens quoque vos haereticos, dum in vita estis, Moysen et prophetas unum deum praedicantes, creatorem, et unum Christum praedicantes eius, . . .* | 4.34.17—*Apud inferos autem de eis dictum est: Habent illic Moysen et prophetas, illos audiant, . . .*[369] | *Praescr.* 8.6—*Habent, inquit, Moysen et Heliam, id est legem et prophetas Christum praedicantes . . .*

This verse is also attested by Epiphanius and in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Assuming that Moreschini's text is correct, Tertullian provides two identical citations from Marcion's text in 4.34.10, 17. Even if the alternate word order in 4.34.17 is accepted, the only difference becomes the position of a pronoun, which is unremarkable given how often it has been noticed that Tertullian alters the position of pronouns in his citations. Along the same lines, despite Tertullian twice writing *illos audiant*, one must be cautious in concluding that Marcion's text read αὐτῶν ἀκουσάτωσαν, as Harnack did, based on Tertullian's testimony alone.[370] Noteworthy, however, is the presence of *illic*, which would appear to have been in Marcion's text as attested by Tertullian, not only because of the repeated citation, but also because it is absent in *Praescr.* 8.6 and therefore less likely to have come from Tertullian's own hand.

4.4.76 *Luke 17:4*

4.35.3—*Sed et veniam des fratri in te delinquenti iubet, etiam septies.* | *Or.* 7.3—*Et cum interrogasset Petrus, si septies remittendum esset fratri, Immo, inquit, septuagies septies, . . .*

Tertullian's allusion to Luke 17:4 in 4.35.3 attests . . . ἐὰν ἑπτάκις ἁμαρτήσῃ εἴς σε and ἀφήσεις.[371] IGNTP lists only a few witnesses omitting τῆς ἡμέρας, and it could be a simple omission by Tertullian. Though the reference is quite general, that the allusion likely arises from Marcion's text may be confirmed by the observation that Tertullian's reference in *Or.* 7.3 is clearly drawn from the loosely parallel Matt 18:21–22.

369 Moreschini's text follows the order *illos audiant* attested in *M* and Kroymann's edition, rejecting the reading *audiant illos* in β and the other editors. This latter reading may have been influenced by the word order in the canonical text.

370 Cf. the reconstruction in Harnack, *Marcion*, 222*.

371 Harnack's reconstruction . . . (ἐὰν) ἑπτάκις ἁμαρτήσῃ εἴς σε, ἀφήσεις . . . once again could cause confusion by implying that the phrase appeared in this manner.

4.4.77 *Luke 18:10–14*

4.36.2—*Et tamen cum templum creatoris inducit, et duos adorantes diversa mente describit, Pharisaeum in superbia, publicanum in humilitate, ideoque alterum reprobatum, alterum iustificatum descendisse, …* | *Or.* 17.2—*Nam et ille publicanus, qui non tantum prece, sed et vultu humiliatus atque deiectus orabat, iustificatior pharisaeo procacissimo discessit.*

Harnack rightly noted that Tertullian only alludes to the content of this parable; yet, he nevertheless offered a reconstruction of elements of vv. 10 and 14.[372] Tertullian refers to two men, a Pharisee and a tax collector, in the temple praying (v. 10). The Pharisee is presented "in arrogance" (vv. 11–12) and the publican "in humility" (v. 13), with the conclusion that one went down condemned and the other justified (v. 14). Thus, though Tertullian clearly does attest the presence of the key ideas of the parable, and the reference in *Or.* 17.2 also simply contains adjectives to describe the men, overall no definitive decisions can be made concerning the actual wording of Marcion's Gospel.[373]

4.4.78 *Luke 18:22*

4.36.4—… *Unum, inquit, tibi deest: omnia, quaecumque habes, vende et da pauperibus, et habebis thesaurum in caelo, et veni, sequere me.* | 4.36.7—… *Vende, inquit, quae habes … Et da, inquit, egenis … Et veni, inquit, sequere me.* | *Idol.* 12.2—… *atquin omnia vendenda sunt et egentibus dividenda.*[374]

Luke 18:22 is also attested in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Tertullian attests the verse twice, once as a citation (4.36.4) and once as glosses on Mic 6:8 (4.36.7). In Harnack's reconstruction it is curious to note that he breaks off the reconstruction with κτλ. shortly after the point where Tertullian's testimony to this verse begins.[375] Once again, the opening words are not multiply attested in Tertullian, though it should be noted that Tertullian omits the adverb ἔτι at the opening of his citation (cf. Mark 10:21). Whether this is a simple omission or a reflection of Marcion's text can be considered only in conjunction with the evidence in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. The following two elements in the verse are multiply attested by the allusion in *Idol.* 12.2. First, the omission of *omnia* in the gloss in 4.36.7 (it is present in 4.36.4) cannot be used to argue

372 Harnack, *Marcion*, 225*.

373 For example, Harnack reconstructed the opening of v. 10 as ἄνθρωποι δύο. However, D, every OL manuscript except e, and several of the versions attest the order δύο ἄνθρωποι. Tertullian's testimony cannot reveal which reading was in Marcion's text.

374 An allusion to Luke 18:22 also occurs in 4.36.6.

375 Harnack wrote ἕν σοι λείπει κτλ. From the apparatus it is apparent that Harnack primarily had the text of the *Adamantius Dialogue* in view (*Marcion*, 226*).

against the presence of πάντα in Marcion's text as the omission is either due to Tertullian simply shortening the reference or being influenced by Matt 19:21. Along the same lines, the alteration of the word order in the gloss (*vende quae habes*) is easily understood as a change due to Tertullian wishing to begin each of the glosses with a verb. Second, Marcion's text may have read δός, as in Matt 19:21, as Tertullian writes *da* in both the citation and the allusion in *Adversus Marcionem* but uses the verb *dividere* in *Idol.* 12.2, possibly due to an unusual influence of a Lukan reading (διαδίδωμι) rather than a Matthean one.[376] It may preliminarily be noted that Tertullian attests ἐν οὐρανῷ, the reading of W, Θ, Ψ, 078, f^1, f^{13}, and the Majority Text, for Marcion.

4.4.79 *Luke 18:38*

4.36.9—… [the blind man] *exclamavit: Iesu, fili David, miserere mei!* … [referring to the rebuke of the blind man to keep quiet] *Merito, quoniam quidem vociferabatur, non quia de David filio mentiebatur.* | 4.36.11—… *crediderit in voce: Iesu fili David.* | 4.37.1—… *vox illa caeci: Miserere mei,*[377] *Iesu, fili David* … | 4.38.10—*Nam qui olim a caeco illo filius David fuerat invocatus,* …

Luke 18:38 is also attested by Epiphanius and in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Though the verse is not multiply cited outside of *Adversus Marcionem*, the citations in two different places provide insight into Tertullian's testimony to Marcion's text. In 4.36.9 Tertullian renders the generally attested text Ἰησοῦ υἱὲ Δαυίδ, ἐλέησόν με. In 4.37.1, however, Tertullian renders a word order closer to Matt 20:30 ἐλέησόν με, Ἰησοῦ, υἱὲ Δαυίδ.[378] This observation increases the likelihood that the former citation is controlled by Marcion's reading. In addition, the presence of Ἰησοῦ, omitted by A, E, K, Π, and numerous other manuscripts, is confirmed by its multiple citation by Tertullian. Finally, Tertullian once again reveals how easily he can adjust the word order in his references to biblical texts as immediately following the citation in 4.36.9 he refers to *David filio*, whereas in all the other instances he writes *fili*[*us*] *David*.[379]

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376 The OL witnesses all read *da* (a may read *dando*) in Luke 18:22, apparently attesting the Matthean reading as they use either the verb *distribuere* or *dividere* in Luke 11:22, the only other place where διαδίδωμι appears in the Synoptic Gospels.

377 *Mei*, possibly on account of a scribal error, is omitted in *M*.

378 In Matt 20:30 there are two blind men crying out and the text states ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς [κύριε,] υἱὸς Δαυίδ. According to IGNTP a *Catenae in evangelia Lucae et Joannis*, Augustine, Origen, and Rufinus attest the reading Ἰησοῦ, ἐλέησόν με, υἱὲ Δαυίδ, in Luke 18:38.

379 Tertullian indicates that the pericope Luke 18:35–43 was interpreted as an antithesis to 2 Sam 5:6–8 (*Marc.* 4.36.13; cf. also Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 117).

4.4.80 *Luke 18:42*

4.36.10—. . . *Fides, inquit, tua te salvum fecit.* | 4.36.12—. . . *Fides tua te salvum fecit.* | *Bapt.* 12.8—*Fides tua te, aiebat, salvum fecit* . . . | *Praescr.* 14.3—*Fides, inquit, tua te salvum fecit*, . . .[380]

The entirety of this verse is attested in the *Adamantius Dialogue* and the final element is attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian's testimony to Jesus' final words is unproblematic in rendering ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε. Not only the near unanimity of the manuscript tradition is noteworthy, but also the fact that in all of Tertullian's citations he renders the phrase with the same Latin words and always places *te* before the verb.[381]

4.4.81 *Luke 19:10*

4.37.2—*Cum vero dicit: Venit enim filius hominis salvum facere quod periit*,[382] . . . | *Pud.* 9.12—*Venerat Dominus utique, ut quod perierat salvum faceret*, . . . | *Res.* 9.4—. . . *Ego, inquit, veni, ut quod periit salvum faciam*; . . . | *Res.* 34.1—*In primis cum ad hoc venisse se dicit, ut quod periit salvum faciat*, . . .[383]

Tertullian's citation of this verse attests ἦλθεν γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός for Marcion's text, which is also Harnack's reconstruction.[384] The only problematic element involves the omission of ζητῆσαι καί before σῶσαι. Harnack, Tsutsui, and Braun are certain that this phrase was not present in Marcion's text, with the possibility that the omission was due to Marcion himself.[385] Whether omitted by Marcion or not, it is certainly possible that "seeking" was not in Marcion's text and it is worth noting that in numerous manuscripts where this verse appears as Matt 18:11, ζητῆσαι is also missing.[386] At the same time, however, it is important to notice that Tertullian never mentions "seeking" in his other references to this verse as he always focuses on "saving." Therefore, it is also possible that once again a simple omission has occurred on the part of Tertullian.

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380 Additional allusions to Luke 18:42 occur in 4.36.14 and 4.38.10.

381 For discussion of this phrase and how Tertullian's witness to Marcion's text and the OL manuscripts are interpreted by IGNTP, cf. chapter 5, n. 106.

382 Moreschini's text reads *periit*, and simply notes the reading *perit*, presumably created by a copy error, in *M*.

383 An additional allusion to Luke 19:10 probably occurs in *Carn. Chr.* 14.1.

384 Harnack, *Marcion*, 227*.

385 Ibid.; Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 118–19; and Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 459n9.

386 According to the NA[28] apparatus these manuscripts include D, K, N, W, Θ^{c}, 078^{vid}, 565, 700, 1241, 1424, the Majority Text, nearly all OL manuscripts, and $sy^{c, p}$. In Luke 19:10 IGNTP lists 1187, 2757, and Ambrose as omitting the phrase.

4.4.82 *Luke 20:1, 4*

4.38.1—*Sciebat Christus baptisma Iohannis unde esset. Et cur quasi nesciens interrogabat? Sciebat non responsuros sibi Pharisaeos.... Puta illos renuntiasse humanum Iohannis baptisma*:... | 4.38.2—*Sed de caelis fuit baptisma Iohannis*. | *Bapt*. 10.1—*Baptismus a Iohanne denuntiatus iam tunc habuit quaestionem ab ipso quidem domino propositam ad pharisaeos caelestisne is baptismus esset an vero terrenus*,...

For Luke 20:4 Harnack reconstructed τὸ βάπτισμα τὸ Ἰωάννου.[387] Though the second τό is attested in א, D, and a handful of other manuscripts, Harnack provides no rationale for its inclusion here and Tertullian's testimony cannot reveal its presence or absence. In addition, that Christ's question included ἐξ οὐρανοῦ and ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, is confirmed by Tertullian's references to *caelus* and *humanus* in 4.38.1, 2. That the terms arise from the text is supported by Tertullian's paraphrase in *Bapt*. 10.1 where the contrast is made between *caelus* and *terrenus*. It should also be noted that Tertullian's use of *caelis* does not warrant the supposition that Marcion read an otherwise unattested ἐξ οὐρανῶν given the same use of the plural in *Bapt*. 10.1.[388] Finally, *Bapt*. 10.1 reveals the same curious reference found in 4.38.1 that the Pharisees asked this question (v. 1).[389] Therefore, it is unlikely that Marcion's text read an otherwise unattested οἱ Φαρισαῖοι, as posited by Harnack,[390] and rather more likely that the reference to *Pharisaeos* is due to Tertullian.

4.4.83 *Luke 20:25*

4.38.3—*Reddite quae Caesaris Caesari, et quae sunt dei deo*. | *Cor*. 12.4 –... *reddite quae sunt Caesaris Caesari et quae dei deo*,... | *Fug*. 12.9—...*Reddite quae sunt Caesaris Caesari*. | *Idol*. 15.3—*Reddenda sunt Caesari quae sunt Caesaris. Bene quod apposuit: et quae sunt dei deo.... reddite, ait, quae sunt Caesaris Caesari, et quae sunt dei deo*,... | *Scorp*. 14.2—*Dehinc et exequitur, quomodo velit te subici potestatibus, reddite, iubens, cui tributum, tributum, cui vectigal, vectigal, id est quae sunt Caesaris Caesari, et quae dei deo*;...[391]

387 Harnack, *Marcion*, 228*.

388 Though the parallels in Matt 21:25//Mark 11:30 also read the singular ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, it is worth noting that in Matt the plural occurs twice as often as the singular (55 vs. 27 times). In Luke the singular occurs 31 times and the plural only 4 times. It is quite possible that the frequency of the occurrence of the plural in Matthew has influenced the way Tertullian refers to "heaven(s)."

389 Luke 20:1//Mark 11:27 indicate that it was "chief priests, scribes, and elders" and Matt 21:23 that it was "chief priests and elders."

390 Harnack, *Marcion*, 228*.

391 An additional allusion to Luke 20:25//Matt 22:21//Mark 12:17 occurs in *Res*. 22.11.

Harnack reconstructed this verse ἀπόδοτε τὰ Κάσαρος Καίσαρι καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ.[392] Harnack rightly resisted representing *sunt* in the Greek text as Tertullian's other references evidence an inclination to insert the verb "to be" in various places in the verse. In addition, Tertullian never includes an introductory conjunction when referring to Luke 20:25, so it is not surprising that it is unattested in the citation of Marcion's text, though ultimately one cannot be sure of its presence or placement in the verse.[393]

4.4.84 *Luke 20:35–36*

3.9.4—*Et utique, si deus tuus veram quandoque substantiam angelorum hominibus pollicetur* (*erunt enim, inquit, sicut angeli*)[394] *cur non et deus meus veram substantiam hominum angelis accommodarit unde sumptam?* | 4.38.5 – … *quos vero dignatus sit deus illius aevi possessione et resurrectione a mortuis neque nubere neque nubi, quia nec morituri iam sint, cum similes angelorum sint dei,*[395] *resurrectionis filii facti.*[396] | 4.38.7—*Nacti enim scripturae textum ita in legendo decucurrerunt: Quos autem dignatus est deus illius aevi, <ut illius aevi> deo adiungant,*[397] *quo alium deum faciant illius aevi, cum sic legi oportet: Quos*

392 Harnack, *Marcion*, 228*. D reads articles before the two forms of "Caesar," and a handful of other witnesses read only the second article. These articles are also attested in various witnesses in the Matthean and Markan parallels.

393 In the Majority Text τοίνυν follows ἀπόδοτε whereas in NA[28] it precedes the verb. Numerous other manuscripts read ὂυν under the influence of Matt 22:21. D, most OL witnesses, and many church fathers omit the conjunction.

394 Moreschini rejects the addition of *dei* after *angeli* attested only in *X*.

395 The main text and apparatus in the SC edition are problematic, and apparently erroneous, on two accounts. The text reads … *quia nec morituri iam sint, cum similes angelorum sunt dei*, … and the apparatus provides data for the variant reading *fiant* for *sint*. The problem, however, is that the variant occurs not at *morituri iam sint* (the only occurrence of *sint* in the SC text), but at *sint dei*, which for some reason, and apparently without manuscript attestation, here reads *sunt dei*. For the correct text and variant cf. the apparatus in Moreschini's text found in his *Tertulliani Adversus Marcionem*, 307–8 and in Kroymann's edition in CCSL 1:649. Nevertheless, the SC apparatus, though placing the variant at the incorrect place in the manuscript, correctly records the witnesses noting that *sint* (actually before *dei*) is found in *M*, γ, Rigalti, and Kroymann and *fiant* (again before *dei*) in *R*, Gelenius, Pamelius, Oehler, and Evans.

396 Pamelius, Rigalti, Oehler, and Evans read *et resurrectionis filii* so that the passage is read "… since they are like the angels, being made the sons of God and of the resurrection" instead of "… seeing that they might be like the angels of God, being made sons of the resurrection."

397 There are several text critical issues here. *illius aevi* is read twice in R3 and all editors attest *illius aevi* twice, but it is attested only once in *M*, γ, R1, and R2. *adiungant* is the reading

autem dignatus est deus, ut facta hic distinctione post deum ad sequentia pertineat illius aevi, id est: Quos dignatus sit deus illius aevi possessione et resurrectione. | 4.38.8—*filii huius aevi nubunt et nubuntur ... quos deus illius aevi, alter scilicet, dignatus sit resurrectione, ...* | 4.39.11—*... quia nec morientur in illo, nec nubent, sed erunt sicut angeli.* | 5.10.14—*... erimus enim sicut angeli.* | *Mon.* 10.5—*Si autem in illo aevo neque nubent neque nubentur, sed erunt aequales angelis, ...* | *Res.* 36.4–5—*Neque enim, si nupturos tunc negavit, ideo nec resurrecturos demonstravit, atquin filios resurrectionis appellavit per eam quodammodo nasci habentes, post quam non nubent, sed resuscitati. Similes enim erunt angelis, qua non nupturi, quia nec morituri, ...* | *Res.* 62.1—*Sed huic disceptationi finem dominica pronuntiatio imponet: Erunt, inquit, tanquam angeli, si non nubendo, quia nec moriendo, ...* | *Res.* 62.4—*Denique non dixit: Erunt angeli, ne homines negaret, sed tanquam angeli, ut homines conservaret*: ...[398]

Tsutsui refers to v. 35a as "eine der unklarsten Stellen im Evangelium Marcions."[399] The significant challenges lie not only in attempting to work back to the Greek from Tertullian's Latin, but also in attempting to understand the interpretation that Tertullian attributes to Marcion in 4.38.7. Harnack reconstructed οὓς δὲ κατηξίωσεν ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκείνου τυχεῖν (καὶ?) τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν.[400] Braun and Tsutsui both note the key difficulty surrounding how *possessione* is to be understood in the sentence.[401] I would suggest that Tsutsui is correct in noting the problem with τυχεῖν in Harnack's text, though I am not persuaded that the answer to the difficulty of the verse is to affirm the wording of Tertullian's citation while questioning the interpretation that Tertullian attributes to Marcion.[402] Rather, a different approach seems to be in

of *M* and Kroymann, whereas γ, R1, and R2 attest *adiungat*. Rhenanus, followed by the other editors, amended the text to *adiungunt* in his third edition. Kroymann added *ut* in order to preserve the reading of *M* and Braun comments "Il nous paraît indispensable d'accueillir ici la correction de Kroymann qui supplée <*ut*> entre les deux *illius aevi* ... Le parallélisme *ita in legendo ... ut/sic legi ... ut* garantit que telle était la structure de la phrase à l'origine" (*Contre Marcion IV*, 470n3).

398 Additional allusions to Luke 20:35–36//Matt 22:30//Mark 12:25 occur in 3.9.7; *An.* 56.7; and *Cult. fem.* 1.2.5.

399 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 120.

400 Harnack, *Marcion*, 229*.

401 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 471n5 and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 120.

402 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 120. Though Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:487 rightly criticized the view of Ritschl, Hilgenfeld, and Volckmar, who viewed the text as simply containing the canonical reading with the addition ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, he also appeared simply to assume that *possessione* is rendering τυχεῖν. In addition, Zahn understood καί as "also," rather than questioning its presence, as Harnack did. Though Zahn's interpretation is not impossible, *possessione et*

order. First, although Tertullian does not elsewhere cite Luke 20:35a he repeats the citation of it several times in *Adversus Marcionem*. In 4.38.5 he uses *vero* in his citation, in 4.38.7 he twice uses *autem* and once no conjunction at all, and in 4.38.8 once again no conjunction. It is likely that Marcion read δέ in his text and that this alteration is due to Tertullian's own tendency to omit and change introductory conjunctions. On the other hand, Tertullian consistently using *dignatus sit/est deus* would seem to indicate that Marcion did not read the substantive passive participle of Luke, and indeed the interpretation that Tertullian ascribes to Marcion requires ὁ θεός to be an external subject.[403] A construction of the sentence that may allow both Marcion's and Tertullian's interpretation is precisely the Latin reading that Tertullian gives in both 4.38.5 and 4.38.7: *quos dignatus sit deus illius aevi possessione et resurrectione*.[404] In Greek one could posit οὓς [δὲ] κατηξίωσεν ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκείνου τῆς κληρονομίας καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως,[405] in all likelihood followed by τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν as attested in 4.38.5. Thus, in 4.38.7–8 Tertullian, consonant with established citation habits, simply shortens the reference and mentions only being considered worthy of the resurrection by the God of that world.

Luke 20:35b is multiply cited. IGNTP lists several witnesses attesting future forms of γαμέω, and it is interesting that in every reference other than 4.38.8 Tertullian uses a future form of the verb.[406] This fact presents strong evidence that Marcion's text read the present tenses of Luke. Harnack reconstructed οὔτε γαμοῦσιν οὔτε γαμίζονται, though, it should be noted that the Latin does

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resurrectione do strongly give the appearance of being two things of which some are considered worthy (cf. also nn. 404 and 405).

403 As in Luke 10:21 above, it seems unlikely that Tertullian created a reading, then created a Marcionite interpretation requiring that reading, only to refute the interpretation.

404 Interpreting *dignari* with an accusative object (*quos*) and two ablatives of respect (*possessione* and *resurrectione*) along with an external subject (*deus*). The genitive phrase (*illius aevi*) is then taken either with *deus* or *possessione*.

405 Tsutsui, with reference to Luke 18:18 and 1 Cor 15:50, also suggests that if *possessione* is understood in an absolute sense, as the interpretation attributed to Marcion requires, the Greek behind it cannot be τυχεῖν but rather κληρονομία/κληρονομῆσαι. At the same time he also notes that the sentence structure remains unusual ("Evangelium," 120). τυχεῖν is not attested in numerous OL manuscripts, the Vulgate, sy^s, and sy^p, the Arabic Diatessaron, and several other witnesses; however, Tertullian's use of *posessione* seems to indicate that more than simply τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκείνου preceded καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως in Marcion's text.

406 In 4.39.11 and *Mon.* 10.5 he uses future indicatives, in *Res.* 36.4–5 a future indicative and a future participle, and in *Res.* 62.1 a future participle.

not allow for a definitive decision on the Greek lemma used for the final term of the verse.[407]

Harnack reconstructed Luke 20:36 as οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν ἔτι μέλλουσιν, ἰσάγγελοι γὰρ εἰσιν ‹καὶ υἱοί εἰσιν, vormarcionitischer Defekt› τοῦ θεοῦ, τῆς ἀναστάσεως υἱοί (γεγονότες?).[408] Several points merit discussion. First, Harnack posited that Marcion's text read μέλλουσιν with D, W, Θ, and a handful of other witnesses, which certainly is possible.[409] In his other references, however, Tertullian never uses *posse* and always seems primarily to have the state of "not dying" in view instead of the absence of the ability to die (cf. 4.39.11; *Res.* 36.5 and 62.1). Therefore, it is possible that the *morituri sint* in 4.38.5 is due to Tertullian's own conception and not the reading of Marcion's text. Second, ἰσάγγελοι γὰρ εἰσιν for Marcion's text is confirmed by Tertullian's persistent use of the future tense elsewhere (cf. 3.9.4, 4.39.11, 5.10.14; *Mon.* 10.5; *Res.* 36.4–5, 62.1, 62.4). Third, Harnack believed that καὶ υἱοί εἰσιν was not present in Marcion's text due to a pre-Marcion scribal error caused by homoeoteleuton.[410] Once again, this view is possible, though Tertullian nowhere else includes this element in his references to this Lukan element, possibly due to the influence of Matt 22:30//Mark 12:25. It may be a simple omission or an imprecise reference by Tertullian. In either case, the words are unattested for Marcion. Fourth, Tertullian's Latin cannot reveal whether the article preceded θεοῦ. Finally, Harnack wondered if Marcion's text read γεγονότες, apparently due to Tertullian's use of *facere*. According to IGNTP, this reading is attested elsewhere only in the Arabic Diatessaron, which makes it rather more likely that Tertullian is offering a loose rendering of ὄντες.

4.4.85 *Luke 21:7*

4.39.13—*Ipsum decursum scripturae evangelicae ab interrogatione discipulorum usque ad parabolam fici* … | *Res.* 22.3—*Interrogatus a discipulis, quando eventura essent* …

Even though Tertullian's reference to Luke 21:7 in 4.39.13 reads as a passing allusion to the verse, Harnack reconstructed Luke 21:7a as ἐπηρώτησαν αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταί, explicitly stating that Marcion's text read the Matthean οἱ μαθηταί

407 ἐκγαμίζω, ἐκγαμίσκω, γαμίζω, and γαμίσκω are all attested in the Greek manuscript tradition.

408 Harnack, *Marcion*, 229*.

409 D. Plooij also posited this reading for Marcion's text ("Eine enkratische Glosse im Diatessaron," *ZNW* 22 [1923]: 15).

410 Harnack, *Marcion*, 229*. The phrase is also not in D, several OL manuscripts, and sy^{s}.

with D, d, and geo.[411] Though possible, it is not at all clear that this reading is required for Marcion's text. The context of the statement allows that Tertullian may simply be clarifying who the "they" of the verb are. This view becomes more likely when one notices that in *Res*. 22.3 Tertullian similarly refers to the disciples when discussing Luke 21.[412] In addition, Harnack omits δέ in his reconstruction; however, Tertullian's allusion cannot validate the view that the conjunction, omitted in only a few manuscripts, was absent in Marcion's text.

4.4.86 *Luke 21:8*

4.39.1—*... multos dicat venturos in nomine ipsius ... prohibeat eos recipi ...* | 4.39.2—*Venient denique illi dicentes: Ego sum Christus ...* | 5.1.3—*Praeter haec utique legisti multos venturos, qui dicant: Ego sum Christus.*

Harnack reconstructed Luke 21:8 πολλοὶ ἐλεύσονται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί (μου), λέγοντες· ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ Χριστός....[413] Several observations are in order. First, once again, given Tertullian's habitual omission of conjunctions, it is not clear that γάρ after πολλοί was absent in Marcion's text.[414] Second, IGNTP lists no witnesses omitting μου, making it rather likely that *ipsius* is reflecting an adaptation of the pronoun. Third, the omission of ὅτι after λέγοντες is possible as it is also omitted by ℵ, B, L, X, and numerous other manuscripts, though a simple omission on the part of Tertullian cannot be ruled out. Fourth, such a simple omission may become more probable when one considers the attested reading ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ Χριστός, which is the reading of the parallel Matt 24:5.[415] Harnack believed that Marcion's text had been influenced by the text of Matthew, which is indeed possible.[416] At the same time, however, in 5.1.3 Tertullian cites the pithy statement in its Matthean form. Therefore, it is possible that the phrasing is due to Tertullian himself as he is being influenced by the wording of Matthew. Finally, *prohibeat eos recipi* (4.39.1) appears to allude to the final element in v. 8, though the precise wording is unclear, as Harnack apparently also recognized.

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411 Harnack, *Marcion*, 230*.

412 Of course, it cannot be ruled out entirely that Tertullian's own text of Luke had the reading found in D.

413 Harnack, *Marcion*, 230*.

414 IGNTP lists only one manuscript of bo attesting the omission of γάρ. IGNTP goes on to state that Marcion's text attested ἐλεύσονται ψευδοπροφῆται. It is unclear to me on what basis this claim is made.

415 ὅτι is also not present in Matt 24:5.

416 Braun indicates his agreement with Harnack's interpretation (*Contre Marcion IV*, 475n5). IGNTP lists several manuscripts, including 157, most of the OL manuscripts, sy^{p}, and a few other witnesses as attesting the Matthean reading in Luke 21:8.

4.4.87 *Luke 21:9–11*

4.39.3—*Videamus et quae signa temporibus imponat: bella, opinor, et regnum super regnum, et gentem super gentem, et pestem, et fames terraeque motus, et formidines, et prodigia de caelo, quae omnia severo et atroci deo congruunt. Haec cum adicit etiam oportere fieri, quem se praestat?* | *Res.* 22.2—*ad … diem ultimum et occultum nec ulli praeter patri notum, et tamen signis atque portentis et concussionibus elementorum et conflictationibus nationum praenotatum.*[417]

Tertullian attests various elements in Luke 21:9–11 in this allusion. At the outset and closing of the section from 4.39.3 cited above, Tertullian attests two elements of v. 9 which Harnack reconstructed as πολέμους … δεῖ ταῦτα γενέσθαι.[418] Even though there is some evidence in Latin manuscripts for the omission of γάρ after δεῖ, once again the omission cannot be demonstrated for Marcion's text based on Tertullian's testimony. For v. 10 Harnack posited the otherwise unattested order βασιλείαν [*sic*] ἐπὶ βασιλείαν καὶ ἔθνος ἐπ' ἔθνος,[419] and for v. 11 λοιμοὶ καὶ λιμοὶ σεισμοί τε, φόβητρά τε καὶ σημεῖα ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ.[420] Harnack rightly noted that the order λοιμοὶ καὶ λιμοί is attested by B, several OL manuscripts, and sy^{c}; yet, he did not mention that σεισμοί following this pair is otherwise unattested. When one adds the observation that in *Res.* 22.2 Tertullian has the conflict between nations, one of the first elements in the list, at the end of his statement, it becomes questionable to posit that Marcion's text contained this highly unique order of elements rather than Tertullian simply having written an "unordered" list.[421] That Marcion's text contained the elements listed by Tertullian appears quite certain; however, the order in which they appeared cannot be determined with any precision.

4.4.88 *Luke 21:25–26*

4.39.9—*… signa iam ultimi finis enarrat, solis et lunae siderumque prodigia, et in terra*[422] *angustias nationum obstupescentium velut a sonitu maris fluctuantis pro expectatione imminentium orbi malorum. Quod et ipsae vires caelorum*

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417 An additional allusion to Luke 21:9 occurs in 4.39.17.

418 Harnack, *Marcion*, 230*.

419 Braun notes the use of *super* for *contra* based on the influence of ἐπί (Braun [trans.], *Contre Marcion IV*, 477n2). The OL manuscripts for Luke 21:10 offer *contra* (d, ff^{2}, i, l, q, r^{1}), *adversus* (f), and *super* (a, c, e). Even greater variation is found in the parallels in Matt 24:7 and Mark 13:8.

420 Harnack, *Marcion*, 230*.

421 Note also that the necessity of the events occurring, appearing in v. 9, is not mentioned until the various signs, including those in vv. 10–11, have been enumerated.

422 Moreschini's text follows the reading *in terra* of Gelenius and the other editors, rejecting *inter* in θ and *interim* as inferred in R2.

concuti habeant, … | *Res.* 22.5–6—*… futura signa in sole et luna et* [*in*] *stellis, conclusionem nationum, cum stupore sonitus maris et motus refrigescentium hominum prae metu et expectatione eorum, quae immineant orbi terrae. Virtutes enim, inquit, caelorum commovebuntur …*

Even though Harnack recognized that Tertullian renders these verses rather freely, he still reconstructed a text that read like Luke except for ὡς ἤχους θαλάσσης κυμαινούσης (ἤχους θαλάσσης καὶ σάλου in Luke) at the end of v. 25 and αὐταὶ γὰρ αἱ δυνάμεις (αἱ γὰρ δυνάμεις in Luke) in v. 26.[423] Despite knowing that the loose nature of the allusion meant that one cannot prove that Marcion made any changes, Harnack believed that the latter reading should be accepted.[424] Though the reference to these verses in *Res.* 22.5–6 is formulated differently at these two points, a similar free citation style is evident (e.g., the omission of *et in terra*, the use of *refrigescere*, and the addition of *eorum*). Therefore, the citation in *Res.* 22 would tend to confirm both that the order of the signs in Marcion's Gospel was the same as in Luke and, at the same time, that the precise wording of parts of the verses cannot be established from 4.39.9.

4.4.89 *Luke 21:27–28*

4.39.10—*Post haec quid dominus? Et tunc videbunt filium hominis venientem de caelis cum plurima virtute. Cum autem haec fient, erigetis vos, et levabitis capita, quoniam adpropinquabit*[425] *redemptio vestra.* | 4.39.12—*… erecturos scilicet se et capita levaturos in tempore regni redemptos.* | *Prax.* 30.5—*Hic et venturus est rursus super nubes caeli talis, qualis et ascendit.* | *Res.* 22.6–7—*Virtutes enim, inquit, caelorum commovebuntur, et tunc videbunt filium hominis venientem in nubibus caeli cum plurimo potentatu et gloria. Ubi autem coeperint ista fieri, emergetis et elevabitis capita vestra, quod redemptio vestra adpropinquaverit. Et tamen adpropinquare eam dixit, non adesse iam, et cum coeperint ista fieri, non cum facta fuerint, quia cum facta fuerint, tunc aderit redemptio nostra, quae eo usque adpropinquare dicetur, erigens interim et excitans animos ad proximum iam spei fructum.*

Tertullian attests Luke 21:27 as reconstructed by Harnack: καὶ τότε ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς.[426]

423 Harnack, *Marcion*, 231*. Once again, Harnack reflected some of the reading attested by Tertullian, but also did not follow some changes in word order and the addition of κακῶν (attested in one lectionary witness, *l*524), for example.

424 Ibid.

425 Moreschini rejects the reading *adpropinquavit* of Pamelius, Rigalti, Oehler, and Evans.

426 Harnack, *Marcion*, 231*.

Two differences from Luke are immediately evident. First, instead of ἐν νεφέλῃ Tertullian renders ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν. Harnack sees this as a tendentious correction because "mit irdischem Nebel sollte Christus nichts zu tun haben."[427] Tsutsui connects the wording to that of the first appearance of Marcion's Jesus in Luke 4:31.[428] The citation in *Res*. 22.6 reads *in nubibus caeli* as in Matt 24:30 (ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ), which, along with *Prax*. 30.5 where the additional influence of Acts 1:11 is present, reveals that if Tertullian were being influenced by the synoptic parallel we would expect both "clouds" and "heaven" to be mentioned, and not simply "heaven."[429] Therefore, it seems likely that Marcion's text here did read ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν. Second, at the conclusion of the verse Luke reads μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης πολλῆς. Once again, *Res*. 22.6 contains reference to both elements, increasing the likelihood that Marcion's text referred only to δύναμις.[430] At the same time, however, a simple omission by Tertullian is possible.[431]

Several readings also merit attention in Luke 21:28. Harnack reconstructed τούτων δὲ γινομένων ἀνακύψατε καὶ ἐπάρατε τὰς κεφαλάς, διότι ἤγγικεν ἡ ἀπολύτρωσις ὑμῶν.[432] First, though Tertullian may simply be offering a loose translation of the Lukan opening ἀρχομένων δὲ τούτων γίνεσθαι,[433] once again the citation in *Res*. 22.6 would tend to confirm that Tertullian would not be inclined to introduce the verse in this manner under his own initiative. Nevertheless, *Res*. 22.7 reveals that Tertullian is paying particular attention to the tense in this discussion, which may have led to a more precise rendering. Second, the omission of the possessive ὑμῶν after κεφαλάς becomes slightly

427 Ibid.

428 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 122.

429 In addition, it is interesting that as Tertullian continues his argument he makes reference to the day of the Lord *venientis de caelis filii hominis* and then quotes Dan 7:13 where the Son of Man is described as coming *cum caeli nubibus* (4.39.11). Since Tertullian presumably knew he would employ Daniel in his argument, it would be strange for him purposely to omit reference to the "clouds."

430 According to IGNTP no other witness attests this omission.

431 As mentioned in n. 429, Tertullian continues his argument with a reference to Dan 7:13. He concludes that citation with *data est illi* [the Son of Man] *regia potestas*, and here the omission of "glory" would create a closer parallel with the OT verse.

432 Harnack, *Marcion*, 231*.

433 Several OL manuscripts attest the reading τούτων δὲ γίνεσθαι ἀρχομένων, which reveals that Tertullian could have begun the verse as found in Marcion's text and then offered a paraphrase of the concept of the verb.

more likely for Marcion's text because Tertullian includes it in *Res*. 22.6.[434] Finally, though all the manuscripts of Tertullian's works attest *adpropinquabit*, numerous editors of Tertullian's works have posited *adpropinquavit*.[435] Harnack stated "*appropinquabit* schwerlich richtig," without any further explanation.[436] Even though ἤγγικεν is attested in some manuscripts, it may be that this is another case where Tertullian is rendering the Greek verb in the present tense (ἐγγίζει) with a Latin future,[437] and therefore there is no need to posit an error in the manuscript tradition of Tertullian's works.

4.4.90 ***Luke 21:31***

4.39.10—…*in tempore scilicet regni, de quo subiecta erit ipsa parabola. Sic et vos, cum videritis omnia haec fieri, scitote adpropinquasse regnum dei.* | 4.39.16—…*sic et vos, cum videritis haec fieri, scitote in proximo esse regnum dei.* | *Res*. 22.8—*Cuius etiam parabola subtexitur tenerescentium arborum in caulem, floris et dehinc frugis antecursorem. Ita et vos, cum videritis omnia ista fieri, scitote in proximo esse regnum dei.*

The first question concerning Luke 21:31 is whether the citation in 4.39.10 or 4.39.16 more closely represents Marcion's text. Harnack reconstructed vv. 29–31 from the latter, though Braun contends that in 4.39.16 Tertullian is reproducing the text rather freely and that, in v. 30 at least, Harnack "a tort d'y voir donné le texte même de Marcion."[438] Since vv. 29–30 are not multiply cited they will not be discussed here, but rather in the ensuing chapter. Concerning v. 31, however, it appears that the latter quotation may be accurate. First, the citation in 4.39.10 is only of v. 31, whereas three verses are cited in 4.39.16. Though not definitive in and of itself, in general there is a greater likelihood that a longer citation will be made with reference to the text. Second, the quotation in 4.39.10 includes the Matthean *omnia* (Matt 24:33), which *Res*. 22.8 reveals may be the more familiar form for Tertullian. Of course, it is also possible that both Tertullian's

434 The possessive pronoun is also omitted in D, d, and in one manuscript of the Georgian Version.

435 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:488 did not distinguish between the text attested by the manuscripts and the readings posited by editors when he commented on Tertullian's "schwankende[r] Text."

436 Harnack, *Marcion*, 231*.

437 Notice also that Tertullian begins the citation in 4.39.10 with the future *fient*, and renders the imperatives with Latin futures (*erigetis, levabitis*). Notice also the use of the future in *Res*. 22.6 (*emergetis et elevabitis*).

438 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 491n3.

text of Luke and Marcion's Gospel contained this harmonization;[439] yet, then one would have to explain why Tertullian omitted *omnia* in 4.39.16. Finally, and perhaps most tellingly, in 4.39.10 Tertullian uses *adpropinquare* instead of *in proximo esse* as in 4.39.16 and *Res*. 22.8. Apart from the fact that the latter is a more literal rendering of ἐγγύς ἐστιν and thus more likely to arise from a text, the former is never here attested in any OL witnesses.[440] Thus, it would seem that at least as far as v. 31 is concerned, 4.39.16 more closely follows Marcion's text, which means that here Marcion's text read the same as Luke 21:31.

4.4.91 ***Luke 21:33***

4.39.18—*Adhuc ingerit non transiturum caelum ac terram, nisi omnia peragantur.… Transeat age nunc caelum et terra*[441]*—sic enim dominus eorum destinavit—, dum verbum eius maneat in aevum—sic enim et Esaias pronuntiavit.* | *Herm*. 34.1—… *caelum et terra praeteribunt, inquit*; …

This verse is confusingly reconstructed by Harnack ἡ (δὴ?) γῆ καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς παρελεύσονται, ὁ δὲ λόγος μου μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.[442] First, there is no good reason to suppose that *age* is anything other than Tertullian's own exclamation as he advances his argument. Second, in his apparatus Harnack gave Kroymann's text (*transeat age nunc caelum et terra*), though in his Greek reconstruction he changed the order without any rationale for apparently following a different reading.[443] Ultimately, though earlier in 4.39.18 and in *Herm*. 34.1 Tertullian uses the order "heaven and earth," the variation in the manuscripts of Tertullian's works makes a definitive decision on Marcion's reading impossible. Third, despite Tertullian's singular verb (*transeat*), attested in numerous manuscripts, Harnack reconstructed παρελεύσονται. Harnack's reconstruction could be right, and no definitive decision can be made either way, but the plural is not what Tertullian attests. Fourth, though Harnack recognized *dum* and the subjunctive as created by Tertullian's argument, he did not realize that

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439 IGNTP lists numerous manuscripts with this harmonization including the OL manuscripts e, gat, and r[1] along with Cyprian and other church fathers.

440 Cf. the data for this verse in the chart in Roth, "Did Tertullian Possess?," 464.

441 Moreschini's text reads *caelum et terra* with *M* and Kroymann, rejecting *terra et caelum* read in β and the other editors.

442 Harnack, *Marcion*, 232*.

443 It is quite possible that Harnack is here influenced by Zahn's reconstruction as Zahn's text of Tertullian read *terra et caelum* (*Geschichte*, 2:489). Tsutsui's text for Tertullian is also confusing as it reads *terra et caelum transiet, verbum autem meum manet in aevum*, stated as coming from 4.39.18 ("Evangelium," 122). In his bibliography Tsutsui lists both Kroymann's and Evans's editions of *Adversus Marcionem*; however, neither of those editions offers this reading.

the singular *verbum* may very well have come from the wording of Isa 40:8, to which Tertullian makes reference at the end of his allusion.[444] This possible influence of Isaiah in the second half of the verse renders its precise wording unclear.

4.4.92 *Luke 22:15*

4.40.1—*Ideo et adfectum suum ostendit: Concupiscentia concupii pascha edere vobiscum, antequam patiar*.[445] | 4.40.3—*Professus itaque se concupiscentia concupisse edere pascha* ... | *An*. 16.4—... *et concupiscentivum, quo pascha cum discipulis suis edere concupiscit*.

Luke 22:15 is also attested by Epiphanius and Eznik. Tertullian's three citations of the passage reveal the fluidity with which he can make reference to the verse. The citation in 4.40.1 attests ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν, which corresponds to Luke except for the absence of τοῦτο before τὸ πάσχα.[446] Neither of the other references in 4.40.3 or *An*. 16.4 contain the demonstrative pronoun, so it may very well be an omission by Tertullian.

4.4.93 *Luke 22:19*

4.40.3—... *acceptum panem et distributum discipulis corpus suum illum fecit, Hoc est corpus meum dicendo*, ... *Aut si propterea panem corpus sibi finxit, quia corporis carebat veritate, ergo panem debuit tradere pro nobis*. | 4.40.4—... *corpus suum vocans panem*. | *Or*. 6.2—... *tunc quod et corpus eius in pane censetur: hoc est corpus meum*.[447]

Luke 22:19 may also be attested in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Tertullian's allusion to the opening of the verse includes a reference to the verbs λαμβάνω and δίδωμι. Tertullian clarifying to whom the bread is given does not require Marcion's text to have read τοῖς μαθηταῖς, as supposed by Harnack.[448] The omission of εὐχαριστέω and κλάω may be attributed to Tertullian, whose argument focuses on the bread as a substance requiring Jesus' body to be a true body (*veritatis corpus*). For this reason Tertullian's primary interest in the verse is in

444 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 493n3 rightly notes that Tertullian made the same type of reference to Isa 40:8 in 4.33.9.

445 Braun notes that Tertullian has brought this verse forward in his discussion of chapter 22 for emphasis in the course of his argument (*Contre Marcion IV*, 496n1).

446 This verse is also noted by Wolter as evidence for Lukan redaction being present in Marcion's Gospel (*Lukasevangelium*, 3).

447 Additional allusions to Luke 22:19//Matt 26:26//Mark 14:22 occur in 3.19.4 and *Adv. Jud*. 10.12.

448 Harnack, *Marcion*, 233*. IGNTP notes that Cyril in *Contra Nestorium* reads τοῖς μαθηταῖς and f reads τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ.

Jesus' statement τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου, the direct citation of which is unproblematic (cf. *Or.* 6.2). Finally, as Tertullian continues his argument he alludes that Jesus' statement is followed by τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον, stating that if Jesus did not have a true body then it is the bread itself that should have been delivered up for us.

4.4.94 *Luke 22:69*

4.41.4—… *Abhinc, inquit, erit filius hominis sedens ad dexteram virtutis dei.* | 4.42.1—… *sine dubio dei filium, sessurum ad dei dexteram.* | *Carn. Chr.* 16.1—… *cum illam* [the flesh of Christ] *et ad dexteram patris in caelis praesidere* …

The citation of Luke 22:69 in 4.41.4 is largely unproblematic as it renders ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἔσται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθήμενος ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ θεοῦ, which is also the reconstruction of Harnack.[449] Numerous manuscripts, including P^{75}, ℵ, A, B, D, and many OL manuscripts attest δέ after νῦν, and the conjunction could have been present in Marcion's text and simply omitted by Tertullian. That Tertullian is largely following the precise wording of Marcion's text may have slight confirmation by comparing the loose phrasing of the reference in *Carn. Chr.* 16.1. More significant is the confirmation that in the quotation Tertullian is following the word order of Marcion's text as he alters the order in the allusion in 4.42.1.

4.4.95 *Luke 23:44–45*

4.42.5—*Ecce autem et elementa concutiuntur:* … *Hic erit dies de quo et Amos: Et erit die illa dicit dominus, occidet sol meridie—habes et horae sextae significationem—, et contenebrabit super terram* [Amos 8:9]. *Scissum est et templi velum,* … | *Adv. Jud.* 13.14—… *et velum templi scissum est* … | *Apol.* 21.19—*Eodem momento dies, medium orbem signante sole, subducta est.*

These verses are also attested by Eznik, and v. 45 by Epiphanius and Ephrem. Tertullian's citation of Amos 8:9 indicates that a reference to the darkness/the sun's light failing *super terram* was present in Marcion's Gospel, and the gloss in the citation connects the OT prophecy specifically to the ὥρα ἕκτη. 4.42.5 also attests ἐσχίσθε τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ for v. 45, though the precise conjunction (καί or δέ) and its placement at the outset of the phrase are not certain.[450] Some confirmation for the Lukan word order comes from *Adv. Jud.* 13.14 where,

449 Harnack, *Marcion*, 234*. ἐξ δεξιῶν in Harnack's reconstruction is presumably a typographical error.

450 Harnack reconstructed the opening of the verse as ἐσχίσθη [καί], though this reading is not attested in any manuscript. ἐσχίσθε δέ is found in P^{75}, ℵ, and several other manuscripts and the Majority Text reads καὶ ἐσχίσθε.

in the reference to Matt 27:51, Tertullian places the verb after the *velum templi*.[451] At the same time, it should be noted that the order *templi velum* in 4.42.5 is not found in any of the Synoptics.

4.4.96 *Luke 23:46*

4.42.6—*Vociferatur ad patrem, ut et moriens ultima voce prophetas adimpleret. Hoc dicto expiravit.* | *Apol.* 21.19—*Nam spiritum cum verbo sponte dimisit, praevento carnificis officio.* | *Prax.* 25.2—…*Pater, in tuis manibus depono spiritum meum,*… | *Prax.* 26.9—…*in Patris manibus spiritum ponens*… | *Prax.* 30.4—*Ceterum non reliquit Pater Filium in cuius manibus Filius spiritum suum posuit.*

Luke 23:46 is also attested by Epiphanius and possibly in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Tertullian's testimony makes reference to Jesus crying out to the Father; however, unlike the three references in *Adversus Praxean*, Tertullian here does not further cite what Jesus said to the Father, though perhaps alluding to it with the reference to the fulfillment of the prophets (Jesus' words are taken from Ps 31:5/ LXX 30:6/MT 31:6). That it is Luke's account which Tertullian has in mind is apparent not only because the cry is addressed to the Father, but also because Tertullian does not speak of Jesus yielding up his spirit (cf. *Apol.* 21.19 referring to Matt 27:50); rather, *hoc dicto expiravit* is rendering τοῦτο δὲ εἰπὼν ἐξέπνευσεν, though without reference to the conjunction.[452]

4.4.97 *Luke 24:37–39*

4.43.6—*cum haesitantibus eis ne phantasma esset, immo phantasma credentibus: Quid turbati estis?*[453] *et quid cogitationes subeunt in corda vestra? Videte manus meas et pedes, quia ipse ego*[454] *sum, quoniam spiritus ossa non habet, sicut me habentem videtis.* | 4.43.7—…*Spiritus ossa non habet, sicut me videtis habentem, quasi ad spiritum referatur sicut me videtis habentem, id est non habentem ossa sicut et spiritus.* | 4.43.8—*Cur autem inspectui eorum manus et pedes suos offert,*…[455] *Cur adicit: Et scitote quia ego sum,*… | *Carn. Chr.* 5.9—…*fuit itaque phantasma etiam post resurrectionem, cum manus et pedes*

451 That Tertullian is citing Matt 27:51 in *Adv. Jud.* 13.14 is confirmed by the reference to the tombs being opened (v. 52) immediately following the reference to the veil being torn.

452 Harnack, *Marcion*, 236* reconstructed the text with the conjunction.

453 Moreschini does not add *inquit* after *estis* as do Pamelius, Rigalti, Oehler, Kroymann, and Evans.

454 Moreschini's text reads *ipse ego* with *M* and Kroymann, and not the order *ego ipse* of β and the other editors.

455 Braun references Luke 24:40 for this phrase (*Contre Marcion IV*, 526); however, the fact that Tertullian continues with *adicit* followed by v. 39b reveals that it is Luke 24:39 that is in view here.

suos discipulis inspiciendos offert adspicite, dicens, quod ego sum, quia spiritus ossa non habet, sicut me habentem videtis? [*Si*] *sine dubio manus et pedes et ossa, quae spiritus non habet, sed caro,* ...

Vv. 38–39 are also attested by Epiphanius and all three verses possibly in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. For v. 37 Harnack appears to have been influenced by the reading in *Adam*. 198,17–18 (5.12); however, as discussed in chapter 7.4.35 it is difficult to ascertain whether the *Adamantius Dialogue* is interacting with Marcion's text here and even more difficult to determine the fidelity of the rendering in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Tertullian's testimony may reflect the reading φάντασμα in Marcion's text of Luke 24:37, which is also found in D and d. At the same time, however, some caution needs to be exercised since Tertullian also uses both *phantasma* and *spiritus* in *Carn. Chr*. 5.9, where it is not certain that *phantasma* is only a "loanword" from Marcion. In v. 38 Tertullian attests Jesus' two-part question to the disciples as τί τεταραγμένοι ἐστὲ καὶ [διὰ] τί διαλογισμοὶ ἀναβαίνουσιν εἰς τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν. This reading, however, which has points of contact with other manuscripts and church fathers, cannot be compared with any other citation by Tertullian. V. 39 is again multiply cited and several points need to be made. First, Tertullian's *manus meas et pedes* in 4.43.6 should not be used to determine definitively the placement or number of possessive pronouns in Marcion's text. Variation in phrasing involving pronouns is once again evidenced, as in 4.43.8 and *Carn. Chr*. 5.9 Tertullian wrote *manus et pedes suos* and in 4.43.8 *eorum manus et pedes*.[456] Second, Jesus' statement identifying himself is rendered in several different ways by Tertullian: *quia ipse ego sum* or the variant *quia ego ipse sum* (4.43.6); *scitote quia ego sum* (4.43.8); and *quod ego sum* (*Carn. Chr*. 5.9).[457] Third, though Tertullian does not attest

456 Carter, "Marcion's Christology," 556, in my estimation, claims with far too much certainty that Tertullian is accurately reflecting Marcion's text here and that Marcion thus "reflects the early reading of P^{75}."

457 Tsutsui argues that *et scitote quia ego sum* (4.43.8) should be added to the end of v. 39, accusing Harnack of an oversight ("Evangelium," 130). However, apart from the dubious methodology employed by Tsutsui (he states concerning the reference "also ein direktes Zitat = sicher 'καὶ γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι' "), it is Tsutsui who has overlooked the context of the statement. Tertullian mentions that Jesus offered his hands and feet for an inspection, and it is to this offering that the statement is added. In other words, *et scitote quia ego sum* appears to be Tertullian's rephrasing of *quia ipse ego sum*, not an addition at the end of v. 39 (cf. also Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:494 who recognized that *et scitote* was added by Tertullian for clarity). Curiously, though Amphoux in his analysis of the textual tradition of Luke 24 elsewhere always follows Harnack's reconstruction when offering Marcion's text, here Amphoux contends that Marcion's text omitted ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι αὐτός along with ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε ("Le chapitre 24 de *Luc* et l'origine de la tradition textuelle du

ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε for Marcion's text, Tertullian also omits reference to this element in *Carn. Chr*. 5.9.[458] Fourth, in both 4.43.6 and 7, Tertullian makes reference only to a spirit having bones, without referring to σάρξ as well. Yet, once again, in the citation of v. 39 in *Carn. Chr*. 5.9 Tertullian also mentions only the bones, indicating that it could be a simple omission on Tertullian's part. Finally, Tertullian's alternating between the word order *habentem videtis* (4.43.6; *Carn. Chr*. 5.9) and *videtis habentem* (4.43.7) reveals how precarious it would be to view him as attesting either order.

Codex de Bèze (D.05 du NT)," *FN* 4 [1991]: 36). Though both elements are unattested by Epiphanius, Tertullian clearly references the first phrase. Since Amphoux provides no rationale for his view, it may simply be an oversight.

458 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:494 also referred to the *De carne Christi* passage, noting that Tertullian there abbreviated his citation; however, he does not appear to have entertained that possibility for the reference in *Adversus Marcionem*.

CHAPTER 5

Tertullian as a Source: Citations only in *Adversus Marcionem*

Whereas the previous chapter considered the multiply cited texts in Tertullian, and a few citations within *Adversus Marcionem* where comparison provided insight into citation habits, the texts examined in this chapter, though at times multiply attested in the sources, are not multiply cited by Tertullian outside of *Adversus Marcionem*. The inability to compare citations directly results in much more of the following discussion remaining very cautious in its conclusions in that fewer definitive decisions can be made concerning specific readings in Marcion's text than was the case in chapter 4. Nevertheless, evidence from the textual tradition of Luke and tendencies in Tertullian's citation habits identified by Schmid and in the previous chapter do, at times, allow tentative conclusions regarding possible readings.

5.1 Luke 3:1

1.15.1—*At nunc quale est, ut dominus anno quinto decimo Tiberii Caesaris revelatus sit,* … | 1.15.6—*His cum accedunt et sui Christi, alter qui apparuit sub Tiberio* … | 1.19.2—*Anno quinto decimo Tiberii Christus Iesus de caelo manare dignatus est,* … | 1.22.10—… *si ab aevo Deus et non a Tiberio,* … | 4.6.3—*Constituit Marcion alium esse Christum, qui Tiberianis temporibus a deo quondam ignoto revelatus sit in salutem omnium gentium,* … | 4.7.1—*Anno quintodecimo principatus Tiberii proponit eum descendisse in civitatem Galilaeae Capharnaum,* …

Elements of Luke 3:1, the opening of Marcion's Gospel, are attested by Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Epiphanius, Origen, (Pseudo-)Ephrem, and in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Tertullian's testimony in his numerous allusions in *Adversus Marcionem* appears to attest that Marcion's text included a reference to ἔτει πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ and Τιβερίου, with Τιβερίου Καίσαρος attested in the allusion in 1.15.1.

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5.2 Luke 4:16, 23, 27, 29–30

4.8.2—*Et tamen apud Nazareth quoque nihil novi notatur praedicasse, dum alio, merito unius proverbii,*[1] *eiectus refertur.... manus ei iniectas... detentus et captus et ad praecipitium usque protractus*... | 4.8.3—...*per medios evasit*... | 4.35.6—*Nunc etsi praefatus est multos tunc fuisse leprosos apud Israhelem in diebus Helisaei prophetae et neminem eorum purgatum nisi Neman Syrum,...*

Elements of this pericope are also attested by Epiphanius, Ephrem, and Jerome. According to the order in which Tertullian comments on Marcion's Gospel, a shortened form of Luke 4:16–30 followed Luke 4:31–35.[2] In addition, though Luke 4:27 is discussed here, both Epiphanius and Tertullian attest its presence in Marcion's Gospel in the pericope of the cleansing of the ten lepers (Luke 17:11–19). For Luke 4:27 Tertullian, in 4.35.6, attests πολλοὶ λεπροὶ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν [ταῖς?] ἡμέραις Ἐλισαίου τοῦ προφήτου, καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐκαθαρίσθη εἰ μὴ Νεμὰν ὁ Σύρος. The allusion to the entire pericope in 4.8.2–3, as recognized by Harnack, references only a few elements of the passage: Ναζαρέθ (v. 16, Harnack reproduced most of the reading in D in parentheses);[3] *unus*

1 The words *unius proverbii* were omitted by Kroymann in his edition. On understanding the phrase here as if Tertullian had written *propter aliud, propter unum proverbium* cf. Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 107n4.

2 Cf. 4.7.1–4.8.3. Braun raises the possibility that the order of pericopes in Marcion's text was Luke 4:31–32; 4:16–30 [shortened]; 4:33–34 [*sic*]; 4:40; and 4:41 (*Contre Marcion IV*, 104–5n11). To support this view Braun offers the following comment on Tertullian's question *Quorsum hunc locum praemisimus* (4.7.13 in the discussion of Luke 4:33–35): "Par cette remarque, T. veut sans doute justifier le rédacteur évangélique d'avoir mis en premier un épisode permettant d'affirmer les attaches du Christ avec l'A.T. Mais on pourrait aussi penser que notre auteur a inversé l'ordre suivi par Marcion (Lc 4,16–30 en version abrégée aurait précédé Lc 4, 33–35)" (ibid., 103n4). A major difficulty, however, is that Tertullian introduces his discussion of Luke 4:33–35 with the words *exclamat ibidem spiritus daemonis* (4.7.9). Having just discussed Luke 4:31–32, this *ibidem* could only refer to the synagogue in Capernaum; yet, if these verses followed the account of the events at Nazareth it becomes very difficult to understand how Tertullian could have introduced vv. 33–35 in this way.

3 D reads ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς Ναζαρέδ ὅπου ἦν κατὰ τὸ εἰωθός ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων εἰς τὴν συναγωγήν καὶ ἀνέστη ἀναγνῶναι. J. Rendel Harris, positing that οὗ ἦν τεθραμμένος and κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτῷ were omitted by Marcion, argued that the reading in D had been influenced by Marcion's text (*Codex Bezae: A Study of the So-Called Western Text of the New Testament* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1891], 232–33; cf. also Vogels, *Evangelium Palatinum*, 98–99). Alfred Plummer, with reference to Harris, more cautiously stated that the omissions were "perhaps due to Marcionite influence" (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Luke* [5th ed.; ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901], 119). Harnack contended "in D ist hier ein Teil des Textes M.s erhalten" (*Marcion*, 186*).

proverbium (most probably the ἰατρέ, θεράπευσον σεαυτόν in v. 23);[4] ἐξέβαλον αὐτόν and ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἕως ὀφρύος τοῦ ὄρους (v. 29); and διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν ἐπορεύετο (v. 30).[5] Though the other verses in the pericope are technically unattested, Harnack may be correct in his view, "M. [hat] den Inhalt der Predigt nicht angegeben, sondern seinerseite aus dem üblen Erfolg geschlossen, daß sie sich gegen den Judengott gerichtet haben müsse."[6]

5.3 Luke 4:31

4.7.1—… [Marcion] *proponit eum*[7] *descendisse in civitatem Galilaeae Capharnaum, utique de caelo creatoris*, … | 4.7.2—*Nunc autem et reliquum ordinem descensionis expostulo, tenens descendisse illum. Viderit enim, sicubi 'apparuisse' positum est.* … *descendisse* … | 4.7.4—*Bene autem quod et deus Marcionis inluminator vindicatur nationum, quo magis debuerit vel de caelo descendere, et, si utique, in Pontum potius descendere quam in Galilaeam.* | 4.7.5—*De caelo statim ad synagogam*: … | 4.7.6—*Ecce venit in synagogam:* … *Ecce doctrinae suae panem prioribus offert Israhelitis*: … | 4.7.7—*Et tamen quomodo in synagogam potuit admitti* … *Sed etsi passim synagoga adiretur, non tamen ad docendum* …

Elements of Luke 4:31 are also attested in the *Adamantius Dialogue*, Irenaeus, Origen, Hippolytus, and possibly an anonymous Syriac manuscript. Tertullian's testimony in 4.7.1 attests κατῆλθεν εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ πόλιν τῆς Γαλιλαίας.[8] κατῆλθεν is attested numerous times, though interestingly Tertullian indicates that *apparuisse* (ἐφάνη) was elsewhere used to describe Jesus' appearance. Harnack may well be correct when he posited that this term was used in the *Antitheses*.[9] Less clear is whether *de caelo*, also repeated numerous times, is attested by Tertullian for Marcion's Gospel. Tsutsui apparently thought it was,

4 Lukas more forcefully states that these words are "certainly" those to which Tertullian refers (*Rhetorik*, 232).

5 For Harnack's discussion cf. *Marcion*, 185*–86*.

6 Harnack, *Marcion*, 186*.

7 Moreschini's text reads *eum* with all manuscripts and most editors, though Gelenius and Pamelius read *deum*.

8 Assuming the reading in Moreschini (*eum descendisse*) is correct one would expect an explicit external subject; however, it remains unclear if it was ὁ Ἰησοῦς or ὁ Χριστός (cf. 1.15.6; 1.19.2).

9 Harnack, *Marcion*, 185*. Cf. also the comment of Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 93n5 and Theodor Zahn, "Ein verkanntes Fragment von Marcions Antithesen," *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift* 21 (1910): 372–74.

and Harnack, in his reconstruction, wrote (ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ?).[10] Braun rightly notes, however, "la place de *utique* [in 4.7.1] amène à admettre que c'est tout le groupe de mots qui appartient au commentaire de T."[11] Therefore, the *de caelo* throughout should be seen as Tertullian's own, and polemically employed, description for the "coming down" of Jesus.[12] Finally, in 4.7.5, 6, 7 Tertullian seems to reflect a text closer to that of Mark 1:21 (εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐδίδασκεν) than Luke 4:31 (ἦν διδάσκων αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν); however, even though the testimony of other witnesses still needs to be considered, there is no evidence for the Markan reading in Luke 4:31 in the extant manuscript tradition.

5.4 Luke 4:35

4.7.13—*Atquin*, [Marcion] *inquis, increpuit illum* [the demon] *Iesus*.[13]

Tertullian presents the opening words of Luke 4:35 as Marcion's response to Tertullian's contention that 4:34 reveals the demon's knowledge of Jesus as the Son of the Creator. According to IGNTP, the extant witnesses to the text are nearly uniform, and there is no difficulty in positing that Marcion's text read ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς.

5.5 Luke 4:40–41

4.8.4—*Ad summam, et ipse mox tetigit alios, quibus manus imponens, … beneficia medicinarum conferebat, … quodcumque curaverit Iesus, meus est.* | 4.8.5—*Ceterum et a daemoniis liberare curatio est valitudinis. Itaque spiritus nequam … cum testimonio excedebant vociferantes: Tu es filius dei. Cuius dei, … Sed proinde increpabantur et iubebantur tacere. Proinde enim Christus ab hominibus, non ab spiritibus inmundis, volebat se filium dei agnosci, …*

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10 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 77 and Harnack, *Marcion*, 183*.

11 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 93n1 (cont.). Immediately prior to this comment Braun observes that Harnack "serait porté à penser que ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανου figurait dans la texte de Marcion, *utique* portent uniquement sur *Creatoris*." Harnack stated that these words were "wahrscheinlich" present in Marcion's text (*Marcion*, 185*). Further down in the same note, however, Harnack states that it "muß offen bleiben, ob ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανου im Eingang des Ev.s gestanden hat," which would explain the question mark in the reconstructed text.

12 Cf. Tertullian's argument in 3.23.7, referenced in 4.7.1.

13 Several additional references to the rebuke by Jesus occur in 4.7.14–15.

Curiously, though Harnack cites the allusion in 4.8.4 he offers no reconstruction of any elements of Luke 4:40, and Tsutsui erroneously indicates that the verse is unattested.[14] Yet, Tertullian makes reference to τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιτιθεὶς ἐθεράπευεν αὐτούς.[15] That Tertullian drew his allusion from Marcion's text may receive confirmation by the fact that the laying on of hands is not mentioned in the parallel passages in Matt 8:16//Mark 1:34. If correct, then some confidence in Tertullian's attestation to the following verse is also warranted.

Harnack offered ἐξήρχετο δαιμόνια κράζοντα· Σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. ἐπιτιμῶν οὐκ εἴα αὐτὰ λαλεῖν as a reconstruction for 4:41.[16] His contention that ὅτι before σύ was absent with "zahlreichen Lateinern" cannot be accepted with certainty as the entire phrase καὶ λέγοντα ὅτι is unattested by Tertullian.[17] The final phrase of 4:41 is simply unattested, and therefore Zahn's view that it was absent is questionable.[18] In addition, the unattested conjunctions, though absent in a few witnesses, may well have been present in Marcion's text and omitted by Tertullian.

5.6 Luke 4:42–43

4.8.9—*In solitudinem procedit.* | 4.8.10—*Detentus a turbis: Oportet me, inquit, et aliis civitatibus adnuntiare regnum dei.*

Without any real transition from his previous discussion, Tertullian begins 4.8.9 with a reference to Jesus going into a wilderness (Luke 4:42). Harnack offered ἐπορεύθη εἰς ἔρημον; yet, it cannot be ascertained whether Marcion's text

14 Harnack, *Marcion*, 187* and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 78. Technically Tsutsui uses the symbol indicating "unbezeugt, aber nicht ganz getilgt: der Kontext fordert ein Erzählstück an der betreffenden Stelle."

15 Numerous manuscripts read ἐπιθείς and ἐθεράπευσεν, making the precise reading in Marcion unclear.

16 Harnack, *Marcion*, 187*. It is worth noting that Harnack reconstructed the plural *excedebant* with a singular. Several manuscripts attest the plural (including א, C, Θ, *f*[1], and 33), and Marcion's reading cannot be reconstructed with certainty. Similarly Tertullian's Latin cannot reveal whether the reading was κράζοντα or κραυγάζοντα. With all OL manuscripts (except f and q), P[75], א, B, D, and numerous other witnesses, Marcion's text does not attest ὁ Χριστός before ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. An allusion to this verse in 4.8.7, with its reference to *dei filium*, once again reveals Tertullian's freedom with word order.

17 Harnack, *Marcion*, 187*. According to IGNTP, καὶ λέγοντα is almost uniformly attested in the manuscript tradition, and is present in all OL witnesses.

18 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:458. Concerning Zahn's view Harnack stated "ich sehe keinen Grund hierfür" (*Marcion*, 187*).

read ἐπορεύθη or ἐπορεύετο.[19] In 4.8.10 there is a reference to οἱ ὄχλοι … κατεῖχον αὐτόν,[20] which is largely unproblematic. Tertullian's citation of Luke 4:43 in 4.8.10 presents a few challenges. Harnack reconstructed Δεῖ με καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις (ἑτέραις?) πόλεσιν εὐαγγελίσασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.[21] First, Harnack wrongly stated that δεῖ με is never clause initial,[22] as this is precisely the position in D, d, and e. It is possible that Tertullian is here reflecting Marcion's word order, even if Tertullian himself changing the order cannot be ruled out.[23] Second, though the reference to εὐαγγελίσασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεου is straightforward,[24] deciphering *et aliis civitatibus* is a bit more difficult. καὶ ταῖς ἑτέραις πόλεσιν is read almost uniformly in the manuscript tradition and is rendered *et aliis civitatibus* in every OL manuscript reflecting this Greek text. D reads καὶ εἰς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, which corresponds to the reading *et in alias civitates* in d and e. Thus, Harnack's suggested reading is rather unlikely, and Tertullian is either reflecting the reading καὶ ταῖς ἑτέραις, or he is loosely rendering the reading of D, d, and e. If δεῖ με was indeed clause initial then the latter may be more likely, though a definite conclusion is not possible.

5.7 Luke 5:2, 9–10

4.9.1—*De tot generibus operum quid utique ad piscaturam respexit, ut ab illa in apostolos sumeret Simonem et filios Zebedaei … dicens* [Jesus] *Petro trepidanti de copiosa indagine piscium: Ne time, abhinc enim homines eris capiens*.

Concerning chapter 5, Harnack rightly noted that according to our sources Marcion's Gospel "bot alle Erzählungen dieses Kapitels; aber im einzelnen ist nur weniges bekannt."[25] In the first pericope (Luke 5:1–11), Tertullian makes reference to fishermen, the astonishment at the abundant catch of fish, and

19 Harnack, *Marcion*, 187*. IGNTP states that the latter reading is attested by several witnesses including most OL manuscripts.

20 Harnack offered only the latter, apparently overlooking the reference to the crowd (*turbis*).

21 Harnack, *Marcion*, 187*.

22 Ibid.

23 According to IGNTP δεῖ με is attested by the remaining OL witnesses and numerous versions and church fathers before εὐαγγελίσασθαι, and is attested after the verb in B, W, and 892.

24 The reading and its significance for the question of the relationship between Marcion's Gospel and Luke was noted in the discussion in chapter 4, nn. 366 and 367.

25 Harnack, *Marcion*, 187*.

Simon and the sons of Zebedee (vv. 2, 9, 10).[26] For Jesus' words in v. 10 Tertullian attests, as Harnack reconstructed, μὴ φοβοῦ, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν γὰρ ἀνθρώπους ἔσῃ ζωγρῶν.[27] The general accuracy of the citation is confirmed by the lack of influence from the rather differently worded synoptic parallels (Matt 4:19//Mark 1:17) and the literal rendering of the Greek. Only the γάρ is problematic; yet, given Tertullian's propensity alternately to exclude, include, or add conjunctions, it may not have been present in Marcion's text.[28]

5.8 Luke 5:12–14

4.9.3—...*in leprosi purgationem*...*in exemplo leprosi non contingendi*,...| 4.9.4—...*tetigit leprosum*,...| 4.9.7—...[as compared to Elisha in 2 Kgs 5] *Christum verbo vero solo, et hoc semel functo, curationem statim repraesentasse*. | 4.9.9—...*vetuit eum* [the healed leper] *divulgare*...*iussit ordinem impleri: Vade, ostende te sacerdoti, et offer munus quod praecepit Moyses*. | 4.9.10—*Itaque adiecit: Ut sit vobis in testimonium*,...

If one includes both the first scholion and the first elenchus in *Pan*. 42.11.17, all three of these verses are also attested by Epiphanius. Harnack, based on 4.9.3, thought that Marcion's text read ἀνὴρ λεπρός with D (*vir leprosus* in d) in v. 12.[29] Since Tertullian refers only to the cleansing *leprosi*, however, the Greek could just as easily have been ἀνὴρ πλήρης λέπρας. In fact, since the parallels in Matt 8:2//Mark 1:40 speak only of a λέπρος, it is not surprising that Tertullian, in a passing reference, would not employ either of the longer descriptions attested for Luke.[30] The exact reading of Marcion's text remains unknown.

26 Harnack did not reconstruct οἱ ἁλιεῖς in v. 2 and viewed Σίμων as attested for v. 3; however, since Simon is mentioned with the Sons of Zebedee, it is more likely that the reference is to v. 10. In addition, εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν Σίμωνα is also not reconstructed by Harnack, though Amphoux is probably correct to see *dicens Petro* as a reference to this phrase ("Les premières éditions de Luc I. Le texte de Luc 5." *ETL* 67 [1991]: 322).

27 Harnack, *Marcion*, 188*.

28 Tsutsui simply notes that Tertullian attests γάρ ("Evangelium," 78), but Harnack stated that Marcion's text here reads with D and e (*Marcion*, 188*). Harnack's claim is rather problematic because those manuscripts, along with d, offer a completely different reading of Jesus' statement (cf. IGNTP or NA[28]) that does indeed include γάρ, though in a significantly different context. The attempt by Amphoux to use the γάρ as key in positing the text of D being Marcion's model is speculative ("Luc 5," 323–24).

29 Harnack, *Marcion*, 188*.

30 Note also the simple reference to a *leprosus* in 4.9.4 and to a *paralyticus* in 4.10.1 in the next pericope (cf. n. 34).

For v. 13, 4.9.4 attests ἥψατο, and 4.9.7 alludes to the word of Christ and the healing, revealing that the entire verse was present even if its wording is unrecoverable.

Tertullian's citations in 4.9.9, 10 attest ἄπελθε (though *vade* could also be rendering the imperatival sense of ἀπελθών) δεῖξον τῷ ἱερεῖ καὶ προσένεγκε τὸ δῶρον ὃ προσέταξεν Μωϋσῆς, ἵνα ᾖ ὑμῖν εἰς μαρτύριον.[31] The Matthean reading (καί…Μωϋσῆς in Matt 8:4), ἵνα ᾖ, and ὑμῖν are all worth noting.[32]

5.9 Luke 5:17–18, 24, 26

4.10.1—*Curatur et paralyticus, et quidem in coetu, spectante populo.… Exurge, et tolle grabattum tuum,…* | 4.10.2—*…et dimissorem delictorum Christum recognosce…* | 4.10.8—*Qua igitur ratione admittas filium hominis,*[33] *Marcion, circumspicere non possum.* | 4.10.13—*…cur non secundum intentionem eorum* [the Jews] *de homine eis respondit habere eum potestatem dimittendi delicta, quando et filium hominis nominans hominem nominaret,…* | 4.10.14—[Son of Man] *consecutum iudicandi potestatem, ac per eam utique et dimittendi delicta—qui enim iudicat, et absoluit—, ut scandalo isto discusso per scripturae recordationem facilius eum agnoscerent ipsum esse filium hominis ex ipsa peccatorum remissione. Denique nusquam adhuc professus est se filium hominis quam in isto loco primum in quo primum peccata dimisit, id est in quo primum iudicavit, dum absolvit.*

In Luke 5:17–26, vv. 20–21 are multiply cited. 4.10.1 contains an allusion to vv. 17, 18, and possibly 26 with the mention of a paralytic, an assembly, and the people looking on.[34] For v. 24, part of which is also attested by Epiphanius, Tertullian's statements do allow for insight into Marcion's Gospel. From the extended discussion in 4.10.6–16 it is obvious that ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου was present.[35] 4.10.13 attests ἔχει ἐξουσίαν ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας,[36] and 4.10.1 ἔγειρε καὶ ἆρον τὸν κράβαττόν σου. The final element is attested only by Tertullian, and it is

31 It is not clear why IGNTP states that Marcion *apud* Tertullian attests ἵνα ᾖ εἰς μαρτύριον ὑμῖν.

32 According to IGNTP these last elements, though in different orders, are attested in D, numerous OL manuscripts, and Ambrose. sy^{s} attests ἵνα ᾖ with αὐτοῖς.

33 Evans here adds in brackets "into the text of your gospel" (*Adversus Marcionem*, 2:299).

34 Tertullian's simple reference to a *paralyticus* (cf. also 4.12.15) instead of to an ἄνθρωπος ὅς ἦν παραλελυμένος (Luke 5:18) supports the point made above in 5.8 concerning *leprosus*.

35 Tertullian explicitly states that this is the first occurrence of "Son of Man" in the Gospel (4.10.14).

36 IGNTP indicates that Athanasius also reads ἔχει ἐξουσίαν.

possible that *tolle* is rendering the imperatival sense of the participle ἄρας; however, given the fact that א and numerous other manuscripts attest ἆρον, several other manuscripts read τὸν κράβαττον, and the verbatim reading of Tertullian's testimony is found in D, d, and r¹, Marcion's text most likely read as above.[37]

5.10 Luke 5:27, 30

4.11.1—*Publicanum adlectum a domino . . .* | 4.11.2—[Following a reference to Luke 5:31] *Si enim male valentes voluit intellegi ethnicos et publicanos, quos adlegebat, . . .*

In Tertullian's interaction with Luke 5:27–32, in addition to the multiply cited v. 31 discussed in the previous chapter, 4.11.1 has a reference to the τελώνης and that he is called by "the Lord" (v. 27). 4.11.2 alludes to Jesus sitting μετὰ τῶν τελωνῶν (v. 30). The reference to *ethnici* in 4.11.2 does not arise directly out of Marcion's text, though it could be a loose rendering of ἁμαρτωλοί.[38] Its use may be due to Tertullian's sarcastic statement that Marcion *nusquam legerat lumen et spem et <ex>spectationem nationum praedicari Christum* (4.11.1).

5.11 Luke 5:33–35

4.11.4—*Unde autem et Iohannes venit in medium? Subito Christus, subito et Iohannes.* | 4.11.5—*. . . si non etiam ipsum inter ceteros tinxisset, nemo discipulos Christi manducantes et bibentes ad formam discipulorum Iohannis adsidue ieiunantium et orantium provocasset, . . .* | 4.11.6—*At nunc humiliter reddens rationem quod non possent ieiunare filii sponsi quamdiu cum eis esset sponsus, postea vero ieiunaturos promittens cum ablatus ab eis sponsus esset, . . .*

Allusions to Luke 5:33–34 are also found in Ephrem and v. 34 is attested by (Pseudo-)Ephrem. Tertullian's comments in 4.11.4 indicate that this is the first mention of John the Baptist in Marcion's Gospel.[39] In 4.11.5, v. 33 is attested, which Harnack reconstructed οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου πυκνὰ νηστεύουσιν καὶ δεήσεις ποιοῦνται. (Christi Jünger) ἐσθίουσιν καὶ πίνουσιν.[40] That Tertullian is following Marcion's Gospel may be supported by the presence of Lukan elements not

37 This is also the reconstruction of the final element by Harnack, *Marcion*, 189*.

38 καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν is omitted in C*, D, 265, and d.

39 Cf. also Harnack, *Marcion*, 187*.

40 Ibid., 189*.

found in the parallel Matt 9:14//Mark 2:18. In addition, this reconstruction is largely unproblematic as the manuscript tradition is quite uniform; however, the otherwise unattested order πυκνὰ νηστεύουσιν is probably due to Tertullian.

4.11.6 attests vv. 34–35, which Harnack reconstructed μὴ δύνανται νηστεύειν οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος, ἐφ᾽ ὅσον μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐστιν ὁ νύμφιος. ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὁ νύμφιος … νηστεύσουσιν.[41] The Lukan text has been influenced by Matthew in several manuscripts, and it is possible to view Marcion's text, as Harnack did, as also containing harmonization with Matthew.[42] Harnack, however, apparently did not consider the possibility that Tertullian created the closer affinity with Matt 9:15.[43] Therefore, it may be that Tertullian is not following Marcion's text, but rather providing the sense of the verses, which is all his argument required, closer to their Matthean form. Thus, the actual wording of Marcion's text here, apart from where Luke and Matthew are verbatim, remains elusive.

5.12 Luke 6:1–4

4.12.1—*De sabbato … Nec enim disceptaretur cur destrueret sabbatum, si destruere deberet.* | 4.12.5—*Esurierant discipuli ea die; spicas decerptas manibus efflixerant, cibum operati ferias ruperant. … accusant Pharisaei, … de exemplo David introgressi sabbatis templum et operati cibum audenter fractis panibus propositionis.* | 4.12.14—*Ita nec Christus omnino sabbatum rescindit, cuius legem tenuit et supra, in causa discipulorum pro anima operatus—esurientibus enim solacium cibi indulsit—, et nunc manum aridam curans, …*

In the two pericopes concerning the Sabbath (Luke 6:1–11), 6:5 is multiply cited, and vv. 3–4 are also attested by Epiphanius.[44] For v. 1, Tertullian alludes to ἐν σαββάτῳ (4.12.1) and then to the actions of the disciples (4.12.5). Harnack reconstructed v. 1b ἐπείνασαν οἱ μαθηταί, ἔτιλλον τοὺς στάχυας ψώχοντες ταῖς χερσὶν (εἰργάσαντο βρῶσιν?).[45] This reconstruction is problematic for several reasons.[46] First, ἐπείνασαν appears only in the parallel Matt 12:1, a fact that Harnack also

41 Ibid.

42 Cf. IGNTP for complete data on the readings and Harnack's apparatus for his evidence for Marcion's Lukan text containing Matthean readings (*Marcion*, 189*).

43 Though Matthew reads πενθεῖν in the question, D, W, 1424, and many of the versions read νηστεύειν.

44 For discussion concerning the position of v. 5 cf. chapter 4, n. 61.

45 Harnack, *Marcion*, 190*.

46 Cf. also the disagreement with Harnack's reconstruction by Tsutsui ("Evangelium," 80–81).

recognized but which did not keep him from including the term in Marcion's text. Yet, several factors argue against Harnack's conclusion: though present in Matthew, the term appears in no witness to Luke 6:1; it is also used in a general reference to this account in 4.12.14; and it creates a closer parallel to David's hunger in Luke 6:3. Thus, the term is almost certainly due to Tertullian's tendency and argument.[47] Second, since ἐπείνασαν was not in Marcion's text the word order proposed by Harnack becomes unnecessary. The uniquely Lukan reference to ψώχοντες ταῖς χερσίν may indicate that Tertullian is paying some attention to Marcion's text, but the allusion simply does not reveal the precise wording of the verse.[48] Finally, Harnack, in his apparatus, stated that εἰργάσαντο βρῶσιν appeared to have been present in Marcion's Gospel due to Tertullian's *operati cibum*, even though he placed a question mark in the main text.[49] This phrase, however, simply seems to be Tertullian's description of the actions undertaken by the disciple, and the activity to which objection was raised.[50] For v. 2, it is evident that the Pharisees were mentioned, and that they objected to what they had witnessed (4.12.1, 5), but nothing further is revealed about the wording of Marcion's text.

For vv. 3–4, Tertullian, in 4.12.5, attests the reference to David in v. 3, and alludes to εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ and τοὺς ἄρτους τῆς προθέσεως in v. 4.[51] Harnack viewed Tertullian's use of *sabbatis* as an easily understandable oversight, though Tsutsui viewed it as a tendentious statement to link David more closely with the activities of Jesus' disciples.[52] In either case, it was not in Marcion's text. In addition, the renewed use of *operati cibum* is a link created by Tertullian and does not reflect a reading in Marcion's Gospel.[53]

47 This conclusion is significantly more likely than Zahn's contention that Marcion himself intermingled Matt 12:1 and Luke 6:1 (*Geschichte*, 2:459).

48 Note also the simple omission of καὶ ἤσθιον by Tertullian.

49 Harnack, *Marcion*, 190*.

50 The idea of "food" again appears in the general reference in 4.12.14.

51 Harnack rather questionably reads ὁ Χριστός for Marcion's text in v. 3, apparently due to Tertullian's statement in 4.12.5 (*excusat illos Christus*). In his first edition Harnack stated that Χριστός instead of Ἰησοῦς was unattested elsewhere (*Marcion*[1], 171*); however, in the second edition he apparently erroneously, according to IGNTP, wrote "mit Codd. Afric." (*Marcion*, 190*). In addition, Harnack also reconstructed ἔλαβεν καὶ ἔφαγεν καὶ ἔδωκεν in v. 4, though none of these verbs are attested in Tertullian's allusion.

52 Harnack, *Marcion*, 190* and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 81.

53 As in v. 1, Harnack wrote (εἰργάσατο βρῶσιν?) in v. 4 (*Marcion*, 190*).

5.13 Luke 6:6–7, 9

4.12.9—*Exinde observant Pharisaei si medicinas sabbatis ageret, ut accusarent eum*: ... | 4.12.11—... *per manus arefactae restitutionem* ... *interrogat: Licetne sabbatis benefacere, an non? animam liberare an perdere?* | 4.12.14—... *manum aridam curans*, ...

In the pericope concerning the man with the withered hand (Luke 6:6–11), Tertullian attests elements of vv. 6, 7, and 9. In v. 6 he alludes to χεὶρ ξηρά (4.12.11, 14) and for v. 7 the general content of the verse is attested in 4.12.9, even if the precise wording is not recoverable.[54] Tertullian's reference, however, both omits elements in and compresses the content of the verse.[55] This observation is particularly relevant when considering Tertullian's citation of v. 9 in 4.12.11, from which Harnack reconstructed (ἐπερωτῶ) εἰ ἔξεστιν τοῖς σάββασιν (τῷ σαββάτῳ?) ἀγαθοποιῆσαι ἢ μή; ψυχὴν σῶσαι ἢ ἀπολέσαι;[56] Given the observation just made about v. 7, it would appear that Harnack's question, concerning the reading μή instead of κακοποιῆσαι, "ob Tert. nicht willkürlich verkürzt hat?" should be answered in the affirmative.[57] In addition, it is unclear whether Marcion read εἰ, though Harnack rightly notes that it is also unclear whether Marcion had "Sabbath" in the singular or plural (cf. Matt 12:12).[58]

5.14 Luke 6:12–14, 16

4.13.1—... *certe ascendit in montem et illic pernoctat in oratione et utique auditur a patre*. | 4.13.4—*Cur autem duodecim apostolos elegit*, ... | 4.13.6—*Mutat et Petro nomen de Simone*, ...

Several elements in Luke 6:12–16 are attested by Tertullian, though once again specific details remain elusive. V. 16 is also attested by Epiphanius. In v. 12 Harnack reconstructed εἰς τὸ ὄρος προσεύξασθαι ... διανυκτερεύων ἐν τῇ

54 Harnack, who normally tended to reconstruct as many words as possible, here was content to write "παρετηροῦντο ... Φαρισαῖοι (das Folgende wesentlich identisch)" (*Marcion*, 190*).

55 For example, there is no mention of οἱ γραμματεῖς, and Tertullian expresses the idea of ἵνα εὕρωσιν κατηγορεῖν with *ut accusarent*.

56 Harnack, *Marcion*, 190*.

57 Given the loose nature of the allusion it is unnecessary to posit, with IGNTP, an otherwise unattested λῦσαι (from Tertullian's *liberare*) for Marcion's text.

58 The same uncertainty concerning the latter point was expressed by Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:460.

προσευχῇ τοῦ πατρός (τοῦ θεοῦ?).[59] Yet, in 4.13.1 προσεύξασθαι is not attested, and τοῦ πατρός almost certainly was not in Marcion's text. Harnack recognized that τοῦ θεοῦ is universally attested, and therefore considered that reading as possible since "Tert. mag hier nur referieren."[60] That Tertullian is imprecisely alluding to the verse, despite reference to obviously Lukan elements, is clear by his stating *ascendit in montem*, reflecting the more common ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος (cf. Matt 5:1; 14:23; 15:29) rather than ἐξελθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ὄρος.[61] That τοῦ πατρός is wording created by Tertullian is revealed by the fact that he does not mention simply "the Father" but writes *auditur a patre*, which he uses to create a direct connection to an altered reading of Ps 22:2 (4.13.2) and the prophets generally (4.13.3).[62]

Tertullian attests the words ἐκλεξάμενος, δώδεκα, and ἀποστόλους from v. 13; yet, greater precision, beyond the basic recognition that the words come from the Lukan account (cf. Matt 10:2//Mark 3:14), cannot be gained from the question in 4.13.4.[63] In v. 14, Tertullian refers to Jesus changing Simon's name (4.13.6), which once again points to the Lukan Σίμωνα ὠνόμασεν Πέτρον.[64] Although Tertullian does not refer to v. 16 (attested by Epiphanius) in *Marc.* 4, he does refer to *Iudam traditorem* in 2.28.2.[65] There the reference is used in a series of "anti-antitheses" created by Tertullian to counter accusations leveled by Marcion against the creator, where Tertullian contends that the charge against "our God" (the Creator) is also true of "your God" (the God revealed by Jesus). Thus, Tertullian may also attest the presence of the reference to Judas as the betrayer in Marcion's Gospel.

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59 Harnack, *Marcion*, 191*.

60 Ibid.

61 IGNTP lists no evidence for ἀνέβη occurring in Luke 6:12.

62 Cf. also the comments in Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 167n3 and 168n3. For further discussion on the altered Ps 22:2 cf. Braun, "Le témoignage des Psaumes dans la polémique antimarcionite de Tertullien," *Aug* 22 (1982): 152–53.

63 Harnack's reconstruction ἐκλεξάμενος δώδεκα . . ἀποστόλους is a bit misleading in that it cannot be determined whether Marcion's text read ἐκλεξάμενος ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν δώδεκα with most witnesses or ἐκλεξάμενος δώδεκα ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν with numerous OL, and a handful of other, witnesses (*Marcion*, 191*).

64 Mark 3:16 also refers to the agency of Jesus (ἐπέθηκεν ὄνομα τῷ Σίμωνι Πέτρον), though according to IGNTP this reading does not appear in the Lukan manuscript tradition. Matt 10:2 simply states Σίμων ὁ λεγόμενος Πέτρος.

65 On the reading in 2.28.2 cf. Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion II*, 210. Tertullian also refers to *Iudam . . . traditorem* in *An.* 11.5 and to Judas as *traditor Christi* in *Praescr.* 3.11.

5.15 Luke 6:17

4.13.7—*Conveniunt a Tyro et ex aliis regionibus multitudo, etiam transmarina.*

This verse is also attested by Epiphanius. The textual evidence for Luke 6:17b, alluded to by Tertullian in 4.13.7, is quite complicated and Harnack's reconstruction, πλῆθος (πολὺ) ἀπὸ τῆς (παραλίου?) Τύρου καὶ ἄλλων τε χωρῶν (πόλεων?) καὶ τῆς περαίας ἐληλυθότων, is unconvincing.[66] The allusion does contain a reference to πλῆθος and to ἀπὸ Τύρου, though this is probably the only place name mentioned in order to strengthen the connection to Ps 86:4–5 quoted immediately subsequently.[67] Thus, *ex aliis regionibus* could be referring to the other locales mentioned in the verse. Harnack, along with Braun, also saw the reference to *etiam transmarine* reflecting the textual variant καὶ τῆς περαίας (*et trans fretum*) found after Ἰερουσαλὴμ in א*, W, and several OL manuscripts.[68] Though this view is possible, it is also possible that Tertullian uses the term to create a link with those who are described *veniunt ab aquiline et mari* in the citation of Isa 49:12 (4.13.7).

5.16 Luke 6:24

4.15.3—*Ecce enim demutat in maledictionem, … Vae enim dicit.* | 4.15.9—*Sed accidentia vitia divitiis illa in evangelio quoque 'vae' divitibus adscribunt: Quoniam, inquit, recepistis advocationem vestram, …*[69]

Luke 6:24 is also attested by Eznik. Tertullian's citation of the verse in 4.15.9 attests the unproblematic οὐαὶ τοῖς πλουσίοις, ὅτι ἀπέχετε τὴν παράκλησιν ὑμῶν.[70] It is worth noting concerning the two "omissions" that Harnack cautioned "Ob πλήν und ὑμῖν gefehlt haben bleibt ungewiß."[71] As is often the case, the conjunction may well have been omitted by Tertullian.[72] Also, since ὑμῖν is not included in the allusion to Luke 6:25 and is elsewhere omitted only by Eutropius the Presbyter it is, in all likelihood, a simple omission by Tertullian.

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66 Harnack, *Marcion*, 191*. Tsutsui also notes "Die Textüberlieferung des Satzes ist sehr kompliziert, und Tertullians Anspielung zu knapp. Deshalb ist es unmöglich, den genauen Wortlaut festzustellen" ("Evangelium," 81–82).

67 The citation begins *et ecce allophyli et Tyrus et populus Aethiopum* (4.13.7).

68 Harnack, *Marcion*, 191* and Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 172n3. Lukas, *Rhetorik*, 248n1201 follows Braun.

69 Additional allusions to Luke 6:24 occur in 4.15.6–8, 10–11.

70 This is also the reconstruction of Harnack, *Marcion*, 192*. The manuscript tradition for this verse is relatively uniform.

71 Harnack, *Marcion*, 192*. Cf. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:461.

72 According to IGNTP πλήν is only omitted in Λ, 716, 1187*, and the Persian Diatessaron.

5.17 Luke 6:26

4.15.14—*Vae, cum vobis benedixerint homines! Secundum haec faciebant et pseudoprophetis patres illorum.*

Harnack reconstructed Luke 6:26 οὐαὶ ὅταν ὑμᾶς καλῶς εἴπωσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι· κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν καὶ τοῖς ψευδοπροφήταις οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν.[73] Several elements, however, should be questioned. First, as noted above, the omission of ὑμῖν in 6:24, 25 reveals that it could have been present after οὐαί here as it is in D, W*, sy^s, sy^p, co, and several other witnesses.[74] Second, though ὑμᾶς is set before καλῶς in P^{75}, B, e, g^1, and q, Tertullian's propensity to move pronouns does not necessarily mean this was the reading of Marcion's text.[75] Third, πάντες before οἱ ἄνθρωποι, with D and numerous others witnesses, may have been missing, though a simple omission by Tertullian cannot be ruled out. Fourth and finally, the omission of γάρ before and the addition of καί after ἐποίουν are not certain.[76]

5.18 Luke 6:34

4.17.1—…*Et si feneraveritis a quibus speratis vos recepturos, quae gratia est vobis?*

Harnack reconstructed Luke 6:34a καὶ ἐὰν δανίσητε παρ' ὧν ἐλπίζετε ἀπολαβεῖν, ποία χάρις ἐστὶν ὑμῖν.[77] That Marcion's text read ἀπολαβεῖν may be confirmed not only by the fact that it is read in many manuscripts,[78] but also because one would expect Tertullian to have used *accipere* in rendering λαμβάνω, as he does in 13:19 (4.30.1) and 22:15 (4.40.3).[79] Also, given the various readings in the

73 Harnack, *Marcion*, 192*.

74 Manuscripts omitting ὑμῖν include P^{75}, ℵ, A, B, and numerous others.

75 Cf. NA^{28} for the various orders in which ὑμᾶς καλῶς εἴπωσιν is found in the manuscript tradition.

76 The omission of γάρ is also found in D, 1319, several lectionaries, most OL manuscripts, and the Persian Diatessaron. The addition of καί is found in b, f, q, and in Irenaeus.

77 Harnack, *Marcion*, 194*.

78 NA^{28} reads λαβεῖν on the strength of the testimony from P^{75vid}, ℵ, B, L, W, and a few other witnesses.

79 Tsutsui questionably states "Das Futur 'recepturos' entspricht wohl der Lesart von EvThom 95" ("Evangelium," 84). Apart from saying 95 of *Gospel of Thomas* being only loosely parallel to Luke 6:34, even if the parallel were closer, Tertullian's use of the future to render the sense of a verb in another tense has already been seen to be part of Tertullian's citation habit. The use of a different mood by Tertullian here, especially when the manuscript tradition attests no other mood than the infinitive, seems more likely.

manuscripts, it is possible, though not certain, that Tertullian's future perfect attests δανίσητε in Marcion's text. In addition, though ὑμῖν is attested at the end of the phrase in D and numerous OL manuscripts,[80] Tertullian's inclination to move pronouns renders its position in Marcion's text uncertain. Finally, it is curious that Harnack included no mention of Tertullian's attesting ὑμεῖς after ἐλπίζετε. The pronoun is read in b, q, and r[1], though it may have been added here by Tertullian.

5.19 Luke 6:35

4.17.5—*Et eritis filii dei.* | 4.17.6—*Quia ipse, inquit, suavis est adversus ingrates et malos. … Sed quis iste suavis, … ?*

Without any transition from the previous discussion, in 4.17.5 Tertullian cites part of Luke 6:35b. He attests καὶ ἔσεσθε υἱοὶ θεοῦ, and Harnack rightly noted that no other witness attests θεοῦ instead of ὑψίστου.[81] Yet, Harnack did not mention that e reads *fili Altissimi Dei*. It is not probable, however, that either υἱοὶ ὑψίστου θεοῦ or υἱοὶ θεοῦ was the reading of Marcion's text.[82] The reading may be due to Tertullian himself as υἱοὶ ὑψίστου occurs only here in the NT, whereas υἱοὶ θεοῦ occurs in Matt 5:9, Rom 8:14, Rom 9:26, and Gal 3:26.[83] Also relevant is that in the following discussion Tertullian focuses exclusively on the absurdity of being made "sons" by Marcion's god who forbade marriage. Forms of *filius* occur throughout 4.17.5, but no element of the discussion would be affected by the question of whether the sons were called "sons of God" or "sons of the most high."[84] Therefore, with his thoughts on the "sons" element Tertullian may have unconsciously written the more common *filli dei*.[85] Tertullian continues the citation in 4.17.6 attesting the nearly uniform reading ὅτι αὐτὸς χρηστός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀχαρίστους καὶ πονηρούς.

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80 Though D and d also omit ἐστίν making their reading different in respects other than simply word order.

81 Harnack, *Marcion*, 194*.

82 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:462 overstated the case when he called Tertullian's citation "genau."

83 It is worth noting that Marcion's text read υἱοί ἐστε (τῆς) πίστεως in Gal 3:26, but was not an alteration by Marcion himself (cf. Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 114–16, 346). Also, Tertullian makes reference to *filios Dei* from Matt 5:9 in *Pat.* 11.8 and *Pud.* 2.2.

84 Cf. Wright, *Alterations*, 128 for a similar view.

85 Thus, contra Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:452, there may indeed be an "erdenklicher Grund" for the possibility that Tertullian has provided an inexact citation.

5.20 Luke 6:36

4.17.8—*Estote, inquit, misericordes, sicut pater vester*[86] *misertus est vestri. … Aut si alius nunc misericordiam praecepit, quia et ipse misericors sit, …*

Harnack reconstructed this verse γίνεσθε οἰκτίρμονες, καθὼς ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ᾤκτειρεν ὑμᾶς (οἰκτίρμων ἐστιν?).[87] The most obvious question relates to the conclusion of the verse as Harnack noted, "Hier ist die Entscheidung schwierig; die erste Fassung ist sonst unbezeugt; die zweite ist die Lukanische."[88] The context gives no further clues and with the absence of multiple citation or multiple attestation no firm conclusion can be reached as to whether the citation or the allusion renders Marcion's text. The absence of οὖν after γίνεσθε and καί after καθώς in Tertullian's citation is not definitive, though the strong textual evidence for their omission may make their absence in Marcion's text slightly more likely.[89] Finally, though there is some question in the textual tradition of Tertullian's works concerning *vester*, it most likely was present here and in Marcion's text.[90]

5.21 Luke 6:38

4.17.9—… *date et dabitur vobis. Mensuram bonam, pressam ac fluentem dabunt in sinum vestrum. Eadem, qua mensi eritis, mensura remetietur vobis.*

The final element of this verse is also attested in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. In 4.17.9 Tertullian quotes Luke 6:37 and 38 together, though only 6:37 is multiply cited. For v. 38 he attests δίδοτε καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν· μέτρον καλόν, πεπιεσμένον καὶ ὑπερεκχυννόμενον δώσουσιν εἰς τὸν κόλπον ὑμῶν. τῷ αὐτῷ μέτρῳ ᾧ μετρεῖτε[91] ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.[92] Apart from πεπιεσμένον καὶ ὑπερεκχυννόμενον, most

86 *Vester* is omitted by β and Gelenius, but attested by *M* and retained by all the other editors.

87 Harnack, *Marcion*, 194*.

88 Ibid.

89 Cf. IGNTP for the data.

90 IGNTP lists Marcion as the only witness omitting ὑμῶν. However, even if one concludes that *vester* was not present in Tertullian's work, his inconsistent rendering of pronouns makes a definitive verdict concerning the absence of the pronoun in Marcion's text questionable.

91 IGNTP interprets the *mensi eritis* here and *mensi eritis, mensi fueritis, metieritis*, and *mensuraveritis* in the OL manuscripts as attesting a Greek future (μετρήσετε). Though possible, in the absence of any Greek attestation for this reading the future perfect plus perfect construction may simply reflect a Latin stylistic choice.

92 This is also Harnack's reconstruction (*Marcion*, 194*).

of 6:38a, b is unproblematic. IGNTP lists numerous variants for the one problematic phrase. Though the reading attested by Tertullian (πεπιεσμένον καὶ ὑπερεκχυννόμενον) is found in a few manuscripts,[93] the omission of σεσαλευμένον could be due to Tertullian's omitting an element from a multiple-element phrase.

Discussion of v. 38c must also take the testimony of the *Adamantius Dialogue* into account, though it may here be noted that the omission of the conjunction γάρ, though also attested in other manuscripts, may be due to Tertullian.[94] With many manuscripts, though not א and D, among several others, Tertullian attests τῷ αὐτῷ, though Tertullian's word order (τῷ αὐτῷ ᾧ μετρεῖτε μέτρῳ) is elsewhere unattested for either Luke 6:38 or the parallel in Matt 7:2. This order may be due to his own hand. The future form *mensi eritis* is also likely due to Tertullian's propensity, at times, to use the future tense.

5.22 Luke 6:41–42

4.17.12—*Eximat et de oculo suo trabem haereticus, tunc in oculo Christiani si quam putat stipulam revincat*.

In the allusion to Luke 6:41–42 in 4.17.12, Tertullian clearly attests the presence and general teaching of the verses even if no insight can be gained into the reading of Marcion's text.[95]

5.23 Luke 6:45

4.17.12—... *sic nec Marcion aliquid boni de thesauro Cerdonis malo protulit, nec Appelles de Marcionis*.

Luke 6:45 is also attested by Origen, with a reference in the *Adamantius Dialogue* likely not attesting Marcion's text. Tertullian, following the reference to the multiply-cited Luke 6:43, merely alludes to Luke 6:45 and the issue of good and evil proceeding from good or evil treasure. No insight into the precise wording of the verse in Marcion's Gospel can be gained from Tertullian.[96]

93 IGNTP lists 71*, 828*, *l*48, gat, and a few witnesses to geo.

94 The parallel in Matt 7:2 contains a καί and in Mark 4:24 no conjunction is present.

95 Harnack simply noted "Anspielung" and offered no reconstruction (*Marcion*, 194*).

96 Once again, Harnack simply noted "Anspielung" and offered no reconstruction (ibid., 195*).

5.24 Luke 6:46

4.17.13—*Si ita est, quis videbitur dixisse: Quid voca<ti>s,*[97] *domine, domine?* | 4.17.14—*Quis item adiecisse potuisset: Et non facitis quae dico?*

Harnack reconstructed Luke 6:46 τί με (unsicher) καλεῖτε (καλεῖς?) κύριε, κύριε, καὶ οὐ ποιεῖτε (ποιεῖς?) ἅ λέγω.[98] It is curious that in the reconstruction of the second edition Harnack indicated his uncertainty about several readings when his comment in the apparatus remained essentially the same: "Daß Tert. '*me*' gelesen hat, zeigt die folgende Ausführung; daß '*vocatis*' zu lesen ist, folgt mit einer gewissen Wahrscheinlichkeit aus '*facitis*'."[99] The omission of the pronoun με could well be due to Tertullian, and, though several manuscripts also omit δέ after τί, Tertullian may also be responsible for the absence of the conjunction. Finally, the attestation of *vocas* and *facitis* in the manuscript tradition of *Adversus Marcionem* is confusing, and the reading *vocatis* is warranted even if not completely secure.[100]

5.25 Luke 7:12, 14–16

4.18.2—*Resuscitavit et mortuum filium viduae. . . . ut omnes illic creatori gloriam retulerint, dicentes: Magnus prophetes prodiit in nobis, et respexit deus populum suum.*[101]

In 4.18.2 Tertullian makes a general reference to the pericope in Luke 7:11–17, though once again elements from only one verse can be reconstructed. After stating that Jesus raised a widow's dead son (vv. 12, 14–15), Tertullian cites v. 16. Harnack reconstructed this verse ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεόν . . . μέγας προφήτης προῆλθεν ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπεσκέψατο ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ.[102] According to IGNTP the order μέγας προφήτης is attested only by Chrysostem and Origen, and it cannot be ruled out that it is here due to Tertullian. In addition, Harnack believed that

97 *Vocatis* is read by Pamelius, Rigalti, and Kroymann whereas θ and the other editors read *vocas*.

98 Harnack, *Marcion*, 195*.

99 Ibid. "Mit einer gewissen Wahrscheinlichkeit" did not appear in the note of the first edition, and the text was reconstructed without any of the elements in parentheses (Harnack, *Marcion*[1], 177*).

100 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:463, however, makes reference to Junius's conjecture *facis* provided in his annotations on Pamelius's text. According to IGNTP no other witness attests καλεῖς, and only Clementina reads ποιεῖς.

101 Further allusions to Luke 7:16 occur in 4.18.3 and 4.19.9.

102 Harnack, *Marcion*, 196*.

Tertullian's *prodiit* revealed Marcion having changed his text to read προῆλθεν instead of ἠγέρθη, thus avoiding a passive form.[103] The OL manuscripts, however, all also read an active form here (*surrexit*). Furthermore, though the use of the verb *prodire* to render ἐγείρω would be somewhat unusual, Harnack did not find it problematic to posit the verb ἐπισκέπτομαι behind the perhaps only slightly less unusual *respicere*.[104] Thus, Harnack's argument appears less than persuasive, though it still remains unclear whether Marcion's text read ἠγέρθη or ἐγήγερται. Finally, the omission of ὅτι after καί may very well be a simple omission by Tertullian as he did not include it at the beginning of the clause either.

5.26 Luke 7:24

4.18.7—…*si et testimonium Iohanni perhibet*… | 4.18.8—…*Quid existis videre in solitudinem?*…

Harnack reconstructed Luke 7:24 (ἤρξατο λέγειν) περὶ Ἰωάννου· τί ἐξεληλύθατε θεάσασθαι εἰς τὴν ἔρημον;[105] Concerning this reconstruction, first, the majority reading is ἐξεληλύθατε, but P^{75}, א, B, D, L, W and numerous other manuscripts read ἐξήλθατε. The Latin perfect, *existis*, could render either form so it is not entirely clear that Harnack's reading is correct. In addition, IGNTP gives no other witness for εἰς τὴν ἔρημον following instead of preceding the infinitive. That Tertullian is responsible for the word order cannot be ruled out.

5.27 Luke 7:37–38, 47–48, 50

4.18.9—*Diximus de remissa peccatorum. Illius autem peccatricis feminae argumentum eo pertinebit, ut cum pedes domini osculis figeret, lacrimis inundaret, crinibus detergeret, unguento perduceret,*…*et ut peccatricis paenitentia*…

103 Ibid. Harnack provided only ἠγέρθη as the Lukan reading and did not mention ἐγήγερται, the reading of most manuscripts, including D. He rightly stated that προῆλθεν is otherwise unattested.

104 In the Gospels, ἐπισκέπτομαι is used five times (Matt 25:36, 43; Luke 1:68, 78; Luke 7:16). For the occurrences, nearly the entire OL manuscript tradition uniformly renders the verb with *visitare*, the only exceptions being the use of *venire* in ff^1, ff^2, and q in Matt 25:43 and *prospicere* in e in Luke 1:68.

105 Harnack, *Marcion*, 197*.

merverit veniam, … [the woman] *per paenitentiam ex fide iustificatam ab eo* [Jesus] *audiit: Fides tua te salvam fecit, …*

Tertullian's statement "we have already spoken of the forgiveness of sins" (4.18.9) prefaces, and provides the reason for, a cursory reference to the pericope in Luke 7:36–50. In this passage vv. 36–38, and 44–46 are attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian makes reference to the γυνή described as ἁμαρτωλός (v. 37), what she did (v. 38), her repentance and pardon (vv. 47–48), and then quotes Jesus' words ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε (v. 50).[106] The listing of the woman's actions (v. 38) has clearly been adapted by Tertullian as seen by his placing the verb at the end of each element. Thus, no significance should be attributed to the word order of each element, and perhaps no significance should be read into the order of the elements themselves, though it is worth noting that Tertullian lists the actions of the woman in the order τοὺς πόδας κατεφίλει, τοῖς δάκρυσι ἔβρεξε, ταῖς θριξὶν ἐξέμασσεν, and τῷ μύρῳ ἤλειφεν.

5.28 Luke 8:2–3

4.19.1—*Quod divites Christo mulieres adhaerebant, quae et de facultatibus suis ministrabant ei, inter quas et uxor regis procuratoris, de prophetia est.*

In 4.19.1 Tertullian alludes to certain elements in Luke 8:2–3 that he argues are in accordance with prophecy. For these verses Harnack reconstructed γυναῖκες … γυνὴ ἐπιτρόπου Ἡρῴδου, αἵτινες καὶ διηκόνουν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῶν.[107] Though Harnack rightly recognized that "auf seine [Tertullian's] Wortstellung ist hier kein Gewicht zu legen," he nevertheless questionably placed considerable weight on individual elements found in Tertullian's adaptation of this verse.[108]

106 IGNTP lists Marcion *apud* Tertullian as attesting the reading σε σέσωκεν, along with the OL manuscripts and several Latin church fathers. However, Tertullian in every instance cites this phrase as *fides tua te salvam fecit* (cf. Luke 8:48; 17:19; and the multiply cited 18:42) and the OL manuscripts almost uniformly place *te* before the verb in every occurrence of the phrase in the Gospels (Matt 9:22; Mark 5:34, 10:52; Luke 7:50, 8:48, 17:19, 18:42). The only exceptions are d in Luke 17:19 and d, e in Luke 18:42. Thus, it is not clear that these OL witnesses, and certainly not Tertullian, can be used as evidence for a variant word order in the Greek. In addition, IGNTP is curiously inconsistent in that it attributes the variant reading σε σέσωκεν to Marcion and the OL witnesses in Luke 7:50, 8:48, and 17:19, but lists no variants in Luke 18:42.

107 Harnack, *Marcion*, 197*.

108 Ibid.

First, though καί is attested in several manuscripts, including D and numerous OL manuscripts, and may have been in Marcion's text, its presence is far from certain. Apart from the usual difficulty of evaluating Tertullian's testimony involving conjunctions, here Tertullian lifts three elements from v. 3 that are "from prophecy" and joins them with *et*. Thus, the flow of Tertullian's thought can easily account for the conjunction.

Second, the reading αὐτῷ is attested by numerous manuscripts, including א, A, and L, making its presence here possible. Since it is also the reading of Matt 27:55//Mark 15:41, however, it is conceivable that Tertullian has been influenced by the wording in the other Synoptics. In addition, Tertullian follows the reference to Luke 8:2–3 with a citation of Isa 32:9–10, which he applies to Christ. Thus αὐτῷ instead of αὐτοῖς fits naturally into Tertullian's argument.

Third, *suis* should probably be read as rendering αὐταῖς and not αὐτῶν. Though the latter is read in a handful of manuscripts, including א* and D, every OL manuscript, except d, renders the verse *de facultatibus suis*.[109] It is worth noting that IGNTP does not consider the OL manuscripts to be attesting αὐτῶν.

Finally, Harnack was probably right in seeing *regis* as a reference to Ἡρῴδου, though it would be more accurate to place ellipses before and after γυνή, as the impression should not be given that the unattested names Joanna and Chuza were absent in Marcion's Gospel.

5.29 Luke 8:4, 8

4.19.2—*Aeque de parabolis … dedit Christo frequenter inculcare: Qui habet aures, audiat. … Qui habet aures, audiat.*

In 4.19.2 Tertullian appears to allude to παραβολή in v. 4, and then twice quotes the conclusion of the parable in v. 8 in the form ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκουέτω. Harnack, who also reconstructed the text in this manner, rightly noted that this is not the Lukan, but rather the Matthean reading.[110] Yet, the fact that Tertullian introduces the citation with the idea that Christ frequently spoke these words, that this is the form always found in Matthew and only in Matthew (cf. Matt 11:5, 13:9, and 13:43), and that it is essentially unattested for Luke makes it quite likely that this form is due to Tertullian and not the reading of Marcion's Gospel.

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109 d reads *de substantia sua*. Also, it is not entirely clear whether *de* is rendering ἀπό or ἐκ, though the former is more likely.

110 Harnack stated it was a "bei Luk. völlig unbezeugte Fassung" (*Marcion*, 198*). IGNTP states that 2643 also omits ἀκούειν.

5.30 Luke 8:16

4.19.5—... *lucernam negat abscondi solere*, ...

Tertullian makes a passing allusion to Luke 8:16 in 4.19.5 where the general content of the verse of no one hiding (καλύπτει) a lamp (λύχνον) is evident; yet, no further insight into the reading of the text can be gained.

5.31 Luke 8:22–25

4.20.1—*Quis autem iste est qui ventis*[111] *et mari imperat?... sed agnorant substantiae auctorem suum, quae famulis quoque eius obaudire consueverant.* | 4.20.2—... *praedicatio marinae istius expeditionis* ... | 4.20.3—*Nam cum transfretat... Cum undas freti discutit,... Cum ad minas eius eliditur mare,... utique cum ventis, quibus inquietabatur.*

Vv. 23–24 in this pericope are also attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian begins his testimony to the passage with a reference to v. 25b, which Harnack reconstructed τίς (ἄρα) οὗτός ἐστιν, ὃς τοῖς ἀνέμοις ἐπιτάσσει καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ;[112] It is interesting to note that here Harnack observed "Tert. '*autem*', aber das ist unerheblich (ebenso die Wortstellung gleich darauf)," and one can only speculate as to why Harnack was not able to recognize these points more often.[113] In addition, though ὅς and the omission of καί after it does have some attestation in the manuscript tradition, Tertullian may simply be providing a loose phrasing focusing on the identity and activity of the "who" in the question, namely, Christ. The reading τῇ θαλάσσῃ found in the synoptic parallels (cf. Matt 8:27// Mark 4:41) is also noteworthy.[114] It is found in numerous OL manuscripts and several versions in Luke, but the possibility of Tertullian being influenced by the parallel accounts must be taken into account.[115]

In 4.20.3, the verb *transfretare* seems to refer to διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πέραν of v. 22, where numerous OL manuscripts also use this verb to render the phrase.[116]

111 Moreschini rejects the reading *et ventis* found in R3, Gelenius, Pamelius, Rigalti, Oehler, and Evans.

112 Harnack, *Marcion*, 199*.

113 Ibid., 198*.

114 Concerning word order, it is also worth noting that Matt and Mark speak of οἱ ἄνεμοι (Mark: ὁ ἄνεμος) καὶ ἡ θάλασσα obeying Jesus.

115 Harnack incorrectly stated that this reading is unattested in Luke (*Marcion*, 198*).

116 It is not clear why Harnack inserted an ellipsis after διέλθωμεν (ibid.). Also, Braun notes that *transfretare* is used in the Vulgate, though there is an apparent misprint in placing LXX before the citation of the Greek of Luke 8:22 (*Contre Marcion IV*, 251n7).

The “windstorm” in v. 23 (λαῖλαψ ἀνέμου) may lie behind the comment about the wind having disquieted (*inquietabatur*) the sea in 4.20.3.[117] In the same section, Tertullian’s testimony to v. 24 attests the “scattering” of the waves (the wording has been influenced by *dispargo* in the quotation from Hab 3:9), the rebuke of the sea (again the reading of the parallels in Matt 8:26//Mark 4:39), and the rebuke of the wind. Here, however, in addition to the possible influence from the Gospel parallels, Tertullian also cites from Nahum 1:4 where the sea (*mare*) is rebuked.

5.32 Luke 8:27–28, 30–32

4.20.4—… *cum invenis in uno homine multitudinem daemonum, legionem se professam, … atque ita ipsum esse qui cum legione quoque daemonum erat dimicaturus, …* | 4.20.5—*Cuius autem dei filium Iesum legio testatus est? Sine dubio cuius tormenta et abyssum noverant et timebant.* | 4.20.6—*Non enim depetunt* [the demons] *ab alio quod meminissent petendum sibi a creatore, veniam scilicet abyssi creatoris.* | 4.20.7—*Denique impetraverunt. … deum abyssi …*

In the pericope of the demoniac and the swine (Luke 8:26–39), v. 30 is also attested in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Tertullian’s testimony renders numerous elements in multiple verses, though not all in order. In 4.20.4 Tertullian refers to one demon-possessed ἀνήρ (v. 27)[118] and δαιμόνια πολλά calling themselves λεγεών (v. 30).[119] v. 28 is attested in 4.20.5, and Harnack reconstructed Ἰησοῦ υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ (wahrscheinlich fehlte τοῦ ὑψίστου) μή με βασανίσῃς.[120] Harnack argued “τοῦ ὑψίστου fehlte wahrscheinlich, weil Tert. sonst nicht so fragen konnte [in 4.20.5].”[121] At the same time, the rhetorical purpose for this question, namely setting up a specific answer highlighting the God of the “known and feared torment and abyss,” may allow for the possibility that Tertullian omitted the descriptor and made a generic reference to the deity.[122] In 4.20.6

117 Though it is not reflected in his reconstruction, Harnack, *Marcion*, 198* viewed *undae freti* as referring to v. 23. It is difficult, however, to agree with Harnack’s assessment given that the terms are found in the phrase *cum undas freti discutit*. In context it seems clear that these words refer to v. 24.

118 That Tertullian draws this element from Luke 8:27 is likely due to his emphasis on one man. Matt 8:28 speaks of δύο δαιμονιζόμενοι.

119 Tertullian’s allusion cannot reveal the word order for the phrase δαιμόνια πολλά.

120 Harnack, *Marcion*, 199*.

121 Ibid. The same point was made by Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:452.

122 Tsutsui states that the words may have been omitted, but remains uncommitted to Marcionite redactional activity (“Evangelium,” 89).

reference is made to παρεκάλουν and the request not to send the demons εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον (v. 31).[123]

Greater uncertainty surrounds vv. 32–37, and Harnack contended that the verses were omitted by Marcion and that his text only had "Sie erlangten es."[124] Braun rightly notes the problem with this view, responding

> Ce n'est pas sûr et *impetrauerunt* [4.20.7] peut fort bien renvoyer à ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς (*permissit illis*) du v. 32. L'adverbe *denique* indique clairement que le récit est abrégé.[125]

Thus, v. 32 seems to be attested with vv. 33–37 unattested.

5.33 Luke 8:43–46, 48

4.20.8—… *tangitur a femina, quae sanguine fluitabat, et nescivit a qua. Quis me, inquit, tetigit? Etiam excusantibus discipulis perseverat in ignorantiae voce*: *Tetigit me aliquis, idque de argumento adfirmat: Sensi enim virtutem ex me profectam.*[126] | 4.20.9—… *dixit: Fides tua te salvam fecit.* | 4.20.13—*Nec illud omittam, quod, dum tangitur vestimentum eius,* …[127]

In this account, vv. 44–46 are also attested by Epiphanius.[128] Tertullian's testimony begins with a general reference to the pericope (4.20.8), as he notes

123 On the extremely rare verb *depetere* cf. Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 255n8, who also recognizes that it is an echo of παρακαλέω.

124 Harnack, *Marcion*, 199*.

125 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 256n1. Lukas notes Harnack's view and comments "zu beweisen ist das nicht" (*Rhetorik*, 267n1266). Tsutsui sees an allusion to vv. 32–39 in the words *denique impetraverunt* ("Evangelium," 89), but this seems to include too much in Tertullian's brief reference.

126 The broader context of the discussion here is Marcion's accusation that the Creator is ignorant as evidenced by his question "Adam, where are you?" (Gen 3:9). Tertullian argues that Marcion's Christ is also ignorant, and the statement *etiam excusantibus discipulis* is a reference to the reason offered by the disciples (i.e., he is surrounded by a crowd pressing in on him) for Jesus not knowing who touched him. However, Tertullian points out that even with this "excuse" Jesus persists in his expression of ignorance.

127 Tertullian also refers to the woman touching Jesus in 4.20.10, 11.

128 Tertullian may also be referring to this account in 3.8.4. Harnack was certain that Epiphanius abbreviated his references to this pericope (*Marcion*, 199*). It apparently is this fact that led Harnack to provide a somewhat curious reconstruction. He first presented the Greek text for "42b–48" from Epiphanius, then wrote "dazu" and offered additional words for vv. 43, 44, 45, and 48.

that a woman with an issue of blood touched Jesus (vv. 43–44). This general reference is followed by citations of several verses. For v. 45 Tertullian attests the Markan form of the question τίς μου ἥψατο (Mark 5:31)[129] followed by a reference to the Markan οἱ μαθηταί and alluding to their comment that Jesus is surrounded by a crowd.[130] In reply, Tertullian attests Jesus' words ἥψατό μού τις and … γὰρ ἔγνων δύναμιν ἐξεληλυθυῖαν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ (v. 46), though once again with a variant word order.[131] In 4.20.9 Jesus' words ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε (v. 48) are attested.[132] At the conclusion of the discussion Tertullian, in order to demonstrate that Jesus had a body, makes a further reference to v. 44 (ἥψατο … τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ).

Though the evidence from Epiphanius must also be taken into account, it is worth noting that the Markan form of the question in v. 45 is also attested by D and several OL manuscripts. In addition, Harnack believed the, for Luke, otherwise unattested οἱ μαθηταί to be the reading of Marcion's text;[133] yet, many manuscripts read Πέτρος καὶ οἱ σύν αὐτῷ (μετ' αὐτοῦ in a few witnesses), and, if this was the reading in Marcion's text, Tertullian could be simplifying the expression. Finally, though D and a handful of OL witnesses omit τοῦ κραπέδου in v. 44, Tertullian's passing comment is rather slight evidence upon which to base a supposed omission in Marcion's text as is done by Harnack, *Marcion*, 199* and found in the apparatus of IGNTP and NA^{26}. The term is simply unattested and starting with the 27th ed., the Nestle-Aland apparatus rightly removed the reference to an omission by Marcion.

5.34 Luke 9:2–3, 5

4.21.1—*Dimittit discipulos ad praedicandum dei regnum. … Prohibet eos victui aut vestitui quid in viam ferre. … At cum iubet pulverem excutere de pedibus in eos a quibus excepti non fuissent, et hoc in testimonium mandat fieri.*

Luke 9:2–3 is also attested in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Tertullian alludes to the disciples (in v. 1 there is a reference to Jesus calling together τοὺς δώδεκα)

129 This is the form when the disciples restate Jesus's question. In Mark 5:30 Jesus says τίς μου ἥψατο τῶν ἱματίων.

130 Cf. n. 126.

131 Concerning this word order Harnack is likely correct in noting "die Wortstellung bei Tert. hier und in v. 48 ist ohne Bedeutung" (*Marcion*, 200*).

132 Concerning the word order cf. n. 106.

133 Harnack, *Marcion*, 199*.

whom Jesus ἀπέστειλεν … κηρύσσειν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.[134] There is a clear allusion to v. 3 and the prohibition to take bread and (two) tunics, among other items, though based on Tertullian's testimony no reconstruction of the text is possible. Tertullian's adaptation of v. 5 seems to attest μὴ δέξωνται [ὑμᾶς] and τὸν κονιορτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν [ὑμῶν] ἀποτινάξατε εἰς μαρτύριον.[135] Though the precise readings of Marcion's text are not clearly evident, the strongly Lukan tenor of the references is obvious.[136]

5.35 Luke 9:7–8

4.21.2—*Nullum deum novum a Christo probatum illa etiam opinio omnium declaravit, quia Christum Iesum alii Iohannem, alii Heliam, alii unum aliquem ex veteribus prophetis Herodi adseverabant. Ex quibus quicumque fuisset, non utique hoc est suscitatus ut alium deum post resurrectionem praedicaret.*

In Tertullian's adaptation of Luke 9:7–8, there are references to Ἡρῴδης and ὑπό τινων [ὅτι] Ἰωάννης [ἠγέρθη ἐκ νεκρῶν] (v. 7), as well as to ὑπό τινων … Ἠλίας and ἄλλων προφήτης εἷς τῶν ἀρχαίων [ἀνέστη] (v. 8). That some reference to John, Elijah, or one of the prophets rising from the dead was in the verses is clear; yet, given the various readings in the manuscript tradition the exact wording is not. In v. 7 Harnack commented " '*omnium*' ist auffallend (Luk. τινων)";[137] however, he appears to have misunderstood Tertullian's statement. Tertullian does attest the τινων (*alii*) in v. 7, and *opinion omnium* is a reference to the sum of what the different groups were saying. In v. 8 Harnack reconstructed εἷς τις τῶν ἀρχαίων προφητῶν (oder προφήτης τῶν ἀρχαίων).[138] Given that Tertullian is

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134 IGNTP states both the reading ἀπεστειλεν τοὺς μαθητάς and τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν for Marcion *apud* Tertullian. These readings are otherwise unattested. To conclude that these were the readings in Marcion would be to read too much into Tertullian's allusion and word order.

135 There is also strong manuscript evidence for the readings δέχωνται and ἀποτινάσσατε. Marcion's text almost certainly read either aorist or present subjunctives and imperatives, and the infinitives suggested by Harnack (δέχεσθαι and ὑποτινάσσειν [*sic*, Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 89 already drew attention to the likely misprint]), are nowhere else attested and therefore unlikely.

136 For comments on the reference to Matt 10:10 in 4.21.1 cf. Roth, "Matthean Readings," 595–96.

137 Harnack, *Marcion*, 200*.

138 Ibid.

making a general reference to the content of the verses, the former, otherwise unattested, reading is unlikely and unnecessary to posit. Finally, *unum* probably attests εἷς, though, with numerous manuscripts, τις is not impossible.

5.36 Luke 9:12–14, 17

4.21.3—*Pascit populum in solitudine,* … *panis et piscis* … *quinque circiter* … *milia hominum* … | 4.21.4— … *pabuli exiguitatem non tantum sufficere, verum etiam exuberare* …

In the pericope of the feeding of the five thousand (Luke 9:10–17), Tertullian alludes to ἐν ἐρήμῳ (v. 12), ἄρτοι … καὶ ἰχθύες (v. 13), πεντακισχίλιοι ἄνδρες (v. 14), and that there was an overabundance of food (τὸ περισσεῦσαν in v. 17).[139] Beyond these few words and the basic attestation of the pericope's presence in Marcion's Gospel, none of these references provides any particular insight into Marcion's text.

5.37 Luke 9:20–21

4.21.6— … *interroganti domino quisnam illis videretur, cum pro omnibus* [Peter] *responderet: Tu es Christus,*[140] … *silentium indicens.* … *ille autem praecepit ne cui hoc dicerent,* …[141]

In Luke 9:20–21, v. 20 is also attested in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Tertullian's testimony to this verse begins with a reference to Jesus' question to the disciples concerning his identity followed by a citation of Peter's response in the form of the parallel Mark 8:29, σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός (cf. also Matt 16:16, which also begins with these words but continues with ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος).[142] Whether this phrasing is due to Tertullian being influenced by a synoptic parallel or his following the reading in Marcion's Gospel is unclear. Tertullian's adaptation of v. 21 offers the final element, which Harnack reconstructed παρήγγειλεν μηδενὶ

139 Harnack overlooked the "bread and fish" in Tertullian's testimony to v. 13 but did view φαγεῖν as attested for this verse, apparently extrapolated from the comment that Jesus "fed" the people in the wilderness (ibid.).

140 The reply *Tu es Christus* is repeated in 4.22.6 and 4.34.15.

141 Additional references to the silence enjoined occur in 4.21.7–8.

142 The idea that Peter spoke *pro omnibus* (4.21.6) is an addition by Tertullian (cf. Braun [trans.], *Contre Marcion IV*, 268n2 and Lukas, *Rhetorik*, 270n1277).

λέγειν τοῦτο. As λέγειν is the reading of numerous manuscripts, including P[75], ℵ, A, B, and D, it is likely for Marcion's text, though the Latin cannot rule out the reading εἰπεῖν in the TR.

5.38 Luke 9:33–34

4.22.4—… *eius* [Peter] *suggerit consilium: Bonum est hic nos*[143] *esse—bonum plane, ubi Moyses scilicet et Helias—, et: Faciamus hic tria tabernacula, unum tibi, et Moysi unum, et Heliae unum. Sed nesciens quid diceret.*[144] | 4.22.7—… *sub eodem etiam ambitu nubis* [as in Exod 19:16–20], … | 4.22.13—… *utique nubilo illo* … | 4.22.16—… *discessit a Christo* …

Most of the account of the transfiguration is multiply cited (Luke 9:28, 29, 30–32, and 35). For v. 33 Harnack reconstructed ἐν τῷ διαχωρίζεσθαι … ὁ Πέτρος· … καλόν ἐστιν ὧδε ἡμᾶς εἶναι καὶ ποιήσωμεν ὧδε σκηνὰς τρεῖς, μίαν σοί καὶ Μωσεῖ [*sic*] μίαν καὶ Ἠλίᾳ [*sic*] μίαν, μή εἰδὼς ὃ λέγει.[145] First, Harnack stated that the order ὧδε ἡμᾶς is "sonst fast unbezeugt," though IGNTP lists no other witnesses.[146] Even if the manuscripts of *Adversus Marcionem* reading *hic nos* reflect what Tertullian wrote, the order could be due to Tertullian. Second, Harnack wrote that the second ὧδε is otherwise unattested, when in fact it is attested by D*, d, l, r[1], and numerous versions. Third, Harnack apparently made an error in his reconstruction, because in the apparatus he stated that Marcion read τρεῖς σκηνάς with D, most OL manuscripts, and many other witnesses, which may well be correct. Finally, the placement of μίαν in each reference is variably attested in the manuscript tradition. According to IGNTP, only 700, *l*1056, and ff[2] attest this particular combination of μίαν before σοί and then following Moses and Elijah. It is possible that Marcion's text read this way, though Tertullian's influence is also possible.[147]

In 4.22.7, 13 Tertullian alludes to the cloud that overshadowed the group on the mountain (v. 34), though no further insight can be gained into the reading of Marcion's text.

143 Moreschini's text reads *hic nos* with *M* and Kroymann, though β and the other editors read *nos hic*.

144 An additional allusion to Luke 9:33 occurs in 4.22.12.

145 Harnack, *Marcion*, 202*.

146 Ibid., 203*.

147 It is interesting that Tertullian's testimony twice has the numeral before the noun (*tria tabernacula, unum tibi*) and then twice after the noun (*Moysi unum, Heliae unum*).

5.39 Luke 9:41

4.23.1—*Stet Christus Marcionis et exclamet: O genitura incredula, quousque ero apud vos? Quousque sustinebo vos?*[148] | 4.23.2—*Suscipio adhuc et personam discipulorum, in quos insilitt: O natio incredula, quamdiu ero vobiscum, quamdiu vos sustinebo?*

Luke 9:41 is also attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian twice cites the verse, though not in the same Latin form.[149] Nevertheless, the citations could render essentially the same Greek text, with only the placement of *vos* being different. Since Tertullian has been shown to change the position of pronouns often, both quotations could attest a reading ὦ γενεὰ ἄπιστος … ἕως πότε ἔσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς; ἕως πότε ἀνέξομαι ὑμῶν. The unattested καὶ διεστραμμένη may be a simple omission by Tertullian.[150] Also, the repeated *quousque*/*quamdiu* appears to attest ἕως πότε appearing twice, as in numerous other manuscripts.[151] Also worth noting is that Tertullian, in 4.23.2, seems to imply that the phrase was addressed to the disciples in Marcion's text.

5.40 Luke 9:46–48

4.23.4—*Sed ecce Christus diligit parvulos, tales docens esse debere qui semper maiores velint esse, …*

In an antithesis in 4.23.4, Tertullian alludes to Luke 9:46–48. Though the words μείζων and παιδίον appear to be attested, this brief reference provides no basis upon which to reconstruct any longer readings in Marcion's text.

5.41 Luke 9:54–55

4.23.7—*Repraesentat creator ignium plagam Helia postulante in illo pseudopropheta. Agnosco iudicis severitatem, e contrario Christi <lenitatem, increpan-*

148 The second question is omitted by γ, R1, and R2.

149 This verse is one of the passages upon which Harnack leaned heavily for his contention that Tertullian was using a Latin translation of Marcion's text (cf. Harnack, *Marcion*, 180*, 203*). On this point cf. Roth, "Did Tertullian Possess?," 432–33n9. Braun observes "… contrairement à ce qu'affirme HARNACK, p. 203*, la seconde formulation n'est pas en 'meilleur latin' que la première" (*Contre Marcion IV*, 295n2 [cont.]; also Lukas, *Rhetorik*, 275).

150 Mark 9:19 has only one adjective describing the generation (ὦ γενεὰ ἄπιστος).

151 The long list of manuscripts attesting this reading in IGNTP reveals that Harnack's comment "ἕως πότε secundum mit wenigen Zeugen" is a significant understatement (*Marcion*, 203*).

tis> eandem animadversionem destinantes discipulos super illum viculum Samaritarum.[152]

Harnack stated that here Tertullian is interacting with another of Marcion's antitheses.[153] Braun, however, responds that the comparison could have arisen out of the statement ὡς καὶ Ἠλίας ἐποίησεν found at the end of v. 54 in numerous manuscripts, which Harnack also believed was present in Marcion's text. Regardless of whether or not an antithesis was involved, the confident assertion by both Harnack and Braun that these words were present in Marcion's text is overstated.[154] Even more problematic are Harnack's assertions that the additions in vv. 55–56, though unattested by Tertullian, were not only in Marcion's Gospel but also from Marcion's hand.[155] Tsutsui is rightly much more cautious stating that the additions "können, mindestens zum Teil, marcionitisch sein. Aber m.E. darf man nicht aus dem Tertullians Bericht folgern, daß sie auch im von ihm benutzten Marcion-Text gestanden haben."[156]

5.42 Luke 10:1, 4, 7–11

4.24.1—*Adlegit et alios septuaginta apostolos super duodecim.* | 4.24.2—…*Christus autem nec virgam discipulis in viam ferre praescripsit.*… *hi autem in civitates mittebantur.* | 4.24.3—*Etiam calciamenta portare vetuit illos.*… *Neminem, inquit, in via*[157] *salutaveritis.* | 4.24.5—*Dignus*[158] *autem operarius*

152 An additional reference to Luke 9:54–55 occurs in 4.29.12.

153 Harnack, *Marcion*, 204*.

154 Harnack writes they were "gewiß" present (ibid.) and Braun "sans doute" present (*Contre Marcion IV*, 299n6). Cf. also Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:468. Zahn, however, viewed the longer readings as original and therefore did not view Marcion as their creator (cf. especially *Evangelium des Lucas*, 399–402, 764–67). On the other hand, Harris, at the end of the nineteenth century, wrote concerning the additions in vv. 54–55: "Dr. Hort says that both these passages are Western; we add that if so they are probably Marcionite" (*Codex Bezae*, 233). Against the Marcionite origin of the sayings is J.M. Ross, "The Rejected Words in Luke 9:54–56," *ExpTim* 84 (1972): 85–88. An excellent refutation of the view that these readings were found in Marcion's text is found in Delobel, "Extra-Canonical Sayings," 115–16.

155 Concerning v. 56 Harnack stated, "leider fehlt uns hier der Marcion-Text; aber angesichts der überwältigenden Zahl von Zeugen gegen den Vers, kann er nicht ursprünglich sein. Wer aber sollte ihn hinzugefügt haben, wenn nicht M.?" (*Marcion*, 248*). Such an argument is tenuous at best.

156 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 94.

157 Pamelius, Rigalti, Oehler, and Evans read *per viam*. According to IGNTP the Greek text uniformly attests κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν. The OL attests *per viam, circa viam*, and *in viam*.

158 Moreschini rejects the reading *dignus est* in Pamelius, Rigalti, Oehler, and Evans.

mercede sua, ... | 4.24.6—*Regnum dei* ... [Christ] *iubet adnuntiari adpropinquasse.* | 4.24.7—*Etiam adicit ut eis qui illos non recepissent dicerent: Scitote tamen adpropinquasse regnum dei.* ... *in salutem scilicet eorum qui adnuntiationem eius recepissent?* ... *Sic et pulverem iubet excuti in illos, in testificationem* ...[159]

In this pericope, v. 5 is multiply cited. Tertullian attests two elements of v. 1: ἀνέδειξεν [or ἀπέδειξεν] ... ἑτέρους ἑβδομήκοντα (4.24.1) and ἀπέστειλεν ... εἰς ... πόλιν (4.24.2).[160] As is well known, the manuscript tradition is divided between the reading "seventy" and "seventy-two." Tertullian here attests the former as Marcion's reading.

Harnack reconstructed Luke 10:4 μήτε ῥαβδον (?), μὴ ὑποδήματα ... μηδένα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀσπάσησθε.[161] The question mark is due to Harnack not being sure if the reference to a *virga* was due to Marcion's text or due to Tertullian importing an element from the mission of the 12 (Luke 9:3).[162] Since IGNTP indicates that no manuscript and only Didymus the Blind and Epiphanius attest ῥαβδον in this verse, and since *virga* creates a point of contact with *bacillus* mentioned in the citation of 2 Kgs 4:29 (4.24.3), the latter is more likely the case.

In 4.24.5 Tertullian attests the phrase ἄξιος ... ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ from Luke 10:7. The use of *autem* here can be understood as due to the flow of Tertullian's argument, and should not be construed to attest either the

159 The following phrase reads *eieratae etiam terrae eorum, nedum communicationis reliquae* in Moreschini's text, which is also the reading of Kroymann. However, the first element is attested in numerous forms in the manuscripts and edited editions of Tertullian. *M* reads *ei; haeret etiam*; R3, *B*, and Gelenius read *et adhaerentiam*; Pamelius, based on the conjecture of R3, reads *ad horrentiam*; Rigalti reads *et haerentiam*; and Oehler and Evans read *et haerentia*. Though some of these readings render the idea of wiping off the dust κολληθέντα to them, the great uncertainty here does not allow this idea to be posited for Marcion's text.

160 Harnack thought that *adlegit* was rendering ἀπέδειξεν. This reading is possible, and is found in D. IGNTP also states that e and a (both *elegit*), c (*probavit*), d (*ostendit*), and b and l (*designavit*) attest this reading. Given that ἀναδείκνυμι occurs only here and in Acts 1:24, it is difficult to evaluate the OL readings. However, Tischendorf and Von Soden list no variants for Acts 1:24, and here gig, which has an OL text in Acts, reads *ostende* as does the Vulgate. It is hardly inconceivable that some of the OL evidence for Luke 10:1 reveals the challenge of rendering ἀνέδειξεν, and is not attesting ἀπέδειξεν. Tsutsui's contention that ἀποστόλους in Marcion's text is "ganz sicher" and that ἐπὶ τοῖς δώδεκα probably appeared is questionable. Indeed, his view seems to be influenced by his belief that the antithesis discussed by Tertullian is between the 70 and the 12. This view is strongly and rightly criticized by Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 304n1, 305n3.

161 Harnack, *Marcion*, 205*.

162 Ibid.; cf. Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 305n3.

reading δέ, or the absence of γάρ in Marcion's text.[163] In 4.24.6, Tertullian adapts the phrase concerning the nearness of the kingdom of God (Luke 10:9), and in 4.24.7 there is an allusion to δέχωνται (v. 8).[164] Finally, in 4.24.7 Tertullian offers a reference to v. 10 (μὴ δέχωνται ὑμᾶς) followed by a citation and adaptation of elements in v. 11. Tertullian quotes πλὴν ... γινώσκετε [ὅτι] ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ and concludes with a reference to τὸν κονιορτὸν [ἀπομασσόμεθα].[165] The reference to *excuti* and *in testificationem* are again taken by Tertullian from the mission of the 12 (Luke 9:5).[166]

5.43 Luke 10:16

4.24.8—... *Qui vos spernet, me spernet*.[167]

It is interesting that although Harnack quotes the reading *spernet* he was content to reconstruct Luke 10:16 with the Greek present tense: ὁ ἀθετῶν ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ ἀθετεῖ.[168] Also noteworthy is that Harnack did not feel compelled to place ὑμᾶς before the verb in this case. The use of the future and the change of position of *vos*, though the reading ὑμᾶς ἀθετῶν is attested by P^{45} and numerous OL manuscripts, can be explained by Tertullian's citation habit. Thus, Harnack's reconstruction is probable, even if not certain.

5.44 Luke 10:23–24

4.25.12—*Si et sequentia inspicias: Beati oculi qui vident quae videtis: dico enim vobis quia prophetae non viderunt quae vos videtis*.

Harnack reconstructed these verses μακάριοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ οἱ βλέποντες ἃ βλέπετε λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, ὅτι προφῆται οὐκ ἴδαν [*sic*], ἃ ὑμεις βλέπετε.[169] The final element in v. 23 and the opening to v. 24 are unproblematic and exhibit little variation in the manuscript tradition. The remainder of v. 24, however, renders

163 Once again, the lack of an ellipsis in Harnack, *Marcion*, 205* could be misleading.

164 Harnack thought that Marcion's text, along with a handful of manuscripts, omitted ἐφ' ὑμᾶς in v. 9 (ibid.). Its absence, however, could also be a simple omission by Tertullian.

165 It is unclear why Harnack reconstructed an otherwise unattested γινώσκεσθε (ibid.).

166 For εἰς μαρτύριον cf. Harnack's comments in the apparatus (ibid.). Cf. also Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 309n3.

167 Moreschini's text reads *spernet* (*bis*) with *M* and Kroymann, whereas β and the other editors read *spernit* (*bis*).

168 Harnack, *Marcion*, 205*.

169 Ibid., 206*.

an otherwise unattested text. The omission of πολλοί is elsewhere attested only in 1241, though καὶ βασιλεῖς is also omitted in D and several OL manuscripts.[170] The placement of ἃ ὑμεις βλέπετε in Tertullian's citation is elsewhere unattested. One cannot be certain if Tertullian or Marcion is responsible for the phrasing, or to what extent elements of the reading were present in Marcion's source text.[171]

5.45 Luke 11:7–8

4.26.8—…*cubantem iam cum infantibus,* … | 4.26.9—*Exsurgit et dat, et si iam non quasi amico, non tamen quasi extraneo homini. Sed quasi molesto, inquit.*

In Luke 11:5–8, v. 5 is multiply cited. The allusion in 4.26.8 reveals the presence of the statement of the man being in bed with his children (v. 7), though the precise wording of Marcion's text remains elusive.[172] In v. 8, the allusion similarly reveals the main ideas of the verse even if the precise wording of the Greek cannot be reconstructed.[173]

5.46 Luke 11:14, 18–20

4.26.11—*Cum surdum daemonium expulisset… Si ego, inquit, in Belzebule*[174] *eicio daemonia, filii vestri in quo eiciunt?… Si ego in Belzebule, filii vestri in quo?… non posse satanan dividi adversus semetipsum.… subiungit: Quodsi ego in digito dei expello daemonia, ergone adpropinquavit*[175] *in vos regnum dei?*

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170 The parallel Matt 13:17 reads δίκαιοι instead of βασιλεῖς, attested for Luke 10:24 in b, q, r[1], and Ambrose.

171 Harnack, *Marcion*, 206*; Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 97; and Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 325n3 all see redaction by Marcion in the verse.

172 Harnack stated that, with several manuscripts, Marcion read τὰ παιδία and not τὰ παιδία μου; however, Tertullian's discussion would not allow the use of a first-person pronoun, and Tertullian may well have simply omitted the pronoun.

173 Harnack attempted to reconstruct the verse, and his reconstruction is plausible, though based largely on inference (*Marcion*, 208*).

174 On the spelling of Beelzebul here in both the Latin and Greek cf. chapter 4, nn. 276 and 277.

175 Moreschini's text reads *adpropinquavit* with R2 and R3, rejecting *adpropinquabit* read by *M*, γ, and R1. The difference may simply be orthographic; however, given Tertullian's propensity to use the future, the reading of *M* et al. could be attesting a future. IGNTP lists no variants for the reading ἔφθασεν.

For Luke 11:14–20, v. 15 is multiply cited. In 4.26.11, Tertullian makes a general reference to Jesus having cast out a "deaf devil" (v. 14).[176] An allusion to Jesus' question involving a reference to Satan being divided against himself (v. 18) follows a citation of v. 19, which Harnack reconstructed εἰ ἐγὼ ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβαλλουσιν;[177] The omission of δέ after εἰ posited by Harnack and attested by b and a handful of versions, may be a simple omission by Tertullian.

Harnack reconstructed v. 20 εἰ δ' ἐγὼ ἐν δακτυλῳ [*sic*] θεοῦ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἄρα ἔφθασεν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ, and only noted the otherwise unattested reading εἰς ὑμᾶς.[178] It is not certain, however, that *in vos* is not rendering the nearly uniformly attested ἐφ' ὑμᾶς.[179] Tsutsui disagreed with Harnack's reconstructing ἔφθασεν, contending that *adpropinquavit* rendered ἤγγικεν.[180] Tsutsui rightly notes that only d, which also reads *adpropinquavit*, might support this reading. In addition, though not mentioned by Tsutsui, Tertullian elsewhere in *Adversus Marcionem* uses *adpropinquare* to render the verb ἐγγιζω or the phrase ἐγγυς ἐστίν.[181] At the same time, however, the OL manuscripts do reveal some variation in their renderings of v. 20,[182] and Tertullian may have been influenced by the readings of the recently cited Luke 10:9 (4.24.6) or Luke 21:31 where the reference is to the kingdom of God drawing near. Therefore, it is possible that Tertullian more loosely rendered the end of the citation rather than having found either of these readings in Marcion's text, but one cannot be sure.[183] Finally, ἐγώ in v. 20 is also worth noting, as it may have been in Marcion's text since it is attested by D and numerous other manuscripts, several versions, and multiple church fathers.[184] At the same time, an unconscious influence on Tertullian by Matt 12:27 cannot be ruled out.

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176 Braun rightly notes that Tertullian renders κωφός with *surdus* instead of *mutus* to create a closer correspondence to his reference to Isa 29:18 (*Contre Marcion IV*, 339n5). In addition, the allusion cannot reveal whether καὶ αὐτὸ ἦν was present in Marcion's text or not (set in brackets in NA[28]).

177 Harnack, *Marcion*, 209*.

178 Ibid.

179 Every OL manuscript except c, reads *in vos*, which IGNTP does not interpret as evidence for the reading εἰς ὑμᾶς.

180 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 100.

181 Cf. 4.24.6 (Luke 10:9), 4.39.10 (Luke 21:28), 4.39.16 (Luke 21:30), and 4.39.10 (Luke 21:31). Tertullian, however, writes *in proximo esse* for Luke 21:31 in 4.39.10.

182 The OL manuscripts attest the verbs *praevenire* (b, f, q, r^1), *provenire* (ff^2, i), *pervenire* (aur, c, l), *anticipare* (a^2), and *adpropinquare* (d).

183 A similar possibility was suggested for Luke 11:33 in chapter 4.4.55.

184 P^{75}, א^1, B, D, *f*^{13}, and several other witnesses have ἐγώ before ἐκβάλλω.

5.47 Luke 11:37–43

4.27.1—*…et 'vae' ingerit Pharisaeis et doctoribus legis.* | 4.27.2—*Ideo et tunc Pharisaeus qui illum vocarat ad prandium retractabat penes se cur non prius tinctus esset quam recubuisset,…Iesus autem etiam interpretatus est ei legem, dicens illos* [the Pharisees] *calicis et catini exteriora emundare, interiora autem ipsorum plena esse rapina et iniquitate,…exteriora, inquit, calicis lavatis, id est carnem, interiora autem vestra non emundastis,*[185] *id est animam; adiciens: Nonne qui exteriora fecit—id est carnem—, et interiora fecit, id est animam?* | 4.27.3—*Subiungit enim: Date quae habetis elemosinam, et omnia munda erunt vobis.* | 4.27.4—*Sic et holuscula decimantes, vocationem autem et dilectionem dei praetereuntes obiurgat. Cuius dei vocationem et dilectionem, nisi cuius et rutam et mentam ex forma legis ex decimis offerebant?* | 4.27.5—*Primatum quoque captantes locorum et honorem salutationum cum incusat,…* | 4.27.6—*…qui cum maxime potiora legis praetereuntes incusabat, elemosinam et vocationem et dilectionem dei, ne haec quidem gravia, nedum decimas rutarum et munditias catinorum?*

For Luke 11:37–43, v. 42 is also attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian's testimony in 4.27.1 begins with a general reference to the οὐαί spoken against the Pharisees (vv. 42–43) and the doctors of the law (vv. 46–47, 52 discussed below). In 4.27.2 Tertullian adapts v. 37, making reference to the invitation extended to Jesus by the Pharisee to dine with him and Jesus' reclining at the table.[186] Notably, Tertullian's reference to v. 38 attests Marcion's text as having read similarly to D and d concerning the Pharisee: ἤρξατο διακρινόμενος ἐν ἑαυτῷ λέγειν διά τι οὐ πρῶτον ἐβαπτίσθη.[187] The precise wording and word order, however, are not entirely certain as most other OL manuscripts attest ἤρξατο ἐν ἑαυτῷ διακρεινόμενος.[188] Tertullian concludes the thought with a reference back to the "reclining" of v. 37.[189]

185 Moreschini's text reads *emundastis* with *M*², *F*, and Kroymann, rejecting the reading *emundatis* in *M, R*, and the other editors as well as *mundatis* in *X*.

186 Tertullian's use of the pluperfect (*vocarat*) cannot reveal whether a historical present was in Marcion's text or not.

187 The phrase ἤρξατο διακρεινόμενος ἐν ἑαυτῷ is also attested in 343, 716, 1229, and a.

188 Harnack noted the point of contact with the reading in D, but did not note the variant word order (*Marcion*, 210*). Curiously, IGNTP lists Marcion as reading the latter word order. sy^c attests a similar reading.

189 Harnack inquired "Las M. πρὸ τοῦ ἀναπεσεῖν für πρὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου [in v. 38]?" (*Marcion*, 210*). Though the question legitimately arises out of Tertullian's phrasing, the free form of the reference does not offer grounds to entertain seriously this otherwise unattested reading.

Tertullian continues in 4.27.2 with an adaptation and then a citation of Jesus' reply to the Pharisee (v. 39).[190] Tertullian's testimony is curious here in that in the space of a few lines he offers divergent wordings for the verse.[191] In the adaptation Tertullian appears to attest the reading [οἱ Φαρισαῖοι] τοῦ ποτηρίου καὶ τοῦ πίνακος τὸ ἔξωθεν καθαρίζετε, τὸ δὲ ἔσωθεν ὑμῶν γέμει ἁρπαγῆς καὶ πονηρίας.[192] A few lines later, however, Tertullian quotes a rather more truncated text τὸ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ποτηρίου καθαρίζετε (or νίπτετε) τὸ δὲ ἔσωθεν ὑμῶν οὐ καθαρίζετε. The key to understanding Tertullian's testimony is found in the manner in which Tertullian links vv. 39 and 40, most clearly evidenced by the glosses *id est animam* and *id est carnem* made to both verses. Immediately after citing v. 39, Tertullian quotes v. 40, attesting the relatively unproblematic οὐχ ὁ ποιήσας τὸ ἔξωθεν καὶ τὸ ἔσωθεν ἐποίησεν.[193] It would appear that Tertullian abbreviated the elements in the citation of v. 39 to create closer parallels with v. 40, and that therefore his earlier adaptation of the text more closely reflects Marcion's reading.[194]

In 4.27.3 Tertullian quotes v. 41 in a slightly curious form. Only one manuscript attests anything similar to *quae habetis*,[195] and it is possible that Tertullian is unconsciously being influenced by the similarly themed Luke 18:22 (ὅσα ἔχεις) or Matt 19:21 (τὰ ὑπάρχοντα).[196] In any case, Tertullian does attest the words δότε and ἐλεημοσύνην in v. 41a, as well as πάντα καθαρὰ ἔσται

190 This is another rare occasion in Harnack's otherwise maximalist reconstructed text in that he provides no reconstruction for Luke 11:39–40 (cf. ibid.).

191 Tsutsui overlooks this fact and only notes the phrasing of the citation of v. 39. In the notes he states "Im Vergleich mit dem Lk-Text ist der Satz nach dem direkten Zitat von Tertullian ziemlich vereinfacht" ("Evangelium," 101). As seen in the discussion above, this evaluation should be rejected when all the data are considered.

192 The textual tradition here is fairly uniform. Even though a few words appear in a slightly different place in Tertullian's Latin (e.g., the position of *exteriora*), and Tertullian has obviously changed the verbs to infinitives due to his introducing the adaptation with *dicens*, the adaptation closely follows the Greek text in Luke (cf. the slight differences in Matt 23:25).

193 Once again *exteriora* is in a different place in Tertullian's Latin (cf. n. 192). Several texts, including P^{45} and D invert the order of ἔξωθεν and ἔσωθεν. Though the opening word of v. 30 is unattested, Harnack noted "Fehlte ἄφρονες bei M? Schwerlich" (*Marcion*, 210*).

194 Another slightly different reference to v. 39 occurs in 4.27.6 where Tertullian simply refers back to *munditias catinorum*.

195 The OL manuscript f reads *ex his que habetis*.

196 J. Ramsey Michaels simply assumes that *quae habetis* is Tertullian's translation and interpretation of τὰ ἐνόντα ("Almsgiving and the Kingdom Within: Tertullian on Luke 17:21," *CBQ* 60 [1998]: 481).

ὑμῖν in v. 41b.[197] The latter could have been the reading in Marcion's text as it is also found in D;[198] yet, Tertullian's own propensity to use the future and alter the position of pronouns means that one cannot be certain.

Tertullian adapts v. 42 in 4.27.4, where he attests part of the verse, though with an altered text. Tertullian references tithing herbs but passing over τὴν κλῆσιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ θεοῦ.[199] τὴν κλῆσιν is otherwise unattested;[200] however, the likelihood of it being the reading of Marcion's text is further increased by Tertullian again referencing the *vocationem et dilectionem dei* in 4.27.6 when he refers back to this passage. The final phrase of this verse is not attested; however, both Harnack and Tsutsui contend that Marcion deleted it.[201] Yet, even if it was missing in Marcion's text, it is also absent in D and d, revealing that its omission may not have been due to an alteration by Marcion.

Finally, in 4.27.5 Tertullian alludes to v. 43. That a reference to πρωτοκαθεδρία and ἀσπασμός occurred in the verse is clear; yet, no further insight can be gained into the reading of Marcion's text.

5.48 Luke 11:46–48

4.27.6—*Invehitur et in doctores ipsos legis, quod onerarent alios importabilibus oneribus, quae ipsi ne digito quidem adgredi auderent, …* | 4.27.8—*Cur autem 'vae' audiunt etiam quod aedificarent prophetis monimenta interemptis a patribus eorum, laude potius digni, qui ex isto opere pietatis testabantur se non consentire factis patrum, …*

In the series of "woes" spoken against the lawyers, v. 47 is attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian adapts v. 46 in 4.27.6, beginning with the observation that Jesus also pronounces οὐαί against the νομικοί. The adaptation attests the loading with φορτία δυσβάστακτα,[202] and it is clear that Marcion's text also mentioned the lawyers not using a finger to help with those burdens, even if

197 Harnack only provided a reconstruction of the latter element (*Marcion*, 210*).

198 The reading ἐστιν ὑμῖν is attested by numerous OL manuscripts and church fathers, and ὑμῖν ἔσται is attested in many manuscripts, including P^{45}.

199 IGNTP wrongly states that Marcion omitted καί … θεοῦ.

200 IGNTP lists only Marcion for this reading. Both Harnack, *Marcion*, 210* and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 101 view it as a tendentious alteration.

201 Harnack, *Marcion*, 210* and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 101. The same view is held by Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:473–74.

202 Braun notes that *importabilis* occurs only in ecclesiastical Latin and strengthens the translation of δυσβάστακτος (*Contre Marcion IV*, 351n1).

much of the precise wording cannot be recovered.[203] Tertullian has adapted v. 47, though his testimony seems to point to οὐαί … ὅτι οἰκοδομεῖτε τὰ μνημεῖα τῶν προφητῶν.[204] The participial phrase *interemptis a patribus eorum* attests a statement similar to οἱ δὲ πατέρες ὑμῶν ἀπέκτειναν αὐτούς, even if the precise wording is not clear from Tertullian's adaptation. The allusion to v. 48 is noteworthy in that it appears to render a reading similar to D and d, μαρτυρεῖτε μὴ συνευδοκεῖν τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν πατέρων ὑμῶν.[205]

5.49 Luke 12:1

4.28.1—*Cavete, inquit discipulis, a fermento Pharisaeorum, quod est hypocrisis*, …

Harnack reconstructed Luke 12:1 … (ἤρξατο λέγειν) πρὸς τοὺς μαθητάς· [πρῶτον?] προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης τῶν Φαρισαίων, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὑπόκρισις.[206] In the apparatus Harnack indicated that he was inclined to see πρῶτον as missing, and he highlights the omission of ἑαυτοῖς after προσέχετε. Though a handful of manuscripts, including several OL manuscripts, omit one or both of these elements, a simple omission by Tertullian is possible. Harnack made no mention of the omission of αὐτοῦ after μαθητάς, or the placement of τῶν Φαρισαίων after ζύμης instead of at the end of the sentence. The former omission is attested by D, several OL manuscripts, and bo. The latter word order is that of numerous manuscripts, including P[45], א, A, C, D, and W. Once again, though these readings are possible for Marcion, another simple omission by Tertullian and the influence of the loosely parallel Matt 16:6//Mark 8:15 (ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης τῶν Φαρισαίων) remains possible.

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203 Harnack only reconstructed οὐδὲ τῷ δακτύλῳ (*Marcion*, 211*). Though it is true that there is some manuscript evidence for the dative here, Tertullian may also have been influenced by Matt 23:4 or simply have written *digito* because of the structure of the sentence in which he embeds the verse.

204 Though the reading τὰ μνήματα attested once by Epiphanius must be taken into account, this reading, according to IGNTP, is elsewhere only attested in *l*1056 and Chrysostom. No manuscript evidence exists for "prophets" in the dative, and the phrase *aedificarent prophetis monimenta* should be attributed to Tertullian.

205 Harnack reconstructed v. 48 (ἄρα) μάρτυρές ἐστε μὴ συνευδοκεῖν (*Marcion*, 211*). It is not clear why he chose to render *testabantur* with μάρτυρές ἐστε (this is the reading of NA[28] following א, B, and a few other manuscripts), nor is it evident why he neglected to render *factis partum*. The readings of a, b, q (*non consentientes*) and e (*non placere vobis*) express a similar sentiment to the reading found in D, d.

206 Ibid.

5.50 Luke 12:11–12

4.28.8—*Perductos ad potestates prohibet ad interrogationem cogitare de responsione. Sanctus enim, inquit, spiritus docebit vos ipsa hora quid eloqui debeatis*.

In 4.28.8 Tertullian alludes to Luke 12:11 and then cites v. 12. Harnack reconstructed the words προσφέρωσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς in v. 11, and then noted that Tertullian merely alludes to the remainder of the verse. That *perductos* renders the TR reading προσφέρωσιν is possible. On the other hand, the conclusion that either ὑμᾶς, τὰς συναγωγάς, or τὰς ἐξουσίας was omitted would be unwarranted.

Based on the citation of v.12 Harnack reconstructed τὸ γὰρ ἅγιον πνεῦμα διδάξει ὑμᾶς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ, τί δεῖ εἰπεῖν ὑμᾶς.[207] Tertullian's word order *sanctus enim spiritus* is different from nearly the entire extant OL tradition and the Vulgate, which read *spiritus enim sanctus*.[208] According to IGNTP the entire Greek manuscript tradition attests ἅγιον πνεῦμα, and it is likely that Tertullian's word order is following the word order of Marcion's text.[209] The remainder of the verse, up until the final element, is unproblematic as the manuscripts are nearly uniform. Two points, however, need to be made concerning τί δεῖ εἰπεῖν ὑμᾶς. First, ff², gat, and Heracleon attest τί instead of ἅ, though it is not clear that Tertullian's use of *quid* necessitates this reading in Marcion's text. Second, though he gave no indication in his reconstructed text, Harnack in his apparatus admitted that the second ὑμᾶς is "nicht sicher" and "sonst unbezeugt."[210] There is no compelling reason to posit the presence of this pronoun for Marcion's text.

5.51 Luke 12:13–14

4.28.9—*Christus vero postulatus a quodam ut inter illum et fratrem ipsius* <de> *dividenda hereditate componeret, operam suam, et quidem tam probae causae, denegavit*. | 4.28.10—*Quis me, inquit, iudicem constituit super vos?*

In 4.28.9 Tertullian alludes to Luke 12:13–14, and then provides a citation from v. 14 in 4.28.10. For v. 13 Tertullian alludes to τις … εἰπὲ τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου μερίσασθαι

207 Ibid., 213*.

208 Only a reads *sanctus enim spiritus*.

209 Tertullian also generally writes *spiritus* followed by *sanctus* as can be seen in his references to Luke 7:27 (4.18.4); 11:2 (4.26.4); 11:13 (4.26.10); and 12:10 (4.28.6). In fact, of all the references to the Holy Spirit in *Adversus Marcionem*, as far as I know, 2.24.2 is the only other occurrence where *sanctus* precedes *spiritus*.

210 Harnack, *Marcion*, 213*.

μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ τὴν κληρονομίαν.[211] Though the precise wording is not clear, the minimal manuscript variation makes this reading rather likely.[212] Tertullian's allusion continues with the statement that Christ refused to assist (4.28.9) and then cites his response. Harnack reconstructed τίς με κατέστησεν κριτὴν ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς.[213] Interestingly, Harnack once again did not change the Greek word order to match the order of Tertullian's Latin. That the word order is due to Tertullian is highly likely as there is no manuscript evidence for κριτήν ever preceding κατέστησεν. κριτήν is the reading of several manuscripts, including P^{75}, ℵ, B, D, and L, though it is possible that *iudicem* is rendering the reading δικαστήν.[214] Finally, it is also possible that with D, 28, a, b, d, and the Persian Diatessaron, ἢ μεριστήν was omitted in Marcion's text.[215] As has often been the case, however, a simple omission by Tertullian cannot be ruled out completely.[216]

5.52 Luke 12:22–23

4.29.1—*Quis nollet curam nos agere animae de victu et corpori de vesitu … qui et substantiam ipsius animae accommodavit potiorem esca, et materiam ipsius corporis figuravit potiorem tunica, …*

Harnack places his reconstruction of these verses in parentheses and reconstructed the text verbatim to the reading in NA[28] (starting with μὴ μεριμνᾶτε in v. 22), except for the omission of γάρ in v. 23.[217] It is not entirely clear what Harnack wanted to denote with the use of parentheses, and he did not preface the offered text with "Anspielung" as he often did elsewhere when discussing allusions. For v. 22, τῇ ψυχῇ and τῷ σώματι are clearly attested, and some mention of not worrying about them in regards to food or clothing must have been present. No further insight into the precise wording of the verse can be

211 Harnack reconstructed very similarly though excluding εἰπέ and μου (ibid.).

212 Several minuscules and lectionaries read τὴν κληρονομίαν μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ.

213 Harnack, *Marcion*, 213*.

214 The NA[27] apparatus recognizes this point noting "κριτην *vl* δικαστην Mcion[T]." NA[28] simply notes "*iudicem* Mcion[T]."

215 Harnack believed that Marcion's text did omit the phrase (*Marcion*, 213*).

216 Thus, the certainty of the omission cannot be assumed and Baarda's positing a "doctrinal and deliberate correction of the original text" should be stated more cautiously ("Luke 12, 13–14 Text and Transmission: From Marcion to Augustine," in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty* [ed. Jacob Neusner; 4 vols.; SJLA 12; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975], 1:118).

217 Harnack, *Marcion*, 213*. γάρ is present in many manuscripts, including P^{75}, ℵ, B, and D, but absent in numerous others, including P^{45}, A, K, Q, and W.

gained, however, particularly as the wording of v. 23, with its mention of life being more than τροφή and the body being more than ἔνδυμα, seems to have influenced Tertullian's phrasing.[218] Similarly, the allusion to v. 23 implies the presence of the ψυχή/τροφή and σῶμα/ἔνδυμα comments, without revealing further insight into the phrasing of the verse.

5.53 Luke 12:30

4.29.3—*Nam et cum subicit: Haec enim nationes mundi quaerunt, … Porro cum et adicit: Scit autem pater opus esse haec vobis, …*

The second half of Luke 12:30 is also attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian's citation of v. 30a attests ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ ἔθνη τοῦ κόσμου ἐπιζητοῦσιν (or possibly ἐπιζητεῖ/ζητεῖ).[219] Though according to IGNTP πάντα after γάρ is omitted in b, ff², i, l q, r¹ and by Pseudo-Firmicus, it may be a simple omission by Tertullian. For v. 30b Tertullian attests οἶδεν δὲ ὁ πατήρ,[220] which has points of contact with the reading of D and several OL manuscripts. It is worth noting, though, that in these witnesses ὑμῶν after πατήρ is nowhere else omitted.[221] The question arises whether the possessive pronoun was missing in Marcion's text or is a simple omission on the part of Tertullian.[222] The Latin *opus esse haec vobis* does not reveal the exact reading of the Greek for the final phrase, though it may have been ὅτι χρῄζετε τούτων.

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218 Thus, for v. 22 it is not clear whether ὑμῶν was present with either ψυχῇ or σώματι, or both. In addition, no insight into the form of the verbs ἐσθίω and ἐνδύω, assuming they were present, can be gained.

219 Harnack reconstructed v. 30a with ἐπιζητεῖ (*Marcion*, 214*). All three forms of the verb are attested in the manuscript tradition, though the only Greek manuscript reading ζητεῖ is D. The Latin *quaerunt* does not definitively reveal the underlying Greek.

220 Given Tertullian's altering of prepositions, his use of *autem* does not necessarily rule out that the Greek read γάρ; however, in this case the reading is confirmed by Epiphanius.

221 D, e, a, c, d, and l attest οἶδεν γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν. b, f, ff², i, q, and r¹ attest οἶδεν δὲ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν. IGNTP erroneously groups "Marcion ap TE" with the latter witnesses and thus fails to indicate that Tertullian does not attest ὑμῶν.

222 Zahn, referring to the continuation of the sentence in *Marc*. 4.29.3, contended "Das ο πατηρ ohne υμων bestätigt Tr. nochmals *prius quaeram, quem patrem intellegi velit Christus*" (*Geschichte*, 2:476); however, he may have read too much into a general comment that Tertullian utilized as a transition in his argument.

5.54 Luke 12:35–37

4.29.6—*... id sumus, servi: dominum enim habemus deum; succingere debemus lumbos, ... item lucernas ardentes habere, ... atque ita expectare dominum, ... Unde redeuntem? si a nuptiis, ...*

Tertullian weaves allusions to Luke 12:35–37 into his discussion of the parables as they relate to the Creator and his promises or his Christ. Tertullian begins with a reference to the δοῦλοι and the κύριος mentioned in v. 37. He then alludes to the phrases αἱ ὀσφύες περιεζωσμέναι and οἱ λύχνοι καιόμενοι (v. 35) followed by an allusion to προσδεχομένοις τὸν κύριον ... ἀναλύσῃ ἐκ τῶν γάμων (v. 36).[223] The precise wording, however, cannot be recovered for any of these verses.

5.55 Luke 12:39–48

4.29.7—*In sequenti quoque parabola satis errat qui furem illum, cuius horam si pater familiae sciret, non sineret suffodi domum suam, in personam disponit creatoris. ... cuius horam etiam in primordio si homo scisset, numquam ab eo suffossus esset, propterea iubet ut parati simus, quia qua non putamus hora filius hominis adveniet, ...* | 4.29.9—*Itaque interroganti Petro in illos an et in omnes parabolam dixisset, ... proponit actorum similitudinem, quorum qui bene tractaverit conservos absentia domini reverso eo omnibus bonis praeponetur, qui vero secus egerit, reverso domino qua die non putaverit, hora qua non scierit, ... segregabitur et pars eius cum infidelibus ponetur.*[224] | 4.29.11—*Quem alium intellegam caedentem*[225] *servos paucis aut multis plagis, et prout commisit illis ita et exigentem ab eis, ...*

In this set of parables, Luke 12:46 is also attested by Epiphanius, and vv. 46–48a in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. As Tertullian interacts with Marcion's interpretation of the text he alludes to numerous elements in the account. Harnack recognized that these verses are largely attested through "Anspielungen."[226] Nevertheless, for the parable in vv. 39–40, Harnack reconstructed v. 39 ... εἰ ᾔδει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης, ποίᾳ ὥρᾳ ὁ κλέπτης (ἔρχεται), οὐκ ἂν ἀφῆκεν διορυχθῆναι

223 Harnack's reconstructed elements are nearly identical to the above, though his lack of ellipses within the reconstruction again problematically could imply that unattested elements are absent (*Marcion*, 215*).

224 Additional allusions to these verses occur in 4.29.10–11.

225 Moreschini's text reads *caedentem* with *M*, R2, and R3, rejecting *cedentem* in γ and R1.

226 Harnack, *Marcion*, 215*.

τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ.[227] No manuscript attests ποίᾳ ὥρᾳ as clause initial, and Harnack here rightly does not follow Tertullian's word order. Unmentioned by Harnack is the omission of the phrase ἐγρηγόρησεν ἂν καί after ἔρχεται, found in most manuscripts, but not in P⁷⁵, ℵ*, D, and several versions. As this reading appears to have arisen through the influence of the parallel Matt 24:43,[228] and since Tertullian often inclines to Matthean wording, the fact that Tertullian does not allude to it here may indicate that it was not present in Marcion's text. For v. 40 Harnack reconstructed only ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, apparently due to an oversight of the reference to the verse in 4.29.7, which is not included in Harnack's apparatus. Tertullian clearly also attests γίνεσθε ἕτοιμαι, ὅτι ᾗ ὥρᾳ οὐ δοκεῖτε ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται. Once again one should not attempt to follow Tertullian's word order slavishly or his use of the future (*adveniet*), and the reconstruction should be viewed as only generally representative of Marcion's text.

Tertullian then renders Peter's response in v. 41 to Jesus' words (4.29.9), reconstructed by Harnack as ὁ Πέτρος· πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἢ καὶ πρὸς πάντας τὴν παραβολὴν λέγεις.[229] Harnack commented in his apparatus "Wortstellung belanglos," though it is not clear whether Harnack thereby intended to indicate that he did not consider his reconstruction necessarily to be reflecting Marcion's text.[230] In any case, given that Tertullian has constantly, and even in the previous two verses, shown great freedom with his word order, the here otherwise unattested order should not be followed. In addition, the omission of ταύτην may be a simple omission by Tertullian.

For the parable in vv. 42–48, Tertullian's general reference to the characters (*actorum* and *conservos*) does not reveal the Greek terms used in vv. 42–43. It is clear that a master leaves and returns (ἐλθὼν ὁ κύριος)[231] and that the steward who treats his fellow slaves well will be rewarded, which Harnack reconstructed ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν καταστήσει αὐτόν (v. 44). Despite Tertullian's paraphrase (*omnibus bonis praeponetur*), due to the near uniformity of the manuscript tradition, this reconstruction is probable; however, one would also expect a pronoun to have been present after ὑπάρχουσιν.[232] Also, Harnack rightly

227 Ibid.

228 Cf. the comments in Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 136.

229 Harnack, *Marcion*, 215*.

230 Ibid.

231 It appears that it is Tertullian himself who selects the verb *revertere* to speak of the master's coming as he uses it here in v. 43 and also for v. 46.

232 No extant text omits the pronoun entirely, with αὐτοῦ strongly attested and αὐτῷ attested by P⁴⁵, the OL manuscripts e and c, and several other manuscripts. Whether Marcion's

considered the passive *praeponetur* to be rendering the active καταστήσει, thus viewing the voice as due to Tertullian and not reflecting Marcion's text. This observation becomes particularly relevant when considering vv. 45–46.

Tertullian alludes to v. 45 with a reference to the steward who has acted "otherwise" (i.e., not having treated his fellow servants well), and then delineates the consequence. Though Epiphanius's and the *Adamantius Dialogue*'s testimony must also be taken into account for v. 46, Tertullian attests the return of the master ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ οὐ προσδοκᾷ καὶ ἐν ὥρᾳ ᾗ οὐ γινώσκει; yet, the compact nature of Tertullian's testimony does not allow the exact wording to be reconstructed. More significantly, Harnack reconstructed the final element of the verse ἀποχωρίσει αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων τεθήσεται, appealing to Marcion's theological views as the basis for positing the otherwise unattested readings ἀποχωρίσει and τεθήσεται.[233] Though the use of *segregare* is curious and Tertullian's argument in 4.29.10 might, though probably ultimately does not, suggest a term other than διχοτομέω, it is certainly unpersuasive that Harnack suddenly sees Tertullian's passive *ponetur* rendering a passive verb in Marcion's text when Tertullian has been utilizing the passive throughout.[234]

For vv. 47–48 Tertullian once again provides only general allusions that must be compared with the data from the *Adamantius Dialogue*. There is a reference to the idea of the servant who will receive many or few beatings (δαρήσεται πολλάς [v. 47], δαρήσεται ὀλίγας [v. 48]), and to the principle of requiring in proportion to what has been given in v. 48b. Tertullian, however, provides no clear insight into the wording of these two verses.

5.56 Luke 12:49, 51, 53

4.29.12—*Proclamat Christus tuus: Ignem veni mittere in terram, ...*[235] | 4.29.14—*Ipse melius interpretabitur ignis istius qualitatem, adiciens: Putatis venisse me pacem mittere in terram? non, dico vobis, sed separationem. 'Machaeram'*

text read the genitive or dative cannot be determined with certainty, though the former is more likely. Its omission here appears to be a simple omission by Tertullian.

233 Harnack, *Marcion*, 215*.

234 Tsutsui is also unconvinced on these two points stating that Harnack's view "bedarf m.E. noch hinreichender Begründung, um völlig glaubwürdig zu sein" ("Evangelium," 106). Zahn stated, "wenn Tr. 6mal διχοτομειν durch *segregare* wiedergibt, so setzt das wohl keinen anderen Text voraus, entsprach aber der dort bestrittenen marcionitischen Deutung" (*Geschichte*, 2:476).

235 An additional allusion to Luke 12:49 occurs in 4.29.13.

quidem scriptum est sed Marcion emendat: quasi non et separatio opus sit machaerae.... Denique, dividetur, inquit, pater in filium et filius in patrem, et mater in filiam et filia in matrem, et nurus in socrum et socrus in nurum.

In these statements, vv. 49 and 51 are also attested in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Tertullian cites the first half of Luke 12:49, rendering πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰς τὴν γῆν.[236] A clear indication of Tertullian working from Marcion's text is found in 4.29.14 where Tertullian confuses the reading of Matt 10:34 (μάχαιραν) with the reading in Luke 12:51 (διαμερισμόν) and accuses Marcion of having altered the former to the latter.[237] Harnack reconstructed v. 51 δοκεῖτε ὅτι ἦλθον εἰρήνην βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν; οὐχί, λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ διαμερισμόν (ἀποχώρισιν?).[238] The reading is possible, but at many points uncertain. First, Tertullian does not render ὅτι, but Harnack is likely correct in considering it present in Marcion's text.[239] Second, εἰρήνην between the verbs is nowhere attested in the extant manuscript tradition, and Matt 10:34, which Harnack believed had influenced the reading in Marcion's text, reads ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην. Therefore, the order here may be due to Tertullian. Third, it is not clear that *venisse me* is rendering ἦλθον and not παρεγενόμην.[240] Fourth, according to IGNTP βαλεῖν instead of δοῦναι is attested in several OL manuscripts, sy^s, sy^p, the Arabic Diatessaron, bo, sa, and Petrus Chrysologus. Thus, it could have been the reading in Marcion's text, though Tertullian could also have been unconsciously influenced by the Matthean phrasing or by having written *mittere in terram* shortly before (4.29.12). This fact also means that it is not certain that the preposition ἐπί plus the accusative was in Marcion's text. Fifth, Marcion's text could have read ἀλλά instead of ἀλλ' ἤ with P^{45}, D, and several other manuscripts, but again, all OL manuscripts read *sed*, which IGNTP does not take as evidence for the reading ἀλλά. Finally, though raising the questions "Hat aber M. διαμερισμόν gelesen? Las er nicht

236 Harnack offered the preposition ἐπί (apparently following the reading in the *Adamantius Dialogue*) instead of εἰς. This reading is possible, though the latter preposition appearing in P^{45}, D, and probably underlying the uniform *in terram* in the OL manuscripts, may make εἰς more likely.

237 Cf. chapter 4, n. 29. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:476–77 and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 106–7 argue that the statement *Ipse melius interpretabitur ignis istius qualitatem, adiciens* reveals that 12:49b–50 were omitted by Marcion. Harnack rightly noted "allein ausreichend ist dieses Argument nicht" and then added "und man sieht auch nicht ein, warum M. diese Worte getilgt haben soll" (*Marcion*, 216*). That Tertullian simply did not refer to the intervening material is entirely possible.

238 Ibid.

239 According to IGNTP ὅτι is only omitted in 1210.

240 The entire extant OL manuscript tradition employs *veni* here (*venim* in e is corrected to *veni*), and IGNTP lists only Cyril and one other witness as reading ἦλθον.

ἀποχώρισιν oder ähnlich?," Harnack provided no rationale for Marcion's text reading anything other than διαμερισμόν.[241]

Tertullian's testimony to v. 53 is largely unproblematic and Harnack reconstructed διαμερισθήσεται πατὴρ ἐπὶ υἱῷ καὶ υἱὸς ἐπὶ πατρί, καὶ μήτηρ ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ καὶ θυγάτηρ ἐπὶ μητρί, καὶ πενθερὰ ἐπὶ τὴν νύμφην καὶ νύμφη ἐπὶ τὴν πενθεράν.[242] A few observations include, first, that Tertullian attests the TR reading διαμερισθήσεται, even though many witnesses, including P45, P75, ℵ, B, D, and the OL manuscripts read διαμερισθήσονται. Second, Harnack stated that the second and fourth καί are otherwise unattested,[243] though IGNTP indicates that there is some evidence for their presence.[244] Nevertheless, it is not certain whether they were present in Marcion's text or due to Tertullian. Finally, though Tertullian attests no pronouns after *socrum* and *nurum*, a simple omission in one or both cases by Tertullian cannot be ruled out.[245]

5.57 Luke 12:56

4.29.15—*Et ideo hypocritas pronuntiabat, caeli quidem et terrae faciem probantes, tempus vero illud non dinoscentes, . . .*

On the basis of Tertullian's adaptation in 4.29.15, Harnack reconstructed Luke 12:56 ὑποκριταί, τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς δοκιμάζετε, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν τοῦτον οὐκ οἴδατε δοκιμάζειν.[246] Harnack rightly placed τὸ πρόσωπον after ὑποκριταί, its universally attested position, and not later in the phrase based on Tertullian's placement of *faciem*. In addition, Harnack did not render *quidem* in his reconstruction, though it is worth noting that D, a, d, q, and a few other

241 Harnack, *Marcion*, 216*. No Greek manuscript, apart from 1242* which reads μάχαιραν, reads anything other than διαμερισμόν. In addition, with Tertullian the OL manuscripts aur, b, f, i, l and q render διαμερισμόν with *separationem*.

242 Harnack, *Marcion*, 216*. The Latin, of course, cannot reveal whether the Greek read ἐπὶ υἱῷ or ἐφ' υἱῷ. In addition, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain whether ἐπί plus dative or accusative is being attested by Tertullian's *in* plus accusative. Both the Greek and OL manuscript tradition exhibit considerable variation, though it appears that no Greek manuscript utilizes the dative or accusative throughout.

243 Ibid.

244 The Persian Diatessaron and the Adiš manuscript of geo attest καί in both instances, and c and e attest the latter instance. A few additional witnesses for the presence of one or the other καί are also listed in IGNTP.

245 Only a very few manuscripts omit the first αὐτῆς; however, the second is omitted by P45, P75, ℵ*, B, D, and several other manuscripts.

246 Harnack, *Marcion*, 216*.

witnesses read τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον (cf. Matt 16:3). Whether *quidem* is representing a particle in Marcion's text or is Tertullian's own addition is not certain. Third, it is quite likely that Marcion's Gospel read "heaven" followed by "earth," as this is the order attested by P^{45}, P^{75}, $\aleph^{c}$, D, numerous other manuscripts, and many versions. Finally, since D, along with several OL, sy^{c}, and, according to IGNTP, three Coptic manuscripts omit πῶς after τοῦτον, it is possible that the interrogative adverb was not in Marcion's text; however, a simple omission by Tertullian is also possible. On the other hand it is not certain that Marcion's text read τὸν δὲ καιρόν (P^{75}, B, and 892 read τὸν καιρὸν δέ), and Harnack's reconstruction of the verbs is speculative. It could be that *probantes* is rendering an otherwise unattested δοκιμάζετε, and *dinoscentes* reflecting οἴδατε δοκιμάζειν,[247] though it also could be that Tertullian's parallel construction reflects a parallel construction of οἴδατε δοκιμάζειν in Marcion's text.[248]

5.58 Luke 13:14–15

4.30.1—*Quaestionem rursus de curatione sabbati<s>*[249] *facta quomodo discussit? Unusquisque vestrum sabbatis non solvit*[250] *asinum aut bovem suum a praesepi et ducit ad potum?*

Harnack viewed the opening question in 4.30.1 as attesting ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν in Luke 13:10; however, that a "question" or "objection" concerning a healing on the Sabbath is mentioned, along with v. 15 immediately following, makes it more likely that v. 14 is in view. Though the idea of healing on Sabbath days is present, no insight can be gained into the actual wording of the verse. The citation of v. 15 has several interesting elements and Harnack reconstructed

247 For the former reading IGNTP lists only Marcion as a witness, and concerning the latter rendering Harnack simply stated "so ist '*dinoscentes*' zu verstehen" (*Marcion*, 217*).

248 As already noted οἴδατε δοκιμάζειν is universally attested in the first phrase, and it is the reading of P^{75}, A, B, and several other manuscripts and versions in the second phrase (the other witnesses attest δοκιμάζετε). The fact that Tertullian uses different Latin verbs is not problematic as he is notorious for his vocabulary variation (cf. Roth, "Did Tertullian Possess?," *passim*). Alternatively, Tertullian could be highlighting different elements of the phrase.

249 Moreschini follows the emendation of Kroymann (*sabbati<s>*) as M, γ, R1, and R2 read *sabbati*, and R3, along with the other editors, reads *sabbato*. Braun calls the correction by Kroymann "pleinement justifiée" (*Contra Marcion IV*, 381n6).

250 Moreschini reads *solvit* with R3, apparently viewing *solvet* in *M*, γ, R1, and R2 as erroneous. However, given Tertullian's inclination at times to use the future in his citations, he may well have written *solvet*.

ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τοῖς σάββασι [*sic*] (τ. σαββάτῳ?) οὐ λύει τὸν ὄνον αὐτοῦ ἢ τὸν βοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς φάτνης καὶ ἀπαγαγὼν ποτίζει;[251] The otherwise unattested plural *sabbatis* probably should be attributed to Tertullian.[252] Given Tertullian's word order, it is not clear why Harnack placed αὐτοῦ after "donkey" and not after "ox." IGNTP lists Marcion as being the only witness for the reading τὸν ὄνον ἢ τὸν βοῦν αὐτοῦ; whereas, 69 reads as Harnack reconstructed.[253] 69 is also the only witness to attest "donkey" before "ox" in this verse and it ultimately cannot be determined if this order was found in Marcion's text or if the elements were inverted in Tertullian's citation.[254] Finally, ἀπαγαγὼν ποτίζει may very well be correct as ἀπάγει τῷ ὕδατι (rendering *ducit ad potum*) is not attested in any Greek manuscript, and, according to IGNTP, is witnessed only in l, r[1], geo, and Ambrose.

5.59 Luke 13:19

4.30.1—*Simile est regnum dei, inquit, grano sinapis, quod accepit homo et seminavit in horto suo*.[255]

Tertullian cites Luke 13:19a in 4.30.1 and Harnack reconstructed ὁμοία ἐστὶν κόκκῳ σινάπεως, ὃν λαβὼν ἄνθρωπος ἔσπειρεν εἰς κῆπον ἑαυτοῦ (ἐν τ. ἑαυτοῦ κήπῳ?).[256] Though IGNTP views *regnum dei* as part of Marcion's text,[257] given that Tertullian makes no mention of the questions in Luke 13:18 it is probably

251 Harnack, *Marcion*, 217*.

252 According to IGNTP Irenaeus attests τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων, but that reading also could be due to Irenaeus himself and not a reading actually found in a manuscript. It is worth remembering that in 4.12.10 in the citation of Luke 6:9 Tertullian also wrote *sabbatis*, though in that case there is manuscript evidence for the plural. Tertullian's ability to alternate between the singular and plural is particularly clear in a few examples from 2.21 (singular in 2.21.1 and plural in 2.21.2) and 4.12 (singular in 4.12.1, 3, 6, 7, 14 and plural in 4.12.5, 9, 13, 15).

253 Harnack, however, was unaware of the testimony of this manuscript as he believed that the order attested by Tertullian was unattested elsewhere (*Marcion*, 217*).

254 The only other occurrence of *asinus* and *bos* together in *Adversus Marcionem* is in 3.6.7 in the citation of Isa 1:3 where the order is *agnovit bos possessroem suum et asinus praesepe domini sui*. The terms do not occur together anywhere else in the NT.

255 Allusions to elements in Luke 13:19 also occur in 4.30.2.

256 Harnack, *Marcion*[1], 199*. The reconstruction in *Marcion*, 217* is identical except that the final element simply reads εἰς κῆπον, where it appears that ἑαυτοῦ was erroneously omitted.

257 The same position is taken by Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:477.

Tertullian's addition in order to clarify what v. 19 was about. Up until the final element in the verse, the manuscript tradition is fairly uniform and Tertullian's testimony unproblematic. The same cannot be said for *seminavit in horto suo*. Harnack noted "ἔσπειρεν allein [IGNTP indicates that it is also the reading of aeth], aber nach Matt. 13, 31" and his reconstruction reveals his uncertainty concerning the prepositional phrase. It is possible that Matt 13:31 can shed light on more than simply the verb. The entire phrase in Matthew reads ἔσπειρεν ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ αὐτοῦ. If Tertullian has greater familiarity with the Matthean text, he may have begun harmonizing elements from Marcion's Gospel and the Matthean reading at the end of the citation. This suggestion would explain the Matthean verb and prepositional phrase as well as the Lukan *horto*. If this supposition is correct, it is also possible that the addition of *regnum dei* is partially due to the influence of Matt 13:31. Ultimately, however, in the absence of multiple citation or multiple attestation Marcion's reading remains obscure.

5.60 Luke 13:20–21

4.30.3—*De sequenti plane similitudine vereor ne forte alterius dei regno portendat. Fermento enim comparavit illud, …*

Tertullian's testimony reveals that the parable in Luke 13:20–21 was present in Marcion's text, though very little insight into the exact wording can be gained. Nothing beyond the nearly universally attested τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ (v. 20) and ὁμοία ἐστὶν ζύμῃ (v. 21) can be reconstructed.[258]

5.61 Luke 13:25–27

4.30.4—*Cum surrexerit, inquit, pater familiae; … Et cluserit ostium: … quibus pulsantibus respondebit: Nescio unde sitis, et rursus enumerantibus quod coram illo ederint et biberint et in plateis eorum docuerit, adiciet: Recedite a me omnes operarii iniquitatis*: …

Tertullian cites several elements from Luke 13:25, which Harnack reconstructed ἐὰν ἐγερθῇ ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης καὶ ἀποκλείσῃ τὴν θύραν … κρούειν .. ἀποκριθεὶς (ἐρεῖ)· οὐκ οἶδα πόθεν ἔστε.[259] Most of this reconstruction is unproblematic, though two elements should be noted. First, Harnack viewed the opening ἐάν as attested by the Vulgate and "Itala" (reading *cum*); however,

258 Harnack also offered no further reconstructed elements (*Marcion*, 217*).

259 Ibid., 217*–18*.

IGNTP does not interpret the evidence from these Latin witnesses as rendering a Greek text different from the almost uniformly attested ἀφ᾽ οὗ ἄν.[260] Insisting that *cum* renders ἐάν over-reads the Latin. Second, Harnack viewed ὑμᾶς after οἶδα as absent from Marcion's text.[261] The omission of the pronoun, though, may very well be due to Tertullian. It is worth noting that Tertullian not mentioning "the door" again after *pulsantibus* did not lead Harnack to conclude that it was absent in Marcion's text,[262] but merely that the word was unattested (note Harnack's two dots after κρούειν).

The adaptation of v. 26 attests the largely unproblematic phrase ἐφάγομεν ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ ἐπίομεν καὶ ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις ἡμῶν ἐδίδαξας. No witness attests ἐνώπιον before ἐφάγομεν, revealing that Tertullian's word order is almost certainly not arising from Marcion's text. Elsewhere only a few witnesses exhibit minor variation.

The citation of v. 27 attests the reply of the master of the house to the man knocking: ἀπόστητε ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ πάντες ἐργάται ἀνομίας/ἀδικίας.[263] Concerning the final word, Harnack reconstructed Marcion's text with the former. He rightly noted that ἀνομίας (cf. Matt 7:23 and Ps 6:9) is attested by a few witnesses, including D.[264] Braun, however, states, "Le text de Luc, conservé par Marcion, se sert de l'expression 'ouvriers d'iniquité' (ἐργάται ἀδικίας)."[265] Part of the problem is that *iniquitas* could render either term.[266] Even if Harnack is right, and the general pattern of Tertullian's Latin leans in that direction,[267] it still may not have been the reading of Marcion's text as Tertullian could have been influenced by the Matthean wording or the Psalm.

260 Ibid., 218*. ἀφ᾽ οὗ ἄν occurs only here in the NT. According to IGNTP the first two words (ἀφ᾽ οὗ) are almost universally attested, though several manuscripts then read ἔαν instead of ἄν.

261 Harnack stated the omission was otherwise unattested (*Marcion*, 218*); however, c and possibly r^1 also omit it.

262 It is absent in D, several OL manuscripts, and a few other witnesses.

263 *Operarii* could be either vocative or nominative and therefore cannot distinguish between οἱ ἐργάται and ἐργάται. The latter, which is the reading of many manuscripts including P^{75}, ℵ, B, and D is more likely.

264 Harnack, *Marcion*, 218*.

265 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 386n1.

266 The OL witnesses and the Vulgate employ *iniquitas* in both Matt 7:23 and Luke 13:27.

267 Tertullian cites 6 of the 24 NT verses with ἀδικία, and only in 5.16.5 (2 Thess 2:12) does he use *iniquitas*. In every other instance he employs *iniustitia* (4.33.1 [Luke 16:9], 5.13.2 [Rom 1:18], *Pud*. 19.14 [1 John 1:9], *Pud*. 19.28 [1 John 5:17], *Res*. 25.19 [2 Thess 2:10]). He cites only 2 of the 13 verses with ἀνομία, using *iniquitas* in *Pud*. 15.11 (2 Cor 6:14) and *delictum* in 5.16.4 (2 Thess 2:3).

5.62 Luke 14:12

4.31.1—*Ad prandium vel ad cenam quales vocari iubet?*

Very little insight into the wording of Luke 14:12 in Marcion's text can be gained from the brief allusion in Tertullian's question, though it is clear that it contained a reference to ἄριστον ἢ δεῖπνον and the verb φώνει.

5.63 Luke 14:16–24

4.31.2—…*Homo quidam fecit cenam et vocavit multos.* | 4.31.3—*Dehinc si is mittit ad convivas qui cenam paravit,* … | 4.31.4—*Excusant se invitati.* … *Agrum emi, et boves mercatus sum, et uxorem duxi.* | 4.31.5—*Hoc ut patri familiae renuntiatum est, motus tunc—bene quod et motus, negat enim Marcion moveri deum suum: ita et hoc meus est—mandat de plateis et vicis civitatis facere sublectionem.* | 4.31.6—*Itaque misit ad alios vocandos ex eadem adhuc civitate. Dehinc loco abundante praecepit etiam de viis et sepibus colligi,* … *spem* … *de qua illos gustaturos negat dominus,* …[268]

Tertullian attests numerous elements in the parable found in Luke 14:16–24, and its Lukan character (cf. the parallel in Matt 22:2–14) reveals its general reflection of Marcion's text. Based on the citation of v. 16 Harnack reconstructed ἄνθρωπός τις ἐποίει δεῖπνον καὶ ἐκάλεσεν πολλούς.[269] It is possible, however, that *fecit* is rendering ἐποίησε, which NA[28] indicates is the reading of the Majority Text and of A, D, L, W, Θ, Ψ, and *f*[13] among others.[270] In addition, though Harnack believed Marcion's text did not read δεῖπνον μέγα, the absence of μέγα could be a simple omission by Tertullian.[271] For v. 17, Tertullian's general reference in 4.31.3 reflects only the universally attested ἀπέστειλεν. In 4.31.4, the allusion to vv. 18–20 uses an extreme economy of words attesting the unproblematic elements [ἤρξαντο] παραιτεῖσθαι … ἀγρὸν ἠγόρασα (v. 18), [ζεύγη] βοῶν ἠγόρασα (v. 19), and γυναῖκα ἔγημα (v. 20).[272]

From Tertullian's testimony in 4.31.6, for v. 21, Harnack reconstructed ἀπήγγειλεν … τότε ἐπαρθεὶς[273] ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης … εἰς τὰς πλατείας καὶ ῥύμας τῆς

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268 An additional allusion to this parable occurs in 4.31.7.

269 Harnack, *Marcion*, 218*.

270 ἐποίει is the reading of P[75], ℵ, and B.

271 According to IGNTP μέγα is absent in X, 213, 1080, e, sy[p], one manuscript of bo, and arm.

272 D, sy[s], sy[c], and the Persian Diatessaron read γυναῖκα ἔλαβον.

273 Though Harnack wrote ἐπαρθείς in his text, in the apparatus he noted "ἐπαρθείς oder κινηθείς oder ähnlich" (*Marcion*, 219*). κινηθείς was the reading suggested by Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:478.

πόλεως....[274] Again, nearly all of the elements are unproblematic, though the otherwise unattested ἐπαρθεὶς, from Tertullian's use of *movere*, merits brief comment. According to IGNTP, apart from 1654 (ἐγερθείς) and D* (ὀργεις), the entire extant manuscript tradition here reads ὀργισθείς. Zahn is probably right when he argued it to be unlikely that Tertullian would have translated ὀργισθείς with *motus*, and it is probable that Marcion's text read another Greek verb; however, precisely what that verb was remains obscure.[275] Finally, Tertullian attests only a few unproblematic elements from vv. 22–24: ἔτι τόπος ἐστίν (v. 22), εἲς τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ φραγμούς (v. 23), and οὐδείς ... γεύσεται (v. 24).

5.64 Luke 16:2, 4–7

4.33.1—...*secundum servi illius exemplum qui ab actu summotus dominicos debitores diminutis cautionibus relevat in subsidium sibi*:...

In the parable in Luke 16:1–9, v. 9 is multiply cited. In 4.33.1 Tertullian alludes to the servant having been removed from his office (v. 2) and to his creating security for himself by reducing the obligations of his master's debtors (vv. 4–7). For none of these verses, however, can any specific reading of Marcion's text be reconstructed.

5.65 Luke 16:11–12

4.33.4—...*quomodo dictum: Si*[*t*] *in mamona iniusto fideles non extitistis, quod verum est quis vobis credet?... Et: Si in alieno fideles inventi non estis, meum quis dabit vobis?... Quis vobis credet quod verius est? et: Quis vobis dabit quod meum est?*

In 4.33.4 Tertullian cites the two questions found in Luke 16:11–12. Harnack reconstructed v. 11 εἰ ἐν τῷ ἀδίκῳ μαμωνᾷ πιστοὶ οὐκ ἐγένεσθε, τὸ ἀληθινὸν τίς ὑμῖν

274 Harnack, *Marcion*, 219*. Based on 4.31.6 ἔξελθε should also be included in the reconstruction.

275 Harris attempted to argue that *motus* was rendering ὀργισθείς here (*Codex Bezae*, 187), though Plooij correctly points out "it seems a little doubtful whether the word *motus* taken by itself and not... defined by the context, could be used simply as an equivalent for *iratus*" (*A Further Study*, 75). In personal conversation Paul Parvis made the intriguing suggestion that Marcion replaced ὀργισθείς with ὁρμηθείς, which employs a verb not elsewhere found in the manuscript tradition here and not present in the NT, but similar in orthography to the reading of Luke 14:21.

πιστεύσει;[276] Most of the verse is unproblematic, though the omission of the conjunction οὖν, also absent in a few other manuscripts and versions, could very well have been due to Tertullian.[277] It is also worth noting that Harnack did not follow Tertullian's word order for *mamona iniusto* or consider the altered order in Tertullian's second citation of the final element of the question. Harnack was probably correct on both counts as μαμωνᾷ ἀδίκῳ is virtually unattested in the manuscript tradition and the second citation, including the otherwise unattested *verius*, seems altered by Tertullian's own hand.[278]

Concerning v. 12, Harnack reconstructed εἰ ἐν τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ πιστοὶ οὐχ εὑρέθητε, τὸ ἐμὸν τίς δώσει ὑμῖν.[279] First, once again, the otherwise unattested omission of the conjunction καί is due to Tertullian having linked his thoughts with *et*. Second, given that Tertullian wrote *fideles non extitistis* in v. 11 and *fideles inventi non estis* here, it is likely that Marcion's text read εὑρέθητε,[280] also attested in sy^{s}, sy^{p}, and the Arabic Diatessaron. Third, e, i, and l, along with manuscript 157 read ἐμόν, and it is possible that Tertullian's *meum* is reflecting the reading in Marcion's text.[281] Finally, though numerous manuscripts and witnesses, including ℵ and D, read δώσει ὑμῖν, the fact that Tertullian often alters the position of pronouns and in the second citation writes *vobis dabit* reveals that once again it is possible, though not certain, that Harnack's reconstruction is reflecting Marcion's text.

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276 Harnack, *Marcion*, 219*.

277 IGNTP lists Marcion as a witness for the omission.

278 Braun comments "A si proche distance T. ne reprend pas le fragment de verset sous sa forme exacte (*uerum* > *uerius*)" (*Contre Marcion IV*, 405n5). It therefore seems unnecessary to consider the two wordings as "variant quotations" of Marcion's text as Williams, "Reconsidering Marcion's Gospel," 479n7 does. In addition, providing only this example, where Tertullian's own hand appears rather easily discernible, of a "variant quotation" of a verse in Marcion's Gospel simply cannot bear the weight of the sweeping conclusion "not only is it impossible to establish the genuine reading from Marcion's Gospel in the case of a variant quotation, but this situation casts doubt on the wording of all the quotations in *Adv. Marc*." (ibid., 479).

279 Harnack, *Marcion*, 219*.

280 The same point is made by Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:479.

281 Unless it is Marcion's reading that appears elsewhere in the manuscript tradition, the presence of some other manuscript evidence for the reading means that Harnack's assumption that the reading reflects a tendentious alteration by Marcion and Evans's comment that the reading was "Marcion's invention" (*Adversus Marcionem*, 445n3) may not be correct. Braun simply observes that Marcion reads τὸ ἐμόν with other witnesses and does not speculate as to the origin of the reading (*Contre Marcion IV*, 404n4).

5.66 Luke 16:14–15

4.33.2—*Cui famulatam videns Pharisaeorum cupiditatem … Inridebant denique Pharisaei pecuniae cupidi, …* | 4.33.6—*Si autem et iustificantes se coram hominibus Pharisaei … adicit: Scit autem deus corda vestra, … Quod elatum est apud homines, perosum est deo, …*

In 4.33.2 Tertullian makes a reference to two elements in Luke 16:14: οἱ Φαρισαῖοι φιλάργυροι and ἐξεμυκτήριζον, neither of which presents any difficulties. In 4.33.6 Tertullian alludes to the nearly uniformly attested ὑμεις ἐστὲ οἱ δικαιοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων in v. 15 and then quotes γινώσκει δὲ ὁ θεὸς τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν, where once again the otherwise unattested order is likely due to Tertullian. The final element in v. 15 is rendered more loosely as Tertullian attests τὸ ὑψηλὸν ἐστιν παρὰ ἀνθρώποις βδέλυγμα ἐστιν τῷ θεῷ.[282] Given that the word order ὑψηλὸν παρὰ ἀνθρώποις is weakly attested, with παρά instead of ἐν virtually unattested;[283] the absence of ἐνώπιον before "God" is unattested; and ἐστιν is placed either before ἐνώπιον or omitted altogether;[284] it is possible that Tertullian has here been influenced by the wording of Luke 18:27 (τὰ ἀδύνατα παρὰ ἀνθρώποις δυνατὰ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ἐστιν). In any case, the precise reading of Marcion's text remains obscure.

5.67 Luke 16:17

4.33.9—*Transeat igitur caelum et terra citius, sicut et lex et prophetae, quam unus, apex verborum domini.*

Harnack reconstructed Luke 16:17 εὐκοπώτερον (δέ ἐστιν) τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν παρελθεῖν ἢ τῶν λόγων μου μίαν κεραίαν (πεσεῖν), again apparently assuming that the otherwise unattested word order is due to Tertullian.[285] Noteworthy is the otherwise unattested reading τῶν λόγων instead of the canonical τοῦ νόμου, which Harnack attributed to a tendentious alteration by Marcion.[286] Wright,

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282 Harnack stated that the final element of this verse was unattested (*Marcion*, 220*). Tsutsui rightly noted that Harnack's statement appears to have been due to an oversight ("Evangelium," 111).

283 579 and three church fathers read παρά.

284 The former is the case for several manuscripts including most OL witnesses and the omission is attested in numerous manuscripts, including P^{75}, א, A, B, and D.

285 Harnack, *Marcion*, 220*.

286 Ibid. Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 111 and Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 410n2 share Harnack's view.

however, notices that Tertullian follows this reference with *Verbum, enim inquit Esaias, dei nostri manet in aevum* (Isa 40:8), and contends that the tendency and reading are "with difficulty" attributed to Marcion as Tertullian's argument may be responsible for the wording.[287] In addition, though Harnack and Tsutsui noted the point of contact with Luke 21:33, they did not consider the possibility that Tertullian, rather than Marcion's text, was being influenced by Matt 24:35//Mark 13:31//Luke 21:33. Related to this point is the reading πεσεῖν, which Harnack considered uncertain,[288] as Tertullian implies that *transeat* governs both elements of the verse. This construction is, in fact, found in Matt 24:35 and parallels and thus may be a further indication of the influence of that passage on the wording in 4.33.9.[289] Thus, Marcion's precise wording cannot be established with certainty.

5.68 Luke 16:18

4.34.1—*Sed Christus divortium prohibet dicens: Qui dimiserit uxorem suam et aliam duxerit, adulterium committet; qui dimissam a viro duxerit, aeque adulter est*: ... | 4.34.4—*Qui dimiserit, inquit, uxorem, et aliam duxerit, adulterium commisit, et qui a marito dimissam duxerit, aeque adulter est*.[290] | 4.34.9—... *inlicitorum matrimoniorum et adulterii figuras iaculatus est in Herodem, adulterum pronuntians etiam qui dimissam a viro duxerit*, ...[291]

Tertullian makes several references to Luke 16:18, two of which are quotations. Harnack privileged the first citation and reconstructed ὁ ἀπολύων τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ γαμῶν ἑτέραν[292] μοιχεύει, καὶ ὁ ἀπολελυμένην ἀπὸ ἀνδρ ς [*sic*] γαμῶν ὁμοίως μοιχός ἐστιν.[293] The omission of πᾶς at the outset of the verse is otherwise unattested, and it may be a simple omission on the part of Tertullian, possibly due to the influence of the synoptic parallels as Matt 19:9//Mark 10:11

287 Wright, *Alterations*, 133. The potential influence of Isa 40:8 was also considered with regard to Luke 21:33, discussed in chapter 4.4.91.

288 Cf. Harnack's comment in the apparatus (*Marcion*, 220*).

289 When referring to Luke 21:33 Tertullian writes *transeat age nunc caelum et terra* (4.39.18). It should be noted, though, that παρελθεῖν is also attested by several witnesses here in Luke 16:17.

290 Moreschini's text reads *adulter est* with *M, X,* and R3, rejecting *adulter* in R1 and R2 and *est* in *F*.

291 An additional allusion to Luke 16:18 occurs in 5.7.6.

292 IGNTP interprets *aliam* in several OL manuscripts as rendering ἄλλην instead of ἑτέραν. This interpretation, however, seems unnecessary.

293 Harnack, *Marcion*, 220*.

do not use the adjective. Thus, the omission of the second πᾶς, though attested in the manuscript tradition, may also be a simple omission.[294] In addition, Tertullian's use of finite verbs was rightly not retained by Harnack, as Tertullian is using them to render the Greek participles.[295] Once again, Tertullian's inclination to alter word order (*qui dimissam a viro duxerit* in 4.34.1, 9 and *qui a marito dimissam duxerit* in 4.34.4), inconsistently render pronouns (*suam* present in 4.34.1 and absent in 4.34.4), and alter vocabulary (*a viro* and *a marito*) are evident. Finally, Harnack's interpretation of the conclusion of the verse (*aeque adulter est*) results in the otherwise unattested ὁμοίως μοιχός ἐστιν, and it may be the case that Tertullian is paraphrasing.

5.69 Luke 16:23, 26

4.34.10—. . . *subsequens argumentum divitis apud inferos dolentis et pauperis in sinu Abrahae requiescentis*. | 4.34.11–12—. . . *sive tormenti sive refrigerii apud inferos . . . Respondebimus et <ad> haec* [Marcion's interpretation], *ipsa scriptura revincente oculos eius, qui ad inferos discernit Abrahae sinum pauperi. . . . Nam et magnum ait intercidere regiones istas profundum et transitum utrimque prohibere. Sed nec adlevasset dives oculos, et quidem de longinquo, . . .*

These two verses out of the account of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19–31) are also attested in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Tertullian's testimony to v. 23 attests ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ,[296] ἐπάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ, [ὑπάρχων] ἐν βασάνοις, [Ἀβραὰμ] ἀπὸ μακρόθεν, and ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ [αὐτοῦ].[297] In v. 26 the allusion in 4.34.11, though the statement of the prohibition to pass from one side to the other clearly arises from the verse, directly attests only the words χάσμα μέγα.[298]

294 πᾶς before ὁ ἀπολελυμένην is not present in B, D, L, 69, all OL manuscripts, and various other versions.

295 According to IGNTP the participles are uniformly attested in the manuscript tradition.

296 IGNTP is potentially confusing here as it lists Marcion as a witness for the reading ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ at the end of v. 22 and as omitting καὶ ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ in v. 23. Though most OL witnesses read the singular *inferno*, according to the data in Claesson, *Index Tertullianeus, s.v.*, Tertullian only employs the noun *infernus* 7 times in his corpus, and almost exclusively uses a plural form of *inferus* as a substantive. Thus, there is no reason to posit a plural Greek noun behind *inferos*.

297 The singular τῷ κόλπῳ is also read in D and every OL manuscript except, interestingly, d and e.

298 According to IGNTP the word order μέγα χάσμα is only attested in 1194, 1352, and the Arabic Diatessaron and may therefore be due to Tertullian.

5.70 Luke 17:1–3

4.35.1—*Conversus ibidem ad discipulos, Vae, dicit, auctori scandalorum: expedisse ei, si natus non fuisset, aut si molino*[299] *saxo ad collum deligato praecipitatus esset in profundum, quam unum ex illis modicis utique discipulis eius scandalizasset.* | 4.35.2—*Peccantem fratrem iubet corripi*; …

Luke 17:1 is also attested in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. For vv. 1 and 3 Tertullian's testimony provides minimal insight. 4.35.1 attests the unproblematic οὐαί and τὰ σκάνδαλα for v. 1, but the precise reading, and the Greek behind *auctori scandalorum*, cannot be determined.[300] 4.35.2 alludes to v. 3, but given the significant variation in the manuscript tradition, minimal insight can be gained into Marcion's reading. That the verb ἁμαρτάνω appeared is clear, but its precise form cannot be determined. The only other elements attested are the unproblematic ὁ ἀδελφός and ἐπιτίμησον.

Luke 17:2 is attested in greater detail and Harnack reconstructed συνέφερεν αὐτῷ, εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη ἢ εἰ μυλικὸς λίθος περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ περιέκειτο καὶ ἔρριπτο εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἢ ἵνα ἕνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων σκανδαλίσῃ.[301] First, though the attestation of συνέφερεν in d (συνφέρει in D and e) makes it possible that Marcion's text read as Harnack reconstructed, the influence of Matt 18:6 (συμφέρει) on Tertullian cannot be excluded. In addition, the tenses reconstructed by Harnack may be reflecting Marcion's text; however, despite some attestation in the manuscript tradition, they also may be due to Tertullian's adaptation.[302] Third, Harnack noted that εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη comes from Matt 26:24,[303] and most OL manuscripts (but not e) also attest this reading along with Rufinus's translation of Origen's homilies in Numbers. The possibility that Marcion's text contained the phrase cannot be excluded.[304] Finally, Harnack

299 For brief comments on this early use of the adjective *molinus* by Tertullian cf. Andrew Wilson, "Water-Mills at Amida: Ammianus Marcellinus 18.8.11," *CQ* 51 (2001): 233.

300 It is also unclear whether Tertullian's rendering reveals the influence of Matt 18:7 on either Marcion's text or the reference to it as there, unlike in Luke, τὸ σκάνδαλον is repeated after the "woe."

301 Harnack, *Marcion*, 222*–23*.

302 According to IGNTP, in addition to συνέφερεν, discussed above, περιέκειτο and ἔρριπτο are attested by D, a, d, r1, e, and Basil of Caesarea. For these verbs Luke reads a present followed by a perfect.

303 Harnack, *Marcion*, 222*. Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 429n4 concurs.

304 Elements from Matt 26:24//Mark 14:21 and Matt 18:6//Mark 9:42//Luke 17:2 also appear together in the often-discussed passage in *1 Clem.* 46.8 (cf. Donald Alfred Hagner, *The Use of the Old and New Testaments in Clement of Rome* [NovTSup 34; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973], 152–64, especially 157–58).

is inclined to follow Tertullian's word order, though the otherwise unattested μυλικὸς λίθος, περιέκειτο following the περί prepositional phrase, and σκανδαλίσῃ occurring at the end of the verse cannot definitively be ascribed to Marcion's text.

5.71 Luke 17:11–12a, 14–19

4.35.4—…*Christum … praevenientem sollemnia legis etiam in curatione decem leprosorum, quos tantummodo ire iussos ut se ostenderent sacerdotibus, in itinere purgavit, sine tactu iam et sine verbo, tacita potestate et sola voluntate*.[305] | 4.35.7—*Sed et quod in manifesto fuit legis praecepit: Ite, ostendite vos sacerdotibus*.[306] | 4.35.9—*In Samariae regionibus res agebatur, unde erat et unus interim ex leprosis*. | 4.35.11—*Unde et unum illum solutum ex decem memorem divinae gratiae Samariten miratus non mandat offerre munus ex lege, quia satis iam obtulerat gloriam deo reddens, … Fides tua te salvum fecit …*

As mentioned above in the discussion of Luke 4:27, both Tertullian and Epiphanius attest that verse's presence in this pericope.[307] For Luke 17:11–12, 14–19, vv. 12 and 14 are also attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian's testimony to v. 12 attests δέκα λεπροί, though whether ἄνδρες was present, and if so, where it occurred in the phrase is not clear. Tertullian makes several references, including one citation in 4.35.7, to v. 14 attesting πορευθέντες ἐπιδείξατε ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν … ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν … ἐκαθαρίσθησαν.[308] The final elements of the verse, which are not attested by Epiphanius, are largely unproblematic.

305 In 4.35.6, 10 Tertullian again makes reference to these "ten."

306 An additional allusion to Luke 17:14 occurs in 4.35.10. In 4.35.8 Tertullian makes the confusing statement *Sed cur pristine leproso nihil tale praecepit?* Both Evans (trans.), *Adversus Marcionem*, 461n1 and Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 436n1 point out that this original leper cannot be the leper in Luke 5:12–16 because he did receive such an order. An oversight on the part of Tertullian seems likely.

307 Harnack contended that it was inserted before πορευθέντες in v. 14, which, in the light of how Tertullian introduces the material in 4.35.6 (*Nunc etsi praefatus est*) and Epiphanius's testimony in *Pan*. 42.11.6 (48), is probably correct (*Marcion*, 223*; Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 114 concurs; this was also the probable position according to Hilgenfeld, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, 425, 442). Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:481 and IGNTP add it after ἱερεῦσιν. Zahn rightly criticized the views of Hahn, *Evangelium Marcions*, 189 (insertion after v. 14) and Volckmar, *Evangelium Marcions*, 83, 151 (insertion in v. 18), though he admitted that Hilgenfeld may have been right (*Geschichte*, 2:483).

308 Tertullian's use of *ostendere* cannot provide definitive insight into whether Marcion's text employed ἐπιδείκνυμι or δείκνυμι. This point is confirmed by the OL using *ostendere* to

For the verses attested only by Tertullian, in 4.35.9 he alludes to Σαμαρείας in v. 11 and [αὐτὸς ἦν] Σαμαρίτης in v. 16. In 4.35.11 Tertullian attests εἷς … ἐξ αὐτῶν in v. 15;[309] however, though Jesus' questions in vv. 17 and 18 seem to be assumed, only δοῦναι δόξαν τῷ θεῷ can be reconstructed. Near the end of the section, Tertullian cites the final element of v. 19: ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε.[310]

5.72 Luke 17:20–21

4.35.12—*Sed nec Pharisaei possunt videri de alterius dei regno consuluisse dominum, quando venturum sit, … Non venit, inquit, regnum dei cum observatione, nec dicunt: Ecce hic, ecce illic; ecce enim regnum dei intra vos est. … intra vos est, …* | 4.35.13—*Hoc erit: non hic nec illic; ecce enim intra vos est regnum dei.*

Though Tertullian alludes only to the first half of Luke 17:20, since the manuscript attestation is fairly uniform, the reconstruction ἐπερωτηθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Φαρισαίων πότε ἔρχεται ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ is unproblematic. The citation of v. 20b straightforwardly attests the reply οὐκ ἔρχεται ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ παρατηρήσεως.[311] v. 21, as cited in 4.35.12 is also relatively unproblematic, though there are slight differences in the repetition in 4.35.13. Harnack and Braun rightly see the second instance as having been altered by Tertullian and it is worth noting once again the ease with which Tertullian changes the wording of a verse (*non* instead of *ecce*) and alters the position of elements (*intra vos est*) in a citation.[312] Harnack reconstructed οὐδὲ ἐροῦσιν· ἰδοὺ ὧδε, ἰδοὺ ἐκεῖ· ἰδοῦ γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστίν,[313] concerning which three comments need to be made. First, Tsutsui draws attention to Tertullian's *dicunt*

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render both terms. According to IGNTP, 157, 1424, and 1675 are the only manuscripts reading δείξατε, which is why, without bringing Epiphanius's testimony into the discussion, I here write ἐπιδείξατε.

309 Harnack apparently used the reference to giving glory to God (v. 18) to also reconstruct δοξάζων τὸν θεόν for v. 15; however, the phrase is actually unattested for v. 15, and the reference to v. 18 should not be used to reconstruct v. 15.

310 Concerning the word order cf. n. 106. Harnack apparently believed that *miratus* also reflected an element in Marcion's text and therefore wrote (καὶ) θαυμάσας αὐτὸν (εἶπεν αὐτῷ) at the beginning of v. 19 (*Marcion*, 224*). The supposition of the presence of such an otherwise unattested element, however, is unnecessary as *miratus* could be Tertullian's interpretation of the sentiment behind the questions in vv. 17–18.

311 Harnack, *Marcion*, 224* reconstructed the verse the same way.

312 Ibid. and Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 441n4.

313 Harnack, *Marcion*, 224*.

(present instead of future) and notes "Wenn das direkte Zitat Tertullians zuverlässig ist, dann darf man wohl daraus folgern, daß Marcion hier die Gegenwart des Gottesreichs hervorheben wollte."[314] Tsutsui recognizes that the future is prevalent in the manuscript tradition with only l and s reading *dicunt*.[315] Regardless of whether one finds Tsutsui's suggested reason for a theologically driven alteration by Marcion convincing, it seems more likely that Tertullian may, in this case, have rendered a future with the present.[316] This view becomes even more likely when it is recognized that the immediately preceding verb *venit* (present) may have influenced Tertullian and that the focus of Tertullian's argument is on the final words of v. 21. Second, NA^{28} does not include the second ἰδού, noting however that ἤ ἰδοὺ ἐκεῖ is the reading of several manuscripts including A, D, W, Ψ, $f^{1.13}$, the Majority Text, OL, and sy$^{c.p.h}$. Finally, though numerous late witnesses omit ἤ before this second ἰδού, the conjunction may have been omitted by Tertullian.

5.73 Luke 17:25–26, 28, 32

4.35.14—*Dicens enim filium hominis ante multa pati et reprobari oportere, ante adventum suum, …* | 4.35.16—*Sed si de suo loquitur adventu, cur eum diebus Noe et Loth comparat tetris et atrocibus, deus et lenis et mitis? Cur admonet meminisse uxoris Loth, …*

In 4.35.16 Tertullian adapts Luke 17:25, reconstructed by Harnack πρῶτον δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου (αὐτὸν?) πολλὰ παθεῖν καὶ ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι …[317] There are several difficulties with following Harnack's suggested reading. First, though δέ after πρῶτον is omitted by a handful of manuscripts, it may here be a simple omission by Tertullian. Second, it is highly doubtful that the otherwise unattested τὸν υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου appeared in Marcion's text. Though vv. 22–24 are unattested in Tertullian, Epiphanius attests v. 22 and in all likelihood

314 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 115.

315 e reads *dicens*, and according to IGNTP all other witnesses attest the future.

316 It appears that this is an instance where Tsutsui's giving undue weight to a "direct quote" by Tertullian has led him to offer an unlikely reconstruction of Marcion's reading.

317 Harnack, *Marcion*, 224*. In *Marcion*[1], 206* Harnack wrote "Ob ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης gefehlt hat? Wahrscheinlich." In the second edition, however, he removed "Wahrscheinlich." The element is unattested, and since Tertullian focuses simply on the idea of "rejection" and "honored" in the following argument and citation of Ps 118:22, the omission could well be due to him. In any case, the comment by Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:483 that the omission appears certain is overstated.

Tertullian replaced αὐτόν with "Son of Man," taken from the context, in order to clarify the reference.[318] On the other hand, Harnack rightly did not rearrange the words in the verse based on Tertullian's word order.

In 4.35.16 Tertullian refers to [ἐν] ταῖς ἡμέραις Νῶε (v. 26) and [ἐν] ταῖς ἡμέραις Λώτ (v. 28); however, nothing else from these verses can be reconstructed. For Luke 17:32, Tertullian's question references the unproblematic μνημονεύετε τῆς γυναικὸς Λώτ.[319]

5.74 Luke 18:1–3, 5, 7

4.36.1—*Nam et orandi perseverantiam et instantiam mandans parabolam iudicis ponit coacti audire viduam instantia et perseverantia interpellationum eius.... Sed subiunxit facturum deum vindictam electorum suorum.... quem electorum suorum clamantium ad eum die et nocte vindicem ostendit.*

As was the case with Luke 18:9–14 discussed in the previous chapter, Harnack recognized that Tertullian only alludes to elements of the parable in vv. 1–8.[320] Once again, however, Harnack did not allow this fact to dissuade him from offering a reconstruction of the opening verses. Though there is a clear allusion to a parable concerning perseverance and persistence in prayer (v. 1), a judge (v. 2), a widow (v. 3), and her persistence leading to a hearing (v. 5), specific readings remain elusive.[321] At the same time, Tertullian's adaptation of v. 7 later in 4.36.1 does allow greater insight. Harnack reconstructed ὁ θεός ... ποιήσει τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ, where his overlooking Tertullian's reference to τῶν βοώντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός is only one of several problems.[322] The otherwise unattested omission of δέ has all the hallmarks of a simple omission by Tertullian. In addition, though the TR and most OL manuscripts attest ποιήσει, P75, א, B, D, and many other manuscripts read ποιήσῃ. Tertullian's use of a future participle *facturum* may not be due to an underlying Greek future indicative. Finally, in the element not reconstructed by Harnack, Tertullian's *ad eum* may reflect the reading of d and the TR (πρὸς αὐτόν).

318 The same phenomenon occurs in 4.41.1 in Luke 22:22.

319 Tertullian's *admonet meminisse*, however, could be rendering μνημονεύεται found in א, A, N, R, W, and several other manuscripts.

320 Harnack, *Marcion*, 224*.

321 For example, Harnack reconstructed προσεύχεσθαι αὐτούς, though many manuscripts, including D, omit αὐτούς. Harnack also placed παραβολήν in an otherwise unattested position at the end of v. 1. Decisions such as these simply are not warranted based on Tertullian's allusion.

322 Harnack, *Marcion*, 224*–25*.

5.75 Luke 18:18–21, 23

4.36.3—*Sed quis optimus, nisi unus, inquit, deus?* | 4.36.4—*Denique interrogatus ab illo quodam: Praeceptor optime, quid faciens vitam aeternam possidebo?*[323] *de praeceptis creatoris an ea sciret, id est faceret, expostulavit, ad contestandum praecept*[*or*]*is creatoris vitam acquiri sempiternam. Cumque ille principaliora quaeque adfirmasset observasse se ab adulescentia*: … | 4.36.5—*Resciditne Christus priora praecepta non occidendi, non adulterandi, non furandi, non falsum testandi, diligendi patrem et matrem,* … *uti gloriosissimus ille observator praeceptorum pecuniam multo cariorem habiturus traduceretur?* | 4.36.7—… *Praecepta, inquit, scis*; …

In Jesus' encounter with the rich ruler in Luke 18:18–23, v. 22 is multiply cited, v. 19 is also attested by Origen and Hippolytus, vv. 18–21 by Epiphanius, and vv. 18–22 in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. In 4.36.4 Tertullian cites v. 18 attesting διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω.[324] In 4.36.3 his citation of v. 19, rephrased as a question, attests [οὐδεὶς] ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ θεός.[325] Even apart from the evidence of the other sources, since Tertullian concludes his previous discussion with a reference to *deus optimus et ultro bonus* (4.36.2) and then uses the superlative *optimus* six times in 4.36.3–4 it is more likely that the superlative in both verses is due to Tertullian and not to an otherwise unattested reading in Marcion's text. For v. 20 Tertullian attests τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας (4.36.4, 7) and μὴ φονεύσῃς, μὴ μοιχεύσῃς, μὴ κλέψῃς, μή ψευδομαρτυρήσῃς, τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα (4.36.5), though Tertullian's gerundives could also render the Matthean οὐ plus future tense of the verbs. In addition, the order μὴ φονεύσῃς, μὴ μοιχεύσῃς is that of Matt 19:18 and Exod 20:13–14/Deut 5:17–18 in the HB, though it is also attested for Luke in nearly every extant OL manuscript and numerous versions.[326] The barely otherwise attested omission of σου after πατέρα can easily be explained as a simple omission by Tertullian.[327] Finally,

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323 An additional allusion to Luke 18:18–19 occurs in 4.36.6.

324 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:483 rightly connected Tertullian's use of *optime* here to his frequent references to Marcion's God as *deus optimus*.

325 It seems to me that Tertullian is responsible for the reference to v. 19 in the form of a question and that it should not be assumed that Tertullian is attesting Marcion's Gospel as reading a question beginning with *sed quis*, as is done by Williams, "Reconsidering Marcion's Gospel," 481–82n14, 494 following Harnack, *Marcion*, 226*. Cf. also n. 326.

326 Concerning vv. 18–20 Lieu comments "Tertullian, characteristically, is concerned to paraphrase the text and to use it to demonstrate Jesus' compliance with prophetic demands" ("Marcion and the Synoptic Problem," 735).

327 Not reading σου after μητέρα is widely attested in the manuscripts and the possessive pronoun is not included here in critical editions of the NT. Since Epiphanius does not attest

Tertullian's allusion to v. 21 in 4.36.4 attests [ταῦτα πάντα] ἐφύλαξα/ἐφυλαξάμην ἐκ νεότητος.

Tertullian is the only witness for v. 23, and it should be noted that Harnack's comments here are confusing. In his reconstruction, for vv. 23–30 he wrote "unbezeugt?"[328] In his apparatus, however, he stated that v. 23 is attested only by Tertullian's allusion. Harnack then stated that Zahn's attempt to demonstrate that vv. 23–30 were not missing in Marcion's text was not successful and that a reference in the *Adamantius Dialogue* to vv. 24–30 did not arise out of Marcion's text.[329] Tertullian's allusion is not discussed in this context. Yet, the reference to a demonstration of the greater love for wealth on the part of the "boastful keeper of the commandments" (shortly after the citation of v. 22 in 4.36.5) seems to require the presence of v. 23 even if the precise wording of the text cannot be reconstructed.[330]

5.76 Luke 18:35, 37, 39, 43

4.36.9—*Cum igitur praetereuntem illum caecus audisset, … Sed antecedentes increpabant caecum, uti taceret.* | 4.36.12—… *exteriore quoque visione donavit, …* | 4.37.1—… *et omnis populus laudes referebant deo, …*

For the pericope in Luke 18:35–43, vv. 38 and 42 are multiply cited. Of the verses discussed here, vv. 35 and 43 are also attested by Epiphanius, and vv. 35, 37, and 43 in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Tertullian's allusion in 4.36.9 attests only τυφλός (v. 35) and that Jesus παρέρχεται (v. 37). The adaptation of v. 39, a verse for which Tertullian is the only witness, led Harnack to reconstruct οἱ δὲ προάγοντες ἐπετίμων αὐτῷ ἵνα σιωπήσῃ.[331] οἱ δέ is attested by D, e, d, r[1], sa, geo,

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these commands, presumably IGNTP erroneously stated "Marcion apud Epiph" *bis* when "Marcion apud TE" was meant.

328 Harnack, *Marcion*, 226*.

329 Ibid. Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 117 does not note Tertullian's allusion and considers v. 23 unattested.

330 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 448 also recognizes the allusion to v. 23.

331 Harnack, *Marcion*, 227*. In his first edition, Harnack stated that v. 39 had been omitted in Marcion's Gospel, as is the case in several other manuscripts, due to homoeoteleuton (*Marcion*[1], 208*–9*). In the second edition, however, Harnack stated "von Adamant. durch Homöotel. ausgelassen," thus accepting Tertullian's testimony concerning its presence in Marcion's Gospel. Harnack also placed the remainder of the verse in parentheses, though it is unattested by Tertullian. Finally, unlike in Luke 17:25, e.g., Harnack did not have any difficulty assuming Tertullian had replaced a pronoun with its antecedent (here *caecum*).

and Epiphanius Latinus and could also have been the reading in Marcion's text; however, given Tertullian's loose handling of conjunctions the reading καὶ οἱ remains possible. Also, *taceret* could be rendering either σιωπήσῃ or σιγήσῃ, the reading in B, D, L, P, and several other manuscripts. For v. 43 there is an allusion to the healing (4.36.12), and as Tertullian begins his discussion of Zacchaeus in 4.37.1 he makes a reference back to the final element of the verse: καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς … αἶνον ἔδωκεν τῷ θεῷ. According to IGNTP, the order αἶνον ἔδωκεν is elsewhere attested only in gat, thus it may be due to Tertullian.

5.77 Luke 19:2, 6, 8–9

4.37.1—*Consequitur et Zacchaei domus salutem.… exceptum domo sua pascens dominum.… hoc cum maxime promittebat, in omnia misericordiae opera dimidium substantiae offerens,… dicendo: Et si cui quid per calumniam eripui, quadruplum reddo.… Itaque dominus: Hodie, inquit, salus huic domui.*

For the encounter with Zacchaeus, the final verse (v. 10) is multiply cited. Tertullian's opening words attest Ζακχαῖος (v. 2),[332] and shortly thereafter allude to the fact that Zacchaeus ὑπεδέξατο αὐτὸν [Jesus] (v. 6). The allusion to, followed by citation of, v. 8 led Harnack to reconstruct τὰ ἡμίσεια … τῶν ὑπαρχόντων … δίδωμι, καὶ εἴ τινός τι ἐσυκοφάντησα, τετραπλοῦν ἀποδίδωμι.[333] Tertullian's reference to *omnia misericordiae opera* could reveal that τοῖς πτωχοῖς was present in the verse, though its position in relation to δίδωμι is unclear.[334] Also, the order τετραπλοῦν ἀποδίδωμι is attested in several witnesses, including e and f, and might reflect the order in Marcion's text. The citation of v. 9 attests σήμερον σωτηρία τούτῳ τῷ οἴκῳ. The order τούτῳ τῷ οἴκῳ is attested by a few witnesses, including ff² and gat, though again it is not certain that this was the reading of Marcion's text. Harnack's and Tsutsui's confident assertion that the unattested v. 9b was excised because Tertullian, earlier in 4.37.1, refers to Zacchaeus as an *allophylus* is speculative.[335]

332 Harnack, *Marcion*, 227* erroneously indicated that the name appears in v. 1.

333 Ibid.

334 In ℵ, D, and several other witnesses it precedes the verb, though elsewhere it follows.

335 Harnack, *Marcion*, 227* and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 118. Again, the same view was held by Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:485. Braun notes that when Tertullian makes that off-hand remark he "ne fait aucune remarque sur le texte de Marcion et semble tenir pour allant de soi la non judéité de ce publicain" (*Contre Marcion IV*, 457n5).

5.78 Luke 19:11, 13, 22–23, 26

4.37.4—*Servorum quoque parabola, qui secundum rationem feneratae pecuniae dominicae diiudicantur, … etiam ex parte severitatis non tantum onerantem,*[336] *verum et auferentem quod quis videatur habuisse. Aut si et haec creatorem finxerit austerum, tollentem quod non posuerit et metentem quod non severit, hic quoque me ille instruit cuius pecuniam ut fenerem edocet.*[337]

Harnack rightly noted that there are only brief allusions to elements in the parable of the ten minas.[338] In 4.37.4 there appear to be allusions to παραβολήν (v. 11) and δούλους … ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς … μνᾶς (v. 13). The comment that the servants are judged according to their account of their master's money reveals that further elements in the parable are present, though few specifics are attested. Tertullian then alludes to v. 26, which Harnack reconstructed (ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ ἔχοντος) καὶ ὃ δοκεῖ ἔχειν ἀρθήσεται.[339] A few witnesses, including Θ, 69, and sy^{c}, attest ὃ δοκεῖ ἔχειν; however, Tertullian may have been influenced by Luke 8:18 in his wording here.[340] 4.37.4 concludes with an adaptation of αὐστηρός … ἄιρων/ἄιρω ὃ οὐκ ἔθηκα καὶ θερίζων/θερίζω ὃ οὐκ ἔσπειρα (v. 22) and possibly an allusion to τόκος (v. 23). The lack of influence from the differently worded Matt 19:22 increases the likelihood that Marcion's text is in view; however, given that Tertullian has already used participles in rendering the sense of the universally attested finite verbs in v. 26, it is not certain whether the participles here reflect Greek participles or finite verbs.[341]

5.79 Luke 20:5–8

4.38.1—*Puta illos renuntiasse humanum Ioannis baptisma: statim lapidibus elisi fuissent.* | 4.38.2—*Sed de caelis fuit baptisma Iohannis. Et quare, inquit Christus, non credidistis ei? … Certe nolentibus renuntiare quid saperent cum et ipse vicem opponit: Et ego non dico vobis in qua virtute haec facio, …*

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336 Moreschini follows the reading suggested by Kroymann. All manuscripts and other editors read *honorantem*.

337 An allusion back to this parable, and v. 13 in particular, occurs in 4.39.11.

338 Harnack, *Marcion*, 227*.

339 Ibid., 228*. If the reading *honorantem* is correct (cf. n. 336), the reference to "honor" could have v. 26a in view.

340 Cf. the discussion of this verse in chapter 4.4.27.

341 ἄιρω and θερίζω are both attested by several witnesses including D and most OL manuscripts. V. 21 contains the same phrase in the mouth of the slave, though the Master/Creator parallel would tend to point towards v. 22, where the master is speaking, being in view by Tertullian.

In Tertullian's interaction with the pericope in Luke 20:1–8, vv. 1 and 4 are multiply cited. In 4.38.1, Tertullian's allusion to v. 6 reveals the presence of ἀνθρώπων, even if the preceding preposition remains unclear.[342] In addition, the reference indicates that the Lukan καταλιθάσει ἡμᾶς was present in the text.

There are two citations in 4.38.2, one of v. 5 and the other of v. 8. In v. 5, Harnack first offered an otherwise unattested ἐξ οὐρανῶν. The unlikelihood of the plural was already discussed in the previous chapter as it related to v. 4.[343] His reconstruction of the quoted element of v. 5, διατί οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε αὐτῷ, is essentially unproblematic;[344] yet, the absence of οὖν after διὰ τί could be a simple omission by Tertullian.[345] Prior to the citation of v. 8, Tertullian's comment on "refusing to respond" alludes to the content of v. 7, though no specific element is attested. The quotation then references the nearly uniformly attested οὐδὲ ἐγὼ λέγω ὑμῖν ἐν ποίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ ταῦτα ποιῶ.[346]

5.80 Luke 20:24

4.38.3—*Quae erunt dei, quae similia sint denario Caesaris?*

For the discussion in Luke 20:20–26 Harnack reconstructed only v. 25, discussed in the previous chapter. Tertullian's question immediately following the citation of v. 25, however, reveals that δηνάριον and Καίσαρος must have been mentioned in v. 24. Unfortunately, no further insight into Marcion's text is possible.

5.81 Luke 20:27–31, 33–34, 39

4.38.4—*Sadducaei, resurrectionis negatores, de ea habentes interrogationem, proposuerant domino ex lege materiam mulieris quae septem fratribus ex ordine defunctis secundum praeceptum legale nupsisset, cuius viri deputanda esset in resurrectione.* | 4.38.5—*Respondit igitur huius quidem aevi filios nubere …* |

342 Harnack, *Marcion*, 228* reconstructed ἐξ, which is attested in nearly all manuscripts; however, D, along with a, c, d, ff², and e, read ἀπό.

343 Cf. the comments in chapter 4.4.82 and n. 388 there.

344 Harnack, *Marcion*, 228*.

345 Many manuscripts, including א and B, omit the conjunction, though it is attested in A, D, and numerous OL manuscripts.

346 Though *virtute* would normally render δυνάμει and not ἐξουσίᾳ, it is likely that its use here is attributable to Tertullian and not to an otherwise unattested occurrence of δυνάμει. The reconstruction above is also the one offered by Harnack, *Marcion*, 228* and it is interesting that here he did not insist that *et* be rendering καί.

4.38.8—... *filii huius aevi nubunt et nubuntur*[347] ... | 4.38.9—*Atque adeo scribae: Magister, inquiunt, bene dixisti.*

In the account of Jesus' dispute with the Sadducees concerning the resurrection (Luke 20:27–40), vv. 35 and 36 are multiply cited. In 4.38.4 Tertullian offers an overview of the initial encounter alluding to various elements in vv. 27–31 and v. 33. First, there is an allusion to [τινες τῶν] Σαδδουκαίων, οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες/λέγοντες ἀναστασιν [μὴ εἶναι] (v. 27).[348] Second, *ex lege* probably arises due to Μωϋσῆς ἔγραψεν in v. 28. Third, there is a clear reference to ἑπτὰ ἀδελφοί and [λαβὼν] γυναῖκα (v. 29a), and it is also apparent that all seven brothers dying (vv. 29b–31) was present in the text, though the precise wording is not given. Finally, for v. 33 Harnack reconstructed τίνος αὐτῶν γίνεται γυνὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει.[349] γυνή, however, is unattested here and it does not seem warranted to place ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει in an otherwise unattested position based on Tertullian's allusion.

Tertullian adapts v. 34 in 4.38.5 and then cites it in 4.38.8. The adaptation attests the ἀποκριθείς found in several witnesses and the citation attests οἱ υἱοί τούτου τοῦ αἰῶνος γαμοῦσιν καὶ γαμίσκονται.[350] Curiously, Harnack did not follow Tertullian's word order, reconstructing τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου.[351] The different word order in the adaptation again reveals that the reordering of elements here may well be due to Tertullian; yet, most OL witnesses offer the variant order attested by Tertullian. The final citation in 4.38.9 of v. 39 is unproblematic, attesting the Lukan [τινες τῶν] γραμματέων εἶπαν· διδάσκαλε, καλῶς εἶπας.[352]

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347 Moreschini follows the reading of R3, though *M*, γ, R1, and R2 read *nubentur*. Given Tertullian's propensity to use the future tense, the stronger manuscript evidence for a more difficult reading may well be correct; however, even if Tertullian wrote *nubentur* it should be considered due to his own proclivity. No witness to the biblical text attests a future tense.

348 Tertullian's allusion does not reveal the precise reading or word order of Marcion's text and therefore cannot disclose which of the various readings attested in the manuscript tradition appeared in Marcion's text.

349 Harnack, *Marcion*, 229*.

350 IGNTP reveals the considerable variety of forms attested for the final verb in this phrase. Tertullian's Latin cannot reveal the precise reading and I have here simply adopted the reading of NA[28] out of convenience.

351 Harnack, *Marcion*, 229*.

352 Harnack placed γραμματεῖς in parentheses and commented "γραμματεῖς ergibt sich aus dem folgenden Zitat Tert.s" (ibid.). Though the following reference to 20:41 in 4.38.10 does refer to the scribes, the comment here can only be due to an oversight of Tertullian's direct attribution of the statement to *scribae* in 4.38.9. Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 120 makes the same oversight, presumably under the influence of Harnack.

5.82 Luke 20:41, 44

4.38.10—*Si autem scribae Christum filium David existimabant, ipse autem David dominum eum appellat, quid hoc ad Christum?*

Harnack recognized that Tertullian only alludes to vv. 41–44, though he was convinced that v. 41 had been influenced by Matt 22:42. He therefore reconstructed (τί ὑμῖν) δοκεῖ (περὶ τοῦ) Χριστοῦ; (τίνος) υἱός (ἐστιν; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ) Δαυείδ [*sic*].[353] Harnack argued that this influence is revealed in the fact that *existimabant* (δοκεῖ) is only found in Matthew and that only there do the Scribes, though in Matthew it is actually the Pharisees, say that the Christ is David's son.[354] The fact that e contains this harmonization to Matthew makes Harnack's view at least possible; however, his reasoning here does not appear persuasive. Luke reads πῶς λέγουσιν τὸν χριστὸν εἶναι Δαυὶδ υἱόν; and it is worth noting that the question itself assumes that the Scribes say that the Christ is David's son. It may simply be that Tertullian is here expressing the reality behind Jesus' question, perhaps under the influence of the wording of the Matthean account.[355] Tertullian's allusion cannot support the view of a clear harmonization being present in Marcion's text. V. 44 is far less problematic as Harnack reconstructed Δαυεὶδ κύριον αὐτὸν καλεῖ.[356] Though the οὖν after David is omitted in D, several OL manuscripts, and a few other witnesses, the context in Tertullian does not lend itself to the inclusion of this conjunction. Therefore, its absence is uncertain in Marcion's text.

5.83 Luke 21:12–17, 19

4.39.4—*Ante haec autem persecutiones eis praedicat et passiones eventuras, in martyrium utique et in salutem.* | 4.39.6—*Et hic igitur ipse cogitari vetat quid responderi oporteat apud tribunalia, … Et sapientiam ipsam, cui nemo resistet, …* | 4.39.7—*Quid enim sapientius et incontradicibilius*[357] … *Nec mirum*

353 Harnack, *Marcion*, 229*.

354 Ibid., 230*.

355 It is possible, though not necessary, that *existimabant* came from the Matthean δοκεῖ. Of course, even if it did, it could simply be Tertullian using the Matthean encounter to express the assumption behind the question in Luke.

356 Harnack, *Marcion*, 229*.

357 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 480n3 observes that *incontradicibilius*, restored by Rigalti, is a neologism resulting from the biblical text where ἀντειπεῖν = *contradicere* follows ἀντιστῆναι = *resistere*.

si is cohibuit praecogitationem...| 4.39.8—*A proximis quoque persecutiones et nominis, ex odio utique, blasphemiam praedicatam*...*Sed per tolerantiam, inquit, salvos facietis vosmetipsos*,...

After the multiply cited Luke 21:9–11, Tertullian references several of the following verses. In 4.39.4, the allusion to vv. 12–13 attests πρὸ δὲ τούτων and διώξουσιν, along with "sufferings," for v. 12.[358] Significantly more problematic is the reference to v. 13, reconstructed by Harnack (ἀποβήσεται ὑμῖν) εἰς μαρτύριον καὶ σωτηρίαν.[359] Harnack recognized that καὶ σωτηρίαν is unattested elsewhere and contended that therefore it was an addition by Marcion.[360] Braun, however, rightly questions this view by noting

> L'insertion de *utique*, habituel pour les commentaries de T., éveille des doutes. On pourrait tout aussi bien penser à une explication donné par notre auteur, d'après les v. 13 ('témoignage') et v. 18–19 [*sic*] ('salut') conservés par Marcion.[361]

In 4.39.6, 7 the allusions to v. 14 attest μὴ προμελετᾶν[362] ἀπολογηθῆναι and those to v. 15 attest σοφίαν, ᾗ οὐ δυνήσονται ἀντιστῆναι οὐδὲ/ἢ ἀντειπεῖν [πάντες].[363]

358 The reference to *apud tribunalia* in 4.39.6 could be referring to being brought ἐπὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ ἡγεμόνας at the end of v. 12.

359 Harnack, *Marcion*, 230*.

360 Ibid. Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 121 agrees, and the same view was held by Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:488.

361 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 477n3. The reference to vv. 18–19, instead of only v. 19, is erroneous as Tertullian does not attest v. 18 and Epiphanius explicitly notes its omission. For a few examples of *utique* used in glosses by Tertullian, cf. the discussion of Luke 12:5 (4.28.3) in chapter 4.4.59, and the discussions of Luke 4:31 (4.7.1), 6:12 (4.13.1), and 17:2 (4.35.1) above in 5.3, 5.14, and 5.70, respectively. Tsutsui argues that the addition is certain "weil Tertullian gleich darauf Sach 9,15f., wo nicht von 'salus', sondern nur von 'martyrium' die Rede ist, zitiert" ("Evangelium," 121). This claim is quite strange in that the citation obviously refers to martyrdom, but also contains the phrase *et salvos eos faciet dominus illo die velut oves* (4.39.4).

362 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 481n5 notes that the hapax *praecogitatio* (4.39.7) once again arises from the biblical text.

363 Harnack, *Marcion*, 230* overlooked *cui nemo resistet* (4.39.6) and therefore only reconstructed (ἐγὼ δώσω ὑμῖν..) σοφίαν. Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 121 included this allusion, but Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 480n3 rightly notes that both Harnack and Tsutsui overlooked the allusion to v. 15 in 4.39.7 and the unique Latin term arising from the biblical text (cf. n. 357).

In 4.39.8 Tertullian, with the comments about persecution from near kindred, makes reference to the contents of v. 16, though no text can be reconstructed. In v. 17, however, the allusion reveals the presence of μισούμενοι and διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου. Finally, the citation of v. 19 attests a singular reading reconstructed by Harnack ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑπομονῇ σώσετε ἑαυτούς.[364] Concerning this reading, though δέ is attested in some of the Syriac versions, it is here most likely due to Tertullian's flow of argument and not part of the citation.[365] In addition, it is difficult to determine whether *salvos facietis vosmetipsos* corresponds to a supposed σώσετε ἑαυτούς in Marcion's text. Harnack raises the possible influence of Matt 24:13 for the reading,[366] but in that case it is not clear if the influence was on Marcion's text or on Tertullian when he cited it. Tsutsui's contention that a "Textänderung stilistischer Art" occurred here is quite speculative and is largely based on the questionable view, discussed above, that v. 13 had been altered. The likelihood that Tertullian is providing a very inaccurate rendering of the final element in v. 19 is also increased by the fact that his interest in the verse is focused on *per tolerantiam* (ἐν τῇ ὑπομονῇ). It is this word that Tertullian connects to the citations of Ps 9:19 (LXX) and Zech 6:14 (LXX) immediately following. Thus, Marcion's text at this point appears unrecoverable.

5.84 **Luke 21:20**

4.39.9—*Sed monstrato dehinc tempore excidii, <cum> coepisse<t> vallari exercitibus Hierusalem, …*[367]

The allusion to Luke 21:20 attests κυκλουμένην ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων Ἰερουσαλήμ and ἡ ἐρήμωσις αὐτῆς. Harnack reconstructed only the first element,[368] though the time *excidii* would seem also to attest the presence of the second.

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364 Harnack, *Marcion*, 231*.

365 Evans (trans.), *Adversus Marcionem*, 485 has "but" in italics indicating it is part of the citation, but in Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 482–3 it is kept outside of the citation.

366 Harnack, *Marcion*, 231*.

367 Moreschini follows the reading of R3. *M*, γ, R1, and R2 read an almost impossible *Sed monstrato dehinc tempore excidium coepisse vallari exercitibus Hierusalem.…* One could imagine that *EXCIDIICUM* was erroneously copied as *EXCIDIUM*, thus partially explaining the origin of the reading.

368 Harnack, *Marcion*, 231*.

5.85 Luke 21:29–30, 32

4.39.16—*In summa ipsius parabolae considera exemplum: Adspice*[369] *ficum et arbores omnes; cum fructum protulerint, intellegunt*[370] *homines*[371] *aestatem adpropinquasse;…*[372] | 4.39.18—*Adhuc ingerit non transiturum caelum ac terram, nisi omnia peragantur*.

In Luke 21:29–33, vv. 31 and 33 are multiply cited. In 4.39.16 the citation is introduced with a reference to παραβολήν and continues with a rendering of the nearly universally attested ἴδετε τὴν συκῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ δένδρα (v. 29). Braun observes that *adspice* already hints at a loose citation by Tertullian, and it is also likely that the otherwise unattested word order (*arbores omnes*) is due to Tertullian.[373] v. 30 presents considerable challenges, and it was already noted in the previous chapter that Braun argued that Harnack was wrong to have seen Marcion's text represented accurately in the citation.[374] Harnack reconstructed ὅταν προβάλωσιν τὸν καρπὸν (αὐτῶν), γινώσκουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ὅτι τὸ θέρος ἤγγικεν·[375] The opening words in Harnack's reconstruction follow the reading of D and d, though numerous other potential witnesses to the "Western" text, including OL manuscripts and Syriac witnesses, also explicitly state that "fruit" is brought forth. The precise readings attested, however, vary, as aptly demonstrated by the apparatus in IGNTP. Tertullian's wording may attest the reading in D, though notice again his unique word order *fructum protulerint*; yet, it is not certain that this was the reading of Marcion's text. γινώσκουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι is unattested elsewhere and Braun calls *intellegunt homines* a "tournoure générale" that shows "qu'il s'agit d'une citation très libre."[376] Harnack noted that the final phrase was unattested,[377] though it should be noted that IGNTP lists several witnesses for the very similar τὸ θέρος ἐγγὺς ἐστίν. At the same time, however, if the reasoning in the previous chapter in the discussion of

369 Kroymann corrected the reading to *aspicite*, a correction for which Braun contends there is no reason (*Contre Marcion IV*, 491n3).

370 Moreschini follows the reading of *M*, γ, Pamelius, and the subsequent editors. *R* and Gelenius read *intellegent*.

371 Moreschini rightly does not follow *M* in omitting *homines* as it is likely due to an attempt to bring the citation into closer conformity with the biblical text.

372 Additional allusions to Luke 21:29–30 occur in 4.39.13, 16.

373 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 491n3. Harnack, *Marcion*, 231* reconstructed the text as above, thus also not following Tertullian's word order.

374 Cf. the discussion in chapter 4.4.90.

375 Harnack, *Marcion*, 231*–32*.

376 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 491n3.

377 Harnack, *Marcion*, 232*.

Luke 21:31 was correct, the *adpropinquasse* here, as in 4.39.10 may be due to Tertullian's own turn of phrase. Overall, it appears that Braun's assessment is correct and it should not be assumed that Tertullian is providing considerable, or even modest, accuracy in this citation.[378]

V. 32 presents another significant difficulty in that it is not clear whether 4.39.18 should be understood as an adaptation of only v. 32, or if Tertullian has conflated elements from v. 33 with v. 32. Harnack, following Zahn, believed the former and that Marcion had tendentiously replaced ἡ γενεὰ ἅυτη with ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ.[379] This view, however, though possible cannot be proved with certainty.[380] Therefore, it is also not possible to know how closely *nisi omnia peragantur* is rendering Marcion's text.[381]

5.86 Luke 21:34–35a

4.39.18—*Admoneantur et discipuli, ne quando graventur corda eorum crapula et ebrietate et saecularibus curis, et insistat eis repentinus dies ille velut laqueus*, …

Based on Tertullian's adaptation in 4.39.18 Harnack reconstructed (προσέχετε δὲ ἑαυτοῖς), μήποτε βαρηθῶσιν ὑμῶν αἱ καρδίαι (ἐν) κραιπάλῃ καὶ μέθῃ καὶ βιωτικαῖς μερίμναις, καὶ ἐπιστῇ ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς αἰφνίδιος ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη ὡς παγίς.[382] It is curious that Harnack followed Tertullian's word order for *saecularibus curis* (βιωτικαῖς μερίμναις), which Harnack stated was otherwise unattested and IGNTP indicates is attested only in the Armenian translation of Irenaeus, but not for *corda eorum* (αἱ καρδίαι ὑμῶν), which is attested by many witnesses including A, B, W,

378 It may be observed that in chapter 4.4.90 I argued that Luke 21:31 was an accurate citation, though here v. 29 is seen as basically accurate and v. 30 as considerably less so. This phenomenon does pose some difficulties, but it may be that Tertullian read all three verses in Marcion's text, began writing the citation and then re-checked the text for v. 31. This supposition, though not provable, at least explains a fairly accurate opening verse that quickly deteriorates into only providing the general sense of the second verse and then suddenly offers a precisely verbatim quotation of the final verse.

379 Harnack, *Marcion*, 232*. Cf. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:489. The same view had already been advanced by Hahn, *Evangelium Marcions*, 202. Harnack's dependence on Zahn is evident in the statement on p. 232* "die Verse 32.33 hat Zahn zuerst in Ordnung gebracht."

380 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 492 refers to both vv. 32 and 33 in the note at the end of Tertullian's statement. Ritschl, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, 44 and Hilgenfeld, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, 431 also thought Tertullian had conflated the verses and that Marcion's text read as Luke does. Also, it is worth noting the reading *transiet caelum istut* in e.

381 Harnack reconstructed εἰ μὴ πάντα γένηται (?) (*Marcion*, 232*).

382 Ibid.

and most OL manuscripts. In addition, though Tertullian attests the order ἐπιστῇ ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς αἰφνίδιος, given that Tertullian, throughout this citation, may not be reflecting the precise reading of Marcion's text, the reading αἰφνίδιος ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἐπιστῇ, attested by numerous manuscripts, cannot be ruled out. Two final, minor points are that Tertullian's Latin cannot reveal whether Marcion's text read βαρηθῶσιν or βαρυνθῶσιν with D and the TR, among others, or whether the definite article appeared before ἡμέρα.[383]

5.87 Luke 21:37–38

4.39.19—*Sed enim per diem in templo docebat, … Ad noctem vero in Elaeonem secedebat; … Erant horae quoque auditorio competentes. Diluculo conveniendum erat, …*

Tertullian's references to Luke 21:37–38 are tied to his citations of Hos 12:5 (LXX), Zech 14:4, and Isa 50:4, and therefore focus on elements that can be connected to those OT passages. For v. 37 Tertullian attests τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διδάσκων and τὰς [δὲ] νύκτας ἐξερχόμενος … εἰς … Ἐλαιών. Once again, however, the word order is not certain as Tertullian has rendered the participles as finite verbs and has placed them at the end of the phrases. For v. 37b it is unlikely that the participle was in an otherwise unattested position after Ἐλαιών; however, for v. 37a, though most manuscripts have the participle at the end of the phrase, B, K, most OL manuscripts, and several other witnesses attest διδάσκων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ. This order remains possible for Marcion's text. The allusion to v. 38 is less precise, though Tertullian does attest the essentially unproblematic ὤρθηριζεν and ἀκούειν αὐτοῦ.

5.88 Luke 22:1

4.40.1—*Nam e[t] tot festis Iudaeorum paschae diem <el>egit.*

As Tertullian begins his discussion of several passages from Luke 22 he alludes to v. 1, though only πάσχα is definitively referenced.[384]

383 The article is absent in D, K, V, and several other manuscripts.

384 Harnack, *Marcion*, 232* also reconstructed ἑορτή; however, is not clear that the *festis* in Tertullian's phrase is referring to ἑορτή in the phrase ἡ ἑορτή τῶν ἀζύμων.

5.89 Luke 22:3–5

4.40.2—*Poterat et ab extraneo quolibet tradi, . . . Poterat et sine praemio tradi.*[385] | 5.6.7—*. . . scriptum est enim apud me Satanan in Iudam introisse.*

In the account of Judas's intention to betray Jesus, v. 4 is also attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian's reference in 5.6.7 reveals that the statement concerning Satan's entering into Judas was not in Marcion's Gospel.[386] Tsutsui argues that on the one hand one may surmise that the verse was omitted, but that on the other hand the name "Judas," as required by the context of Tertullian's discussion, somehow appeared in the text.[387] This view, however, does not take into account that Tertullian's reference to an *extraneus* and the citation of Ps 41:9 (*Qui mecum panem edit, levavit in me plantam*) seem to have the final element of v. 3 (ὄντα ἐκ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν δώδεκα) in view, even if the precise wording is unrecoverable.[388] For v. 4, Tertullian attests only παραδῷ and for v. 5 that there was a reference to ἀργύριον.

5.90 Luke 22:20, 22

4.40.4—*Sic et in calicis mentione testamentum constituens sanguine suo obsignatum substantiam corporis confirmavit.*[389] | 4.41.1—*Vae, ait, per quem traditur filius hominis.*

In Tertullian's discussion of the Lord's Supper, v. 19 is multiply cited. Based on the allusion to v. 20 in 4.40.4 Harnack reconstructed καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως . . . (τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον) ἡ (καινή gestrichen!) διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου.[390] Several problems with this reconstruction need to be addressed. First, it is not entirely clear that *sic et in calicis mentione* refers to v. 20a, as opposed to the words of Jesus τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον; yet, even if it does, it is not clear that ὡσαύτως followed ποτήριον in Marcion's text instead of being clause initial.[391]

385 An additional allusion to Luke 22:5 occurs in 3.23.5.

386 Also noted by Harnack, *Marcion*, 232* and Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:490.

387 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 122–23.

388 Harnack's "Wahrscheinlich· ἀπελθὼν δὲ Ἰούδας ὁ καλούμενος Ἰσκαριώτης, ὢν ἐκ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν δώδεκα" (*Marcion*, 232*) assumes too much.

389 An additional allusion to Luke 22:20 occurs in 4.40.6.

390 Harnack, *Marcion*, 233*. It is worth noting that Tertullian clearly attested part of the famous 'Western non-interpolation' in vv. 19b–20 (cf. also Roth, "Marcion and the Early Text," 309 and Schmid, "Marcions Evangelium," 76).

391 The former is the reading of P^{75}, ℵ, B, L, and a few other witnesses.

Second, Harnack contended that Marcion omitted καινή in the verse based on Tertullian's silence. Tsutsui cautiously agrees, though he notes that in 2 Cor 3:6 Marcion retained "new testament" revealing that the reason for the omission here is not obvious.[392] Given this fact, and that the Matthean and Markan parallels do not contain καινή, it should perhaps be queried how certain the omission really is.[393] Not only is it based on Tertullian's silence, but, as Braun also notes, Tertullian adds the word *obsignatum* to the reference.[394] Thus, it is possible that Tertullian is both omitting and adding words.

In 4.41.1 Tertullian quotes v. 22 and Harnack reconstructed quite literally οὐαὶ δι᾽ οὗ παραδίδοται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.[395] Tsutsui contends that v. 22a must have been excised by Marcion because of the κατὰ τὸ ὡρισμένον, an omission confirmed by the introduction of an explicit subject in v. 22b.[396] Though possible, Tertullian's silence does not necessitate the excision, and *filius homines* could be Tertullian's own clarification of the subject of *traditur* or due to the influence of Matt 26:24.[397] Finally, Harnack believed that Marcion's text read "mit D e syr^cu"; however, D and e actually attest οὐαὶ ἐκείνῳ. Based on the likelihood that Tertullian's citation here is not particularly precise, what followed immediately after οὐαί in Marcion's text remains unclear.

5.91 Luke 22:33–34

4.41.2—*Nam et Petrum praesumptorie aliquid elocutum negationi potius destinando zeloten deum tibi ostendit.*

Tertullian's allusion to the conversation between Jesus and Peter attests the presence of Peter's statement in v. 33 without revealing any specifics con-

392 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 123. Blackman simply stated "lacked καινὴ [*sic*] before διαθήκη" (*Marcion and His Influence*, 46).

393 Williams observes that the reading, even if present in Marcion's text, may not have been a theological omission by Marcion, but could have arisen through prior Matthean and/or Markan influence on his text ("Reconsidering Marcion's Gospel," 483).

394 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 500n3.

395 Harnack, *Marcion*, 233*.

396 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 123–24.

397 Harnack, *Marcion*, 233* noted the possible Matthean influence, but did not note the presence of "the Son of Man" in a handful of witnesses, including the OL manuscript b. Zahn considered the words to be added due to Tertullian's desire to clarify (*Geschichte*, 2:491). This same phenomenon has already been observed in previous passages (cf., e.g., Luke 17:25 in 5.73 above).

cerning its wording. For v. 34 the reference to "denial" attests the presence of ἀπαρνήσῃ.[398]

5.92 Luke 22:48

4.41.2—*Debuit etiam osculo tradi . . .*

In Tertullian's passing reference to Luke 22:48, the only words attested are the unproblematic φιλήματι and παραδίδως.

5.93 Luke 22:66–67, 70–71

4.41.3—*Perductus in consessum an ipse esset Christus interrogator. . . . Si dixero enim, inquit, vobis, non credetis.*[399] | 4.41.4—*. . . Ergo, inquiunt, tu dei filius es.* | 4.41.5—*Sed respondit: Vos dicitis, quasi: Non ego. . . . Ergo tu filius dei es, . . . Ergo tu dei es filius, . . . Vos dicitis, . . . et adeo sic fuit pronuntiatio eius, ut perseveraverint in eo quod pronuntiatio sapiebat.* | 4.42.1—*. . . Vos dicitis . . .*

In the account of Jesus before τὸ συνέδριον, v. 69 is multiply cited. Tertullian's opening reference in 4.41.3 attests ἀπήγαγον[400] εἰς τὸ συνέδριον (v. 66) and σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστός (v. 67a). It is not entirely clear if the words from v. 67a are part of the generally attested εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστός, εἰπὸν ἡμῖν, as Harnack apparently believed,[401] or if Marcion's text simply read the four words as a question as in D and d. The fact that Tertullian writes *interrogatur* certainly makes the latter possible. The citation of v. 67b attests ἐὰν εἴπω ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε;[402] however, though the order εἴπω ὑμῖν is attested by a few late manuscripts, Tertullian's propensity to alter the position of pronouns means that Marcion's text may well have read ὑμῖν εἴπω.

In 4.41.4–5 Tertullian makes three references to v. 70a, and it is noteworthy that in each instance the word order is different. Harnack reconstructed this

398 This word is also the only one reconstructed by Harnack, *Marcion*, 233*.

399 Though θ and Gelanius read *creditis*, Moreschini follows Pamelius and the other editors in reading *credetis*.

400 The reading ἀνήγαγον, attested in manuscripts including A, L, W, and the Majority Text is less likely but cannot be ruled out entirely.

401 Harnack, *Marcion*, 234* reconstructed εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστός . . .

402 Harnack omits οὐ, but this may simply have been an oversight as it is attested in the entire manuscript tradition (ibid.).

element according to the order in the first citation (placing the verb at the end of the phrase), but since IGNTP lists Marcion as the only witness for the variant order, it is far more likely that in each instance Tertullian is responsible for the word order and that Marcion's text read σὺ οὖν εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. V. 70b also presents difficulties in that Tertullian three times makes reference only to *vos dicitis*. This fact led Harnack to reconstruct ὑμεῖς λέγετε (ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι, gestrichen).[403] This view is possible, though ultimately not provable.[404] Some element of ambiguity is present in Jesus' reply and the presence of the last three words would not necessarily negate Marcion's interpretation.[405] In addition, Tertullian stating only *vos dicitis* may have been influenced by Luke 23:3 (*tu dicis*) as in 4.42.1 both references occur in close proximity.

Finally, though Harnack and Tsutsui view v. 71 as unattested,[406] Braun argues that the final statement of 4.41.5 reveals the response of the Sanhedrin, which interpreted Jesus' reply as an affirmation.[407] Braun may be correct, though the faint allusion obviously does not reveal any specifics about the verse.

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403 Ibid. Lukas, *Rhetorik*, 323 agrees, writing "Bei der postwendend erfolgenden Antwort Jesu änderte Marcion offensichtlich den biblischen Text ab. Er las einzig: *vos dicitis* und ließ die ursprüngliche Ergänzung ὅτι εγώ εἰμι außen vor." Braun incorrectly states that Harnack "pense que le texte marcionite était ici: 'Vos dicitis, non ego' (p. 305*)" (*Contre Marcion IV*, 508n2). Harnack's reconstructed text does not render *non ego*, and on the page cited by Braun, Harnack simply stated "M. faßte die Antwort Jesu so: 'Vos dicitis, non ego'," which is the very point Braun goes on to make in his note.

404 It is worth noting that i also omits these words.

405 Plummer referred to an "ambiguous ὅτι" (*Luke*, 519). Joseph Tyson, *The Death of Jesus in Luke-Acts* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1986), 127 places similar emphasis on the ambiguity of the reply. Of course, it is possible, and perhaps even likely, that Luke intends the response to be understood affirmatively (cf. Raymond E. Brown, *The Death of the Messiah: From Gethsemane to the Grave. A Commentary on the Passion Narratives of the Four Gospels* [ABRL; Garden City: Doubleday, 1994], 1:493 and John Paul Heil, "Reader-Response and the Irony of Jesus before the Sanhedrin in Luke 22:66–71," *CBQ* 51 [1989]: 281–82). Joseph A. Fitzmyer seems to combine both ambiguity and affirmation by calling it a "half-affirmative answer" (*The Gospel according to Luke* [AB28A; Garden City: Doubleday, 1985], 1463) Cf. also the discussion by David R. Catchpole who concludes that σὺ εἶπας or ὑμεῖς λέγετε is "affirmative in content, and reluctant or circumlocutory in formulation" ("The Answer of Jesus to Caiaphas (Matt xxvi. 64)," *NTS* 17 [1971]: 226).

406 Harnack, *Marcion*, 234* and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 124.

407 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 509n6.

5.94 Luke 23:1–3

4.42.1—*Perductum enim illum ad Pilatum onerare coeperunt quod se regem diceret Christum: … Pilato quoque interroganti: Tu es Christus? proinde: Tu dicis, …*

In the opening encounter between Jesus and Pilate, v. 2 is also attested by Epiphanius. In 4.42.1, Tertullian alludes to ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἐπί τὸν Πιλᾶτον (v. 1) and to the fact that ἤρξαντο κατηγορεῖν. He then makes reference to the final accusation of v. 2, which Harnack reconstructed λέγοντα ἑαυτὸν βασιλέα Χριστόν.[408] Again, however, it is not clear from Tertullian's testimony that Marcion's text actually had the otherwise unattested order βασιλέα χριστόν or that it omitted εἶναι.

The introduction to the citation from Luke 23:3 attests ὁ Πιλᾶτος [ἐπ]ηρώτησεν.[409] Pilate's question as represented here is noteworthy as in Luke it is σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. Harnack believed that Tertullian accurately represents Marcion's text as reading σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός, arguing that this is the case "da Jesus diese Frage des Pilatus bejaht."[410] This argument is not particularly persuasive given that Tertullian had just shown that Marcion interpreted *vos dicitis* as a negation of the question by the Sanhedrin, and therefore one would expect that the answer *tu dicis* (σὺ λέγεις) could also be understood as a negation.[411] On the other hand, Tsutsui's contention that Marcion altered the text in order to highlight his doctrine of the two "Christs" may be possible, but remains speculative.[412] Marcion may have altered his text here; yet, it cannot be ruled out that Tertullian has provided an inaccurate citation. It is worth considering that Tertullian had already mentioned the accusation of Jesus saying he was "Christ a King," and continues his argument with a citation from Ps 2, including the gathering *adversus dominum et adversus Christum eius*.[413]

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408 Harnack, *Marcion*, 235*.

409 Since only one Coptic manuscript attests the omission of δέ it was probably present in Marcion's text. Tertullian's Latin also cannot reveal whether Marcion read ἠρώτησεν or ἐπηρώτησεν. The former is the reading of NA[28], though the latter is supported by A, D, and the Majority Text, among other manuscripts.

410 Harnack, *Marcion*, 60.

411 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 125 also questions Harnack's view.

412 Ibid., 72–73, 125.

413 In addition, though it is slightly further removed (4.41.2), Tertullian's comments, discussed above, on the Sanhedrin asking Jesus whether he was the Christ may also be relevant.

5.95 Luke 23:7–9

4.42.3—*Nam et Herodi velut munus a Pilato missus … Delectatus est denique Herodes viso Iesu, nec vocem ullam ab eo audivit.*

Tertullian's allusion in 4.42.3 begins by attesting the unproblematic ἀνέπεμψεν αὐτὸν πρὸς Ἡρῴδην (v. 7).[414] In v. 8 Tertullian alludes to the opening phrase, nearly uniformly attested in the manuscript tradition, ὁ δὲ Ἡρῴδης ἰδὼν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐχάρη λίαν.[415] Finally, though Tertullian's comment *nec vocem ullam ab eo audivit* reveals the presence of the end of v. 9 no insight can be gained into the reading of Marcion's text.

5.96 Luke 23:18–19, 22–23, 25

4.42.4—*Et Barrabas quidem nocentissimus vita ut bonus donatur, Christus vero iustissimus ut homicida morti expostulatur.*

Tertullian devotes only one sentence to the account involving Barabbas in Luke 23:18–25. It is clear that Marcion's text contained a reference to Βαραββᾶν (v. 18) and probably to the crimes of insurrection and murder (v. 19).[416] The reference to Christ being *iustissimus* appears to have Pilate's protestations of his innocence in view (v. 22) and the demand for Christ's death, the cries for crucifixion (v. 23); yet, in neither case can any text be reconstructed. In addition, the outcome in v. 25 is also in view, though nothing more than the verb ἀπέλυσεν is clearly attested.

5.97 Luke 23:32–34

4.42.4—*Sed et duo scelesti circumfiguntur illi, … Vestitum plane eius a militibus divisum, partim sorti concessum, Marcion abstulit, …*

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414 Harnack, *Marcion*, 235* noted that v. 6 is indirectly attested by Tertullian's discussion, but since the allusion does not overtly make reference to it, v. 6 is here considered unattested. Also, Harnack reconstructed an explicit external subject (Πειλᾶτος) for ἀνέπεμψεν in v. 7, which is not required by Tertullian's comment and is otherwise unattested.

415 Harnack, *Marcion*, 235* reconstructed the text without the δέ, though once again its omission is likely due to Tertullian. According to IGNTP it is elsewhere absent only in א*, the Persian Diatessaron, and three manuscripts of sa.

416 διὰ στάσιν and φόνον are nearly universally attested in the manuscript tradition with the latter only absent in a and the Persian Diatessaron.

Luke 23:33–34 is also attested by Epiphanius, with v. 34a attested by Ephrem. Tertullian's allusion to vv. 32–33 attests the "two criminals" (v. 32)[417] and the *circumfiguntur* probably refers to the criminals being crucified on either side of Jesus (v. 33), even if the precise wording cannot be reconstructed. In addition, Tertullian overtly states that Marcion excised διαμεριζόμενοι δὲ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἔβαλον κλήρους (v. 34).[418]

5.98 Luke 23:50–53, 55

4.42.7—... *nihil de Pilato postulatum, nihil de patibulo detractum, nihil sindone involutum, nihil sepulcro novo conditum.* | 4.42.8—*Sed si et Ioseph corpus fuisse noverat, quod tota pietate tractavit? ille Ioseph, qui non consenserat in scelere Iudaeis?* | 4.43.1—*Oportuerat etiam sepultorem domini prophetari* [Tertullian had cited Ps 1:1] *ac iam tunc merito benedici, si nec mulierum illarum officium praeterit prophetia quae ante lucem convenerunt ad sepulcrum cum odorum paratura* [Tertullian goes on to cite Hos 5:15–6:2].

In this passage, vv. 50 and 53 are also attested by Epiphanius and vv. 50, 52–53 possibly in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Tertullian's argument against Marcion's Docetic view leading up to the above-cited portion of 4.42.7 has concluded that if Christ as a phantasm/spirit gave up his spirit (v. 46), then nothing remained on the cross. Tertullian then draws a series of conclusions related to the content of vv. 52–53 for which he attests τῷ Πιλάτῳ ᾐτήσατο τὸ σῶμα (v. 52) and καθελὼν ἐνετύλιξεν [αὐτὸ] σινδόνι καὶ ἔθηκεν [αὐτὸν] ἐν μνήματι λαξευτῷ (v. 53). It is not entirely clear whether Tertullian's *novo* arises from the statement that no one had yet been laid in the tomb or from Matt 27:60 where the adjective actually occurs.

Tertullian then makes reference to Joseph being the actor in caring for the body (v. 50) and attests that this Joseph οὐκ ἦν συγκατατεθειμένος (v. 51). In addition, the *in scelere* seems to allude to τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ πράξει αὐτῶν to which Joseph did not consent. Both of the references in v. 51 are relatively unproblematic even if the reconstruction of the second phrase must remain tentative. Finally, as Tertullian begins to discuss Luke 24, he indicates that it is with the actions of αἱ γυναῖκες (v. 55) with whom the account continues.

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417 The allusion cannot determine whether the order was κακοῦργοι δυό, with P^{75}, א, and B, or δυό κακοῦργοι.

418 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 513n6 states "*partim* semble propre à T." though Zahn, *Geschichte*, 1:604 suggested that Tertullian is being influenced by John 19:23 when referring to what Marcion omitted. The context makes it abundantly clear that Tertullian is referring to the entire phrase, *contra* Beduhn, *The First New Testament*, 191.

5.99 Luke 24:1, 3–4, 6–7, 9, 11

4.43.2—*Quis enim haec* [the words of Hos 5:15–6:2] *non credat in recogitatu mulierum illarum volutata inter dolorem praesentis destitutionis, qua percussae sibi videbantur a domino, et spem resurrectionis ipsius, qua restitui rite arbitra<ba>ntur? Corpore autem non invento ... Sed et duo ibidem angeli apparuerunt. ... Revertentes quoque a sepulcro mulieres et ab illa angelorum visione ... ad renuntiandam scilicet domini resurrectionem.* | 4.43.3—*Bene autem quod incredulitas discipulorum perseverabat, ...* | 4.43.5—*An eadem et angeli ad mulieres: Rememoramini quae locutus sit vobis in Galilaea, dicens quod oportet tradi filium hominis et crucifigi*[419] *et tertia die resurgere?*

In Luke 24:1–12, vv. 4–7 are also attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian's adaptation of v. 1 in 4.43.1 was already cited in the discussion of Luke 23:55 due to the explicit mentioning of the "women."[420] Based on Tertullian's comment Harnack reconstructed (ὄρθρου βαθέως) ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα (φέρουσαι) ἃ ἡτοίμασαν ἀρώματα.[421] Most of this reconstruction is unproblematic, though Tertullian's reference to *ante lucem* seems quite clearly to refer to ὄρθρου βαθέως and the precise position of ἦλθον in the sentence remains obscure.[422]

In 4.43.2 Tertullian may first allude to ἐν τῷ ἀπορεῖσθαι αὐτὰς περὶ τούτου (v. 4a) and then provide the reason by referencing the unproblematic οὐχ εὗρον τὸ σῶμα in v. 3.[423] Tertullian continues by mentioning the "two [men]" in v. 4b,[424] where Harnack rightly noted that *angeli* is likely due to Tertullian.[425] Tertullian then skips to the conclusion of this pericope before later quoting the words

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419 Moreschini follows the reading of R2 and R3. *M*, γ, and R1 read *tamen figi*, though in his first edition Rhenanus also conjectured *carnem figi* as the reading.

420 In the apparatus Harnack, *Marcion*, 237* wrote "(c.23, 56)" after *cum odorum paratura*; however, in context it seems readily apparent that Tertullian is here referring to 24:1.

421 Harnack, *Marcion*, 237*.

422 IGNTP indicates that it is attested before ὄρθρου, after βαθέως, and after μνῆμα.

423 The conclusion of the verse, however, is problematic as τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ is one of Westcott and Hort's "Western non-interpolations" (*New Testament: Introduction, Appendix*, 295); however, as I noted in Roth, "Marcion and the Early Text," 309, Amphoux's statement "Marcion, semble-t-il, n'avait pas non plus cette precision emphatique" ("Le chapitre 24," 27) cannot be substantiated by Tertullian's silence.

424 Yet again, whether the word order was ἄνδρες δυό or δυό ἄνδρες cannot be determined.

425 Harnack, *Marcion*, 238*. Harnack's recognition of this point makes his reconstruction ἄγγελοι (ἄνδρες?) curious. Tertullian's use of *angeli* either arose from the description of the men wearing gleaming clothing or from Matt 28 where an ἄγγελος is expressly identified. Epiphanius, in elenchus 76 in *Pan*. 42.11.17 also interpreted οἱ ἐν ἐσθῆτι λαμπρᾷ in his scholion as referring to οἱ ἅγιοι ἄγγελοι.

of the "angels" in vv. 6–7.[426] For v. 9 he attests ὑποστρέψασαι ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου ἀπήγγειλαν ταῦτα πάντα,[427] and in 4.43.3 the persistence of unbelief alludes to καὶ ἠπίστουν αὐταῖς (v. 11). Tertullian's testimony to the words of the men to the women attests μνήσθητε ὅσα ἐλάλησεν ὑμῖν … ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ (v. 6)[428] λέγων ὅτι δεῖ παραδοθῆναι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου … καὶ σταυρωθῆναι καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστῆναι (v. 7). The word order *tradi filium hominis*, however, may be due to Tertullian as IGNTP lists no other witnesses for the verb before "Son of Man."

5.100 Luke 24:13, 15–16, 19, 21a, 25

4.43.3—*Nam cum duo ex illis iter agerent et dominus eis adhaesisset, non comparens quod ipse esset, etiam dissimulans de conscientia rei gestae, Nos autem putabamus, inquiunt, ipsum esse redemptorem Israhelis, …* | 4.43.4—*Plane invectus est in illos: O insensati et tardi corde in non credendo omnibus, quae locutus est ad vos.*

In the encounter between Jesus and the two disciples on the road to Emmaus, vv. 13, 15 and 25 are also attested by Epiphanius and v. 25 possibly in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. In 4.43.3 Tertullian alludes to several elements in the account. δύο ἐξ αὐτῶν (v. 13) and Ἰησοῦς ἐγγίσας (v. 15) can be reconstructed, though there is also a reference to their traveling (v. 13), the fact that they did not recognize him (v. 16), and Jesus' question concerning the things they were discussing (v. 19). Tertullian then cites v. 21a, based upon which Harnack reconstructed ἡμεις δὲ ἐνομίζομεν, ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ λυτρωτὴς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.[429] Harnack believed ἐνομίζομεν to be unattested otherwise, but IGNTP indicates that it is also attested by the Arabic and Persian Diatessaron, as well as Ambrosiaster. At the same time, it is not impossible for Tertullian to have

426 Here Harnack apparently thought that Tertullian became slightly confused. His view, however, that "Tert. v. 26 (weil er aus Versehen v. 25 mit v. 6 vertauscht) indirekt [bezeugt]" is unlikely (Harnack, *Marcion*, 239*; cf. also Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:494). Lieu states, "Tertullian makes no reference to the following words, 'must not the Christ suffer … ?' Luke 24:26) [*sic*]" ("Marcion and the New Testament," 413n19).

427 The order πάντα ταῦτα found in א, D, and numerous other manuscripts is also possible. The "possible Western non-interpolation" (i.e., placed in single brackets by Westcott and Hort) ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου is attested as present by Tertullian.

428 Harnack, *Marcion*, 238* rightly observed "Das bei Tert. fehlende ἔτι ὢν nach ὑμῖν ist vielleicht zufällig von ihm übergangen." IGNTP lists only lectionary 184 as also attesting the omission. Tsutsui's statement in no uncertain terms that we here find "eine absichtliche Textänderung von Marcion" is overstated ("Evangelium," 127).

429 Harnack, *Marcion*, 238*.

rendered ἠ[or ἐ]λπίζομεν with *putabamus*.[430] In addition, Lukas observes "Wohl von Tertullian selbst, nicht von Marcion, wird hier der Infinitiv λυτροῦσθαι zum Substantiv *redemptor* umgewandelt," and he may well be right concerning this otherwise unattested reading.[431] Tertullian's testimony to v. 25 is found in the quotation in 4.43.4, which attests ὦ ἀνόητοι καὶ βραδεῖς τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ πιστεύειν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ἐλαλήθη πρὸς ὑμᾶς. Zahn thought that Tertullian's passive is here a "freie Übersetzung," contending that Marcion read ἐλάλσεν.[432] The precise reading attested here is unclear.[433] Though the testimony of other sources must also be taken into account before a final verdict on the wording can be made, it is worth noting the clearly different conclusion to the verse in Luke (οἷς ἐλάλησαν οἱ προφῆται).[434]

5.101 Luke 24:41

4.43.8—*Atquin adhuc eis non credentibus propterea cibum desideravit, ut se ostenderet etiam dentes habere.*

Based on Tertullian's allusion Harnack reconstructed ἔτι δὲ ἀπιστούντων αὐτῶν … τι βρώσιμον.[435] Once again Harnack did not follow Tertullian's word order (*eis non credentibus*), which is attested by 1675 and a few OL manuscripts. Harnack's reconstruction may well reflect Marcion's order, but certainty is not possible.

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430 Braun states that ἐνομίζομεν was "sans doute" the reading of Marcion as the idea of "thinking" is the basis for Tertullian's subsequent argument in 4.43.4 (though there he uses the verb *existimare*). This observation, however, could be interpreted differently in that Tertullian may have rendered the wording of the verse more loosely along the lines of his intended argument.

431 Lukas, *Rhetorik*, 326n1465. Harnack had considered the reading "nur wahrscheinlich" and considered the possibility that the canonical reading was present (*Marcion*, 238*). Braun, similarly to Lukas, states "La liberté de notre auteur dans sa façon de citer peut être ici en cause [for the reading]" (*Contre Marcion IV*, 522n1).

432 Cf. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:494. Harnack, *Marcion*, 239* offered this as Marcion's reading without further comment.

433 Lieu more accurately renders Tertullian's text "what was spoken to you" ("Marcion and the New Testament," 413n19), though also contended that this reading "by implication" supports the first person singular reading attested by Epiphanius and in the *Adamantius Dialogue* (ibid., 413). This implication is not obvious to me.

434 It may already be noted, however, that v. 25 is also marshaled by Wolter as evidence for Lukan redaction being present in Marcion's Gospel (*Lukasevangelium*, 3).

435 Harnack, *Marcion*, 239*–40*.

5.102 Luke 24:47

4.43.9—…*siquidem et apostolos mittens ad praedicandum universis nationibus*…

The final verse attested in Marcion's Gospel is Luke 24:47. Tertullian's allusion attests κηρυχθῆναι … εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη.[436]

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436 Harnack provides the same reconstruction, though without the ellipses (ibid., 240*).

CHAPTER 6

Epiphanius as a Source

Having devoted two chapters to the numerous verses attested for Marcion's Gospel in Tertullian, this chapter turns to the second major source, Epiphanius. Before considering the specific attestation of Marcion's text offered by Epiphanius, however, a variety of introductory issues need to be discussed at the outset.

6.1 Advances in Understanding Epiphanius and His Works

In the works of Epiphanius, the vast majority of his biblical quotations are found in the *Ancoratus* (Ἀγκυρωτός) and the *Panarion haereses* (Πανάριον).[1] The critical text of these two works remains the edition by Karl Holl,[2] though the second and third volumes have been corrected and supplemented in second editions by Jürgen Dummer.[3] An index volume to the Holl and Holl/Dummer volumes has also now been published,[4] which, together with the *Biblia Patristica* index,[5] greatly facilitates the study of Epiphanius's references to biblical texts. In addition, Frank Williams has provided an English translation, with helpful notes, of the *Panarion*.[6] Other, including incompletely

1 For a brief discussion of Epiphanius, his works, and an overview of scholarly attention given to those works cf. Johannes Imscher, "Die Epiphaniosausgabe der 'Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller'," *Helikon* 22–27 (1982–1987): 535–41.

2 Reference to this edition was made in chapter 3, n.14. Concerning the creation of this edition, as well as observations concerning its strengths and weaknesses, cf. Imscher, "Die Epiphaniosausgabe," 538–40 and Jürgen Dummer, "Zur Epiphanius-Ausgabe der 'Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller,'" in *Texte und Textkritik: Eine Aufsatzsammlung* (ed. Jürgen Dummer et al.; TU 133; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1987), 119–125.

3 Epiphanius, *Epiphanius II* (ed. Jürgen Dummer; 2d ed.; GCS 31; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1980) and *Epiphanius III* (ed. Jürgen Dummer; 2d ed.; GCS 37; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1985).

4 *Epiphanius IV: Register zu den Bänden I–III* (*Ancoratus, Panarion haer. 1–80 und De fide*) (ed. Christian-Friedrich Collatz et al.; GCS 13; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006).

5 J. Allenbach et al., eds., *Eusèbe de Césarée, Cyrille de Jérusalem, Épiphane de Salamine*, (vol. 4 of *Biblia Patristica: Index des citations et allusions bibliques dans la literature patristique*; Paris: Éditions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1987).

6 Epiphanius, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis* (trans. Frank Williams; 2 vols.; NHS 35, 36; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987–1994). A 2d revised and expanded edition appeared in 2009, which is the edition used here.

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preserved, works of Epiphanius are only occasionally relevant for the present study, though the continued work on *De mensuris et ponderibus* (Περὶ μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν) due to the discovery of new fragements of the text should be noted.[7]

Concerning Epiphanius's own biblical text, Carroll D. Osburn has offered a new and expanded study of the topic of his Ph.D. dissertation, namely, the *Apostolos* in Epiphanius, which also offers helpful discussion of both Epiphanius's citation habits and methodological issues involved in using the church fathers for textual criticism of the NT.[8] For the Gospels' text used by Epiphanius, the study by Lawrence Allen Eldridge[9] is unfortunately rather significantly flawed in both data and methodology,[10] and therefore of limited value for evaluating Epiphanius's text in this section of the NT canon.

6.2 Epiphanius's Testimony Concerning Marcion's Gospel

6.2.1 *Statistical Analysis of Epiphanius's Testimony*

After Tertullian, Epiphanius is the second most important source for Marcion's Gospel. As already noted at the outset of this study, Epiphanius provides data

7 For the manuscript tradition of this work cf. Elias Moutsoulas, "La tradition manuscrite de l'oeuvre d'Epiphane de Salamine *De mensuris et ponderibus*," in *Texte und Textkritik: Eine Aufsatzsammlung* (ed. Jürgen Dummer et al.; TU 133; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1987), 429–40. For the Syriac text cf. the J.E. Dean edition, *Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures* (SAOC 11; Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1935). The Greek fragments can be found in Elias Moutsoulas, "Τὸ 'Περὶ μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν' ἔργον Ἐπιφανίου τοῦ Σαλαμῖνος," Θεολογία 44 (1973): 157–200, the Georgian in M. van Esbroeck, *Les versions géogiennes d'Épiphane de Chypre, Traité des Poids et des Mesures* (CSCO 460–461; Leuven: Peeters, 1984), and the Armenian in Michael E. Stone and Roberta R. Ervine, *The Armenian Texts of Epiphanius of Salamis* De mensuris et ponderibus (CSCO 583; Leuven: Peeters, 2000).

8 Reference to this work was made in chapter 3, n. 85. Osburn's Ph.D. dissertation is "The Text of the Pauline Epistles in Epiphanius of Salamis" (Ph.D. diss., University of St. Andrews, 1974).

9 Lawrence Allen Eldridge, *The Gospel Text of Epiphanius of Salamis* (SD 41; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1969).

10 Cf. Gordon D. Fee, review of Lawrence Allen Eldridge, *The Gospel Text of Epiphanius of Salamis*, *JBL* 90 (1971): 368, 370 and Osburn, *Text of the Apostolos*, 18–20. Osburn also references a paper presented by Thomas C. Geer, Jr. at the Seventh International Conference on Patristic Studies in Oxford (September 9, 1975) entitled "The Text of Luke-Acts in Epiphanius of Salamis" in which Geer highlighted problems with Eldridge's treatment of Epiphanius's use of Luke.

concerning readings for 114 verses in *Pan.* 42 and numerous passages not present in Marcion's Gospel, almost entirely, though not exclusively, in 78 scholia and elenchi.[11] It is also worth noting that in comparison with Tertullian, Epiphanius makes far more direct references to variant readings in Marcion's Gospel.[12] In 23 scholia Epiphanius refers to elements "excised" by Marcion and in 14 made explicit reference to Marcion's text reading differently than the text of Epiphanius.[13]

6.2.2 *Panarion Haereses 42*

In book 42 of the *Panarion*, Epiphanius devotes the first eight chapters to a discussion of Marcion's life and a refutation of Marcion's teachings. Chapters nine through twelve then contain extensive interaction with Marcion's Scriptures.[14] Epiphanius concludes with chapters thirteen through sixteen, which once again interact with Marcion's teachings and beliefs. Though the number of

11 Specific details of Epiphanius's presentation of the data are discussed below. In the second listing of the material which Epiphanius addresses in Marcion's Gospel, he first makes reference to a verse as a note (σχόλιον) and then offers a refutation (ἔλενγχος). Eric Scherbenske has observed: "This style of refutation, unique amongst the heresies treated in Epiphanius's *Panarion* and utilized extensively in his polemic against Marcion, closely resembles the content and argumentative strategy of Tertullian's and Adamantius's discussions of Marcion's tenets and may perhaps be traced to the *Antitheses*" ("Marcion's *Antitheses* and the Isagogic Genre," *VC* 64 [2010]: 271).

12 Harnack highlighted the value of Epiphanius's testimony, particular in complementing the testimony of Tertullian, by observing, "Da Tert. beim Evang. sehr viel seltner als beim Apostol. Auslassungen vermerkt hat, so sind diese Angaben des Epiph. von unschätzbarem Wert; ohne sie wäre unsere Kenntnis des Marcionitischen Verfahrens sehr viel dürftiger" (*Marcion*, 182*). In addition, it was pointed out in chapter 4, n. 21 that Tertullian devoted far less attention to the conclusion of Marcion's Gospel than he did to the beginning. Epiphanius, however, has far more scholia dealing with the concluding two chapters than the opening chapters (cf. also Lieu, "Marcion and the New Testament," 411).

13 "Excisions" (cf. Epiphanius's use of οὐκ εἶχεν, παρακόπτω, etc.) are mentioned in σχ. 12, 22, 25, 28, 29, 31, 38, 41, 42, 47, 48, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 63, 64, 67, 72, and 77. Some type of variant reading (cf. Epiphanius's use of ἀντί, παραλλάσσω, etc.) are mentioned in σχ. 1, 4, 8, 19, 26, 30, 34, 35, 40, 48, 50, 69, 70, and 77. Harnack simply summarized the data writing "Von diese 78 Stellen [the scholia] enthalten 35 Angaben über Änderungen M.s am Text, sei es durch Auslassungen, sei es durch Korrekturen" (*Marcion*, 182*).

14 Though Epiphanius does offer insight into numerous verses in Marcion's Scriptures and remains the second most important source after Tertullian, Zahn rightly observed, "In der That hat er [Epiphanius] sich recht wenig Mühe kosten lassen, sich und den Lesern ein Bild von Mrc.'s NT zu verschaffen. Die Citate bestehen zum großen Theil aus wenigen Worten; ziemlich selten wird von größeren Abschitten angegeben, daß sie bei Mrc. Fehlten" (*Geschichte*, 2:412).

chapters devoted to Marcion's Scriptures are less than those devoted to his life and teaching, chapters nine through twelve are significantly longer than the others so that the vast majority of the book against Marcion is comprised of Epiphanius's discussion of Marcion's *Euangelion* and *Apostolikon*.[15] In the ninth chapter of *Pan*. 42, Epiphanius notes that Marcion used only Luke as a Gospel, though in a version that was mutilated (περικεκομμένον) not only at the beginning, but also at the end and in the middle.[16] After also making reference to Marcion's *Apostolikon*, Epiphanius states that he is able to refute Marcion from the very texts retained in the Marcionite church.[17] It is at this point that the book becomes curious and somewhat convoluted in its structure. At the beginning of chapter ten, Epiphanius indicates that he had previously written a treatise (πραγματεία) against Marcion, which he would present (παρατίθημι) in his present work. He describes his procedure for preparing this treatise in the following manner: (1) quite a few years ago (ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ἱκανῶν) he took up Marcion's *Euangelion* and *Apostolikon* and selected material out of these books that would serve to refute Marcion; (2) he wrote something of an outline for a text in which he ordered the points and numbered them.[18] Epiphanius indicates that this "outline" contained both passages that Marcion had falsified and passages that were unchanged but capable of refuting him.[19] This selection of passages is then presented in *Pan*. 42.11.1–8, a section which Epiphanius entitles προοίμιον τῆς περὶ τῶν Μαρκίωνος βιβλίων ὑποθέσεώς τε καὶ ἐλέγχου. The "outline" contains 78 excerpts from Marcion's Gospel, followed by 40 excerpts from seven Pauline epistles. In *Pan*. 42.11.9–14 Epiphanius concludes that he has now presented Marcion's falsified compilation (ἡ νενοθευμένη σύνταξις) containing a version of Luke and an incomplete collection of Paul's epistles and that he has toiled over and investigated these texts so that it might be understood that the altered sayings had been fraudulently inserted (τὰ μὲν παρηλλαγμένα ῥήματα κατὰ ῥᾳδιουργίαν ἐντέτακται).

In *Pan*. 42.11.15 Epiphanius begins describing a third part of his scholarship (τρίτον τῆς φιλοκαλίας) where he contends that texts which he and Marcion had

15 In the Holl/Dummer edition, chapters 9–12 of book 42 comprise 78 of the book's 93 pages.

16 *Pan*. 42.9.1–2.

17 Cf. *Pan*. 42.9.6–7 for the list of theological points that Epiphanius believed he could make from the Marcionite Scriptures that contradicted Marcionite beliefs.

18 *Pan*. 42.10.2.

19 *Pan*. 42.10.4–5. It certainly appears that Epiphanius is attempting to secure the authenticity of his source (i.e., Marcion's own texts) and therefore the reliability of his discussion through these references to his "earlier work" on Marcion's text. So also Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 153.

in common could be used to prove theological points contrary to Marcion's beliefs. In *Pan*. 42.11.16 Epiphanius goes on to state,

> And here is the brief arrangement of that work of mine, transcribed word for word by myself from copies of Marcion in the form of scholia with exegetical comments, to serve as an outline.[20]

In *Pan*. 42.11.17, Epiphanius adds that in order for the difficult things not to be obscure, he would now explain every entry, offering a reason for why each saying was chosen and transferred here to the *Panarion*.[21] Epiphanius then lists the 118 passages a second time, this time as scholia, each of which is followed by an elenchus.[22] Though some scholars previously had given attention to Epiphanius as a source,[23] Zahn appears to have been the first to devote attention to the question of how *Pan*. 42 came to have this rather unusual structure.[24]

Zahn's position was that the earlier work against Marcion, a work which previously had not been completed or published, was taken up again and included without alteration (*unverändert*) in the *Panarion*.[25] The beginning and conclusion of this previous work is, according to Zahn, clearly designated in *Pan*. 42.11.1 and *Pan*. 42.11.16, respectively. The work thus contained a chapter one (the excerpts from the Gospel) and a chapter two (the excerpts from the Pauline epistles); however, Epiphanius at the time did not get further than the introduction to chapter 3, a chapter that Zahn characterized as having

20 *Pan*. 42.11.16 (Williams).

21 Williams interprets Epiphanius's statement in his note: "I.e., in what follows the quotations from Marcion with Epiph's occasional comments on the text, were the 'scholia and notes.' These were collected for the benefit of anyone who wanted to write a full dress refutation of Marcion. The elenchi which accompany them are being written by Epiph now, as part of his *Panarion*" (*The* Panarion *Book I*, 315n154). It is not, however, entirely clear that this interpretation is correct (cf. the discussion below).

22 For the ordering and numbering of the 40 passages taken from the *Apostolikon* cf. the discussion in Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 151–53.

23 Volckmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, 31–45, e.g., offered numerous observations on Epiphanius's citation habits in *Pan*.42; however, he did not discuss the question of how Epiphanius had constructed the book.

24 The unusual structure affects both Epiphanius's testimony concerning Marcion's Gospel and his testimony concerning Marcion's Pauline letter collection. The issue for the latter, however, has an additional curious re-ordering of the material in the two lists (cf. n. 22 above). For discussion of Epiphanius's testimony concerning Marcion's *Apostolikon* cf. Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 150–75. Elements of Schmid's conclusions are also mentioned below.

25 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:409.

been intended to contain “die Vertheidigung der kirchlichen Lehre gegenüber der marcionitsichen.”[26] It is only when Epiphanius took up this older work into *Pan*. 42 that it was completed by the addition of the refutations of Marcion’s texts. When writing the second listing comprised of scholia and elenchi, Zahn argued that Epiphanius did not once again take up Marcion’s text, but simply recopied the list of citations, i.e., the list in the original work that is the first listing in *Pan*. 42. For this reason Zahn concluded that the second listing has value only for the textual criticism of Epiphanius, and that

> die zweiten Anführungen marcionitischer Texte bei Ep. als bloße Abschrift der ersten und die in den Widerlegungen, wovon jene begleitet sind, vorgetragenen Erwägungen in keinem Betracht den Werth einer Geschichtsquelle [haben].[27]

Zahn’s views were accepted by Harnack, who in his own consideration of Epiphanius as a source referred the reader to Zahn’s discussion.[28] Schmid, however, argues against Zahn’s perspective and contends that for the *Apostolikon* the second listing actually contains more original readings and that the first listing is often secondary.[29] At the same time, Schmid demonstrates that the second listing also has some secondary elements or readings, ultimately concluding that there was an *Ur-Exzerptsammlung* that was then copied in different ways at least twice, with the second listing in Epiphanius’s book, at least for the *Apostolikon*, being closer to the original.[30] Several observations seem to confirm Schmid’s rejection of Zahn’s position and that it is also not the case for Marcion’s Gospel that the first list is the “original” list taken from Marcion’s text.

Before actually considering a few examples, it is important to note that in the Holl/Dummer edition, the main text evidences only a bare minimum of differences between the two lists of scholia. In fact, only 12 scholia reflect any

26 Ibid., 2:410.

27 Ibid., 2:418.

28 Cf. Harnack, *Marcion*, 64*, 182*.

29 Schmid’s argument is based on the order in which the Pauline epistles are addressed, Epiphanius’s two discussions of 1 Cor 9:8–9, the fact that a whole series of passages in the first listing appear to have omissions, and that numerous minor differences in the first listing create readings that are closer to the readings of the major stream of NT textual transmission (cf. *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 155–68).

30 Schmid sees evidence of secondary elements in the second listing in the discussion of Eph 2:11 and 1 Cor 1:31. Schmid’s conclusions are found in *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 167–68.

variation at all, including such minor differences as spelling variation or the presence or absence of a movable nu.[31] When one looks at the apparatus, however, in 57 scholia the manuscripts offer differing texts for the two lists, often with both Codex Vaticanus 503 (=V) and Codex Marcianus 125 (=M) attesting the same variant reading.[32] Schmid observed a similar phenomenon for the *Apostolikon* where 22 of the 40 scholia reflect differences when the reading in the apparatus, and not the one in the main text, is considered.[33] Apparently, Holl believed that essentially all of these differences crept into the manuscripts through the transmission process; however, Schmid demonstrated that because of clearly identifiable tendencies in the variant readings found in the two lists, most of these differences actually stem from the time of the composition of the *Panarion*.[34] Thus, it is imperative always to have the text of Epiphanius as attested in the manuscripts in view, and not simply the text as reconstructed by Holl. When this is done, several important observations can be made.

First, as part of the argument that the first listing is less reliable for the scholia from the *Apostolikon*, Schmid points out five instances where the first list offers less text, sometimes considerably less, than the second listing.[35] There are also several instances where this is the case for the first listing of the scholia dealing with Marcion's Gospel (*Pan*.42.11.6). In scholion 5, the first list does not include Epiphanius's καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς; in scholion 32 it omits the final particle δή; in scholion 42 it does not include καὶ ἀσώτως δαπανήσαντος; in scholion 50 it omits ὁ θεός; in scholion 51 it omits the external subject of the infinitive, αὐτόν; in scholion 53 it omits τὸ περί; in scholion 66 it omits the external subject Ἰούδας; in scholion 67 it omits that Peter cut off the ear τοῦ δούλου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως; in scholion 75 it omits the external subject αἱ γυναῖκες; and in scholion 77 it omits Epiphanius's observation ἐποίησεν along with the pronouns αὐτῶν and αὐτόν. Though both lists contain omissions of individual words in numerous places, the vast majority of them are clearly mechanical errors; however, though the omission in scholion 42 mentioned above could have been the result of

31 These scholia are numbers 7, 11, 15, 27, 29, 38, 50, 53, 69, 77, and 78.

32 V and M are the two, independent manuscripts attesting book 42 of the *Panarion*. Holl published a separate study of the manuscript tradition for the *Panarion* and *Ancoratus* entitled *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung des Epiphanius* (*Panarion und Ancoratus*) (TU 36.2; Leipzig: Hinrich's, 1910). An English overview of Holl's conclusions is found in Williams (trans.), *The* Panarion, xii.

33 Cf. Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 158.

34 Ibid., 159. Cf. also n. 29 above.

35 The passages discussed are 1 Cor 10:1–4, 11, 19–20; Gal 5:21; and Eph 5:14 (ibid., 161–64).

parablepsis as the copyist skipped from one *καί* to the next and the omission in 50 could have occurred due to homoeoteleuton, the other omissions cannot be explained as merely copy errors. It is telling in this regard that while the first listing exhibits several, often longer omissions, the second listing exhibits only a few such omissions, namely at the end of scholion 1 and in scholia 10 and 30 (*Pan*. 42.11.17).[36] Though the data are perhaps not quite as clear as in the *Apostolikon*, the material from Marcion's Gospel provides at least some further support for Schmid's conclusion, who, on the basis of his analysis of the omissions in the first list of the *Apostolikon*, notes

> Aufs Ganze gesehen ergeben sie [the omissions] das eindeutige Bild, daß die erste Anführung deutlich weniger Text bietet, also unvollständiger ist als die zweite Anführung. Gleichzeitig verstärkt sich der Eindruck, daß der Text der ersten Anführung eine schnell und schludrig durchgeführte Abschrift des Textes der zweiten Anführung ist.[37]

Second, Schmid also considers several scholia where the listings for the *Apostolikon* contained different readings concluding that "Der Text der ersten Anführung hat eine deutlich größere Affinität zum Hauptstrom der ntl. Textüberlieferung als der Text der zweiten Anführung."[38] In addition,

> textliche Differenzen zwischen den beiden Anführungen lassen auf eine gewisse Nachlässigkeit bei der Anfertigung der beiden Anführungen schließen. Die Lapsus der zweiten Anführung sind jedoch in der Überzahl.[39]

A comparison of several variant readings for the two listings in Epiphanius's discussion of Marcion's Gospel, presented in the following table, allows for some further conclusions concerning the two lists of scholia.[40]

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36 At the end of scholion 1, the second list omits Epiphanius's comment on the cited reading: ἀνθ᾽ οὗ εἶπεν ὁ σωτήρ εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς. Curiously, in Schmid's discussion of the first scholion on 1 Cor 10:19, he references this omission, but states that it "fehlt in der ersten Anführung" (ibid., 163n47). Apparently some type of error occurred in his reading of the apparatus. In scholion 10 the second τοὺς πόδας is missing and in scholion 30 the first τοῦ θεοῦ is omitted.

37 Ibid., 164.

38 Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 166.

39 Ibid.

40 Passages listed are readings where comparison with the manuscript tradition is possible and fruitful. It is important to note that these readings are not in every case attested

	First List (*Pan.* 42.11.6)	Second List (*Pan.*42.11.17)
Luke 6:16 (σχ. 4)	Ἰσκαριώθ	Ἰσκαριώτην
Luke 7:9 (σχ. 7)	λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν . . .	λέγω ὑμῖν . . .
Luke 7:23 (σχ. 8)	. . . ἐὰν μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ . . .	. . . οὐ μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ . . .
Luke 7:44 (σχ. 11)	. . . ἔβρεξεν μου τοὺς πόδας . . .	. . . ἔβρεξε τοὺς πόδας μου . . .
Luke 8:42 (σχ. 14)	ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν αὐτόν, . . .	ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν αὐτόν, . . .
Luke 9:16 (σχ. 15)	ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐλόγησεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς.	ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸυς οὐρανοὺς ηὐλόγησεν αὐτούς.
Luke 9:30 (σχ. 17)	καὶ ἰδοὺ δύο ἄνδρες . . .	καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες . . .
Luke 11:11, 12 (σχ. 24)	. . . αἰτήσει ἰχθύν . . . ἢ ἀντι ᾠοῦ . . .	. . . αἰτήσας ἰχθύν . . . καὶ ἀντι ᾠοῦ . . .
Luke 11:47 (σχ. 27)	. . . οἰκοδομεῖτε τὰ μνήματα . . .	. . . οἰκοδομεῖτε τὰ μνημεῖα . . .
Luke 12:4, 6 (σχ. 29)	λέγω τοῖς φίλοις μου . . .	λέγω δὲ τοῖς φίλοις μου . . .
Luke 12:8 (σχ. 30)	ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁμολογήσει ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ λέγει.	ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁμολογήσει ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐκεῖνος τοῦ θεοῦ λέγει.
Luke 12:31 (σχ. 33)	ζητεῖτε δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν . . .	ζητεῖτε τὴν βασιλείαν . . .
Luke 12:38 (σχ. 35)	. . . εἶχεν ἑσπερινὴν φυλακὴν.	. . . εἶχεν ἑσπερινῇ φυλακῇ.
Luke 13:16 (σχ. 39)	. . . ἔδησεν ὁ Σατανᾶς.	. . . ἣν ἔδησεν ὁ Σατανᾶς.
Luke 13:28 (σχ. 40)	και ἐκεῖ ἔστιν ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων.	ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων.
Luke 16:29 (σχ. 46)	. . . ἐκ νεκρῶν . . .	. . . ἀπὸ νεκρῶν . . .
Luke 17:10 (σχ. 47)	λέγετε ὅτι ἀχρεῖοι δοῦλοί ἐσμεν . . .	λέγετε ἀχρεῖοι δοῦλοί ἐσμεν . . .
Luke 17:22 (σχ. 49)	. . . ὅταν ἐπιθυμήσητε ἰδεῖν μίαν τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.	. . . ὅταν ἐπιθυμήσητε μίαν τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.
Luke 18:33 (σχ. 52)	. . . τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστήσεται.	. . . τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγερθήσεται.
Luke 20:37 (σχ. 56)	. . . περὶ τῆς βάτου . . .	. . . ἐπὶ τῆς βάτου . . .
Luke 21:22 (σχ. 59)	ἕως πληρωθῇ πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα.	ἕως πληρωθῇ τὰ γεγραμμένα.

for Marcion's Gospel as at times Epiphanius is making reference to a section missing from Marcion's text. Thus, the purpose here is to consider variant readings as related to the two listings of scholia. The question of the reading of Marcion's text is a subsequent question and is discussed below.

	First List (*Pan.* 42.11.6)	Second List (*Pan.*42.11.17)
Luke 22:16 (σχ. 63)	λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, … ἕως πληρωθῇ	λέγω ὑμῖν, … ἕως ἂν πληρωθῇ
Luke 22:64 (σχ. 68)	… λέγοντες …	… καὶ λέγοντες …
Luke 23:34 (σχ. 71)	… διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτια …	… διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ …
Luke 23:50, 53 (σχ. 74)	καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ … ἐνετύλιξε …	ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ … ἐνετύλιξε σινδόνι …
Luke 24:38 (σχ. 78)	… ἴδετε τὰς χεῖράς καὶ τοὺς πόδας …	… ἴδετε τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου …

In a series of readings, the first listing has a greater affinity to the primary stream of transmission in the manuscripts. This seems to be the case in, e.g., Luke 7:23, 44; once in 9:16; 11:11; 16:29 17:10; 18:33; 21:22; 22:16, 64; and 23:50.[41] It is also noteworthy that in several instances the first list aligns with the reading of certain "Western" witnesses, e.g., once in Luke 9:16; 9:30; 11:12; and 12:31.[42] On the other hand, even though it occurs more often in the first list, there are also instances where the second list aligns with the primary stream, e.g., Luke 6:16; 7:9; 11:47; 12:4; 13:16, 28; 17:22 (if one views the citation as breaking off before

41 According to IGNTP, the witnesses attesting the second reading are as follow: Luke 7:23 οὐ μή *l*1056; Luke 7:44 aur, b, c, f, g^1, gat, l, q, r^1, Vulgate, arm, and geo; Luke 9:16 the plural τὸυς οὐρανούς is a singular reading; Luke 11:11 αἰτήσας is a singular reading; Luke 16:29 solely ἀπό is a singular reading, though 13, 69, 124, 346, 478, 543, 788, 826, 828, 983, *l*1056, and *l*1127 read ἀπὸ τῶν; Luke 17:10 omission of ὅτι by numerous manuscripts; Luke 18:33 ἐγερθήσεται L, 5, 157, 827, 892, 2542, 2766, *l*184; Luke 21:22 omission of πάντα is a singular reading; Luke 22:16 omission of γάρ only in 1203, Arabic diatessaron, some bo manuscripts, and Origen and addition of ἄν is a singular reading; Luke 22:64, through a compressed reference, placing a καί before λέγοντες is a singular reading; and Luke 23:50 omission of καί is a singular reading.

42 According to IGNTP, the witnesses attesting the first reading are as follow: Luke 9:16 the addition of ἐπ᾽ is the reading of D, a, b, d, ff^2, g^1, l, q, r^1 and sy^c; Luke 9:30 the position of δύο is attested in e, aur, b, d, f, ff^2, g^1, gat, l, q, r^1, Vulgate, sy^s, ^{c}, ^{p} and geo (the complete omission in the second listing is a singular reading); Luke 11:12 ἤ is the reading of 700, aur, b, c, f, ff^2, g^1, gat, i, l, q, r^1, Vulgate, geo (the reading καί in the second list is the reading of 726, 1220, 1579, *l*1231, d, sy^{c,p}, the Arabic and Persian diatessaron); and Luke 12:31 ζητεῖτε δέ is the reading of D, a, d.

ἰδεῖν); 20:37; and 23:34, 53.[43] In two other instances, namely Luke 8:42 and 24:38, the readings are difficult to evaluate.[44] Furthermore, there is a curious shift in numbering in the first list when σχ. θ (9) is split in two and σχ. λγ and λε (33 and 34) are collapsed together leading to the scholia being numbered differently in between. Finally, both lists evidence singular readings and a certain carelessness in copying even if, once again, the first list has more clearly identifiable errors.[45]

Overall, the two sets of above findings correspond, at least to some extent, with what Schmid discovered for the two lists of the *Apostolikon*.[46] Therefore, Schmid's conclusion concerning the material attesting Marcion's *Apostolikon* likely also applies to the material attesting Marcion's Gospel: "Wir müssen daher eine Art 'Ur-Exzerptsammlung' postulieren, die mindestens zweimal auf unterschiedliche Weise ausgeschrieben wurde."[47] In other words, it is likely that for the lists from both "halves" of Marcion's Scriptures a similar copying process occurred, and that in both instances an *Ur-Exzerptsammlung* was copied twice, resulting in the two listings in *Pan*. 42. At the same time, however, even if one rejects this view and is inclined towards Zahn's view of the relationship between the two lists (i.e., the priority of the first listing over the second), the fact that corruption undoubtedly affected the text in the

43 According to IGNTP, the witnesses attesting the first reading are as follow: Luke 6:16 P^4, P^{75}, *, B, L, 33, 579, and Marcion (*sic*—the manner in which the manuscript tradition for Epiphanius creates problems can clearly be seen in IGNTP listing Marcion as a witness for the reading Ἰσκαριώθ whereas NA^{28} lists $Mcion^E$ as attesting the reading Ἰσκαριώτην); Luke 7:9 is a singular reading; Luke 11:47 the plural τὰ μνήματα is the reading in *1*056 and Chrysostom; Luke 12:4 δέ is only omitted by 0211, *l*1074, a, sa; Luke 13:16 omission of ἥν is a singular reading; Luke 13:28 is a singular reading; Luke 17:22 several OL witnesses have ἰδεῖν in this position; Luke 20:37 περί is a singular reading; Luke 23:34 omission of αὐτοῦ is a singular reading; and Luke 23:53 the omission of σινδόνι (in second list M and V*) is singular.

44 In Luke 8:42 καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι occurs in C*, D, P, 1071, a, aur, b, c, d, ff^2, g^1, gat, l, q, r^1 and καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν occurs in 343, 716, 1229, 2487. Though both lists read αὐτόν the elenchus begins ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν αὐτούς, καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν αὐτόν, … revealing that the scholion in both list may have been conformed to the nearly unanimously attested third person singular pronoun (According to IGNTP, 5 OL manuscripts read τὸν ἰησοῦν). In Luke 24:38 the omission of both possessive pronouns is practically a singular reading; however, the second one is often omitted. It is difficult to tell if an omission has taken place in first list or if they were added in the second list.

45 For example, omissions in the first list that could be due to homoeoteleuton can be found in σχ. 29 and 76, and possibly in 50.

46 Cf. ibid., 167–68.

47 Ibid., 168.

process of the transmission of the *Panarion* means that, on occasion, the second list may preserve a more accurate reading and therefore cannot be systematically relegated to insignificance.[48] The significance of these observations is that *both* listings of readings from Marcion's texts as found in the Holl/Dummer *apparatus* must be taken into consideration when evaluating Epiphanius's testimony of Marcion's Gospel. A final point to be made here is that the apparent double copying of excerpts from Marcion's Gospel out of Epiphanius's *Zettelkasten* and Epiphanius's lack of access to Marcion's Gospel text at the time of the composition of *Pan*. 42[49] lead to the same result for Marcion's Gospel that Schmid notes for Marcion's *Apostolikon:* "das Zeugnis des Epiphanius *cum grano salis* [ist] nicht so zuverlässig wie das des Tertullians."[50]

In addition to the two listings of the scholia, there is also the question of the elenchi. Zahn contended that the entirety of all the elenchi appear to be secondary additions.[51] Even if this were the case, it would not necessarily mean that no memory of the content of Marcion's text can be found there.[52] At the same time, however, it is not entirely clear that everything in the elenchi is secondary. As noted above, Zahn viewed the "third part" of Epiphanius's scholarship (*Pan*. 42.11.15) as a third chapter of Epiphanius's planned work against Marcion that was never written; yet, there are two problems with this view. First, there is no explicit reference to a "first" or "second" section,[53] and, second, the "third" element is said only to address material Epiphanius and Marcion have in common. Therefore, it is possible that this "third" element

48 Thus, comments such as Zahn's reference to "die fehlerhafter und *wie immer* secundäre zweite Anführung [emphasis added]" (*Geschichte*, 2:507), even if he recognized the value of the second list as being able to function as a "zweite Handschrift" (ibid., 2:418), are highly problematic.

49 Schmid rightly notes that this lack of access could have arisen due to circumstantial (he no longer had physical access to the text) or temporal (he did not have the time to double-check his excerpts against Marcion's text) reasons (*Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 196). In either case, Epiphanius is entirely dependent on a previous interaction with Marcion's Gospel.

50 Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 196.

51 This position is also advanced by Williams (cf. n. 21 above).

52 For example, in Luke 10:25 (discussed below in 6.4.26), the elenchus appears to attest the same omission of αἰωνίου found in Tertullian's testimony. Though this is rather slim evidence upon which to build the view that in writing all the elenchi Epiphanius had Marcion's Gospel and not his own copy of Luke before him as is done by Volckmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, 45 (though n.b. that Volckmar incorrectly refers to the verse in question as 10:26), it may reveal that there are points of contact between readings in the elenchi and readings found in Marcion's text.

53 So also Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 169.

refers, not to a "chapter" as assumed by Zahn, but to a type of refutation of Marcion. Interestingly, immediately prior to *Pan*. 42.11.15, Epiphanius seems to make reference to two other types of material. The first is where Marcion altered sayings (*Pan*. 42.11.13) and the second is where Marcion omitted sayings (*Pan*. 42.11.14).[54] If these are the first two elements of Epiphanius's scholarship the reference to a "third" element involving material that he and Marcion had in common becomes clear. Furthermore, Epiphanius reveals that he has specific types of material of agreement in view, namely texts related to the Savior's incarnation, the agreement of the NT with the OT, and the demonstration that the same God who spoke the Law is the Savior's Father. These three sub-headings utilize keywords (παρουσία, συμφονία, ὁμολογία) that had already been used by Epiphanius in a similar discussion in *Pan*. 42.10.4–7.[55] It appears, therefore, that when Epiphanius first excerpted material from Marcion's Gospel he already had concrete criteria in mind for the material he was selecting. That this material was organized under various headings, and that the material was already, at least to some extent, commented upon (*Pan*. 42.11.16), is entirely possible.[56] Therefore, it is not impossible that the second listing with the refutations is actually reflecting some original material, though now organized not according to topic, but according to the order of the material in the Gospel.[57] For this reason, though the elenchi must be used with caution, their contents also must, at the very least, be considered when attempting to reconstruct Marcion's text from the sources.[58]

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54 Schmid speaks of two groups of excerpts from Marcion's Gospel, one dealing with ῥᾳδιουργία and the other with material held in common with Epiphanius (*Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 169–70). Though much of his analysis of Epiphanius is very helpful, it is not clear how the division into *two* groups of excerpts helps elucidate why Epiphanius refers to a *third* element in his scholarship.

55 Cf. also Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 170.

56 Schmid suggests possible headings such as παλαιὰ διαθήκη, νόμος, ἐνσαρκὸς παρουσία, ῥᾳδιουργία, ὁμολογία, and ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν (ibid., 171). The possibility of commentary appearing with the excerpts before the writing of the *Panarion* is suggested in ibid., 173–74.

57 So also Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 174 for the *Apostolikon*.

58 For example, in scholion 44 Epiphanius simply makes reference to "the material" concerning the rich man, Lazarus, and the latter being carried by angels to Abraham's bosom. In elenchus 44, Epiphanius only focuses on the apparent difficulty for Marcion's theology created by Abraham being among those who live and are blessed. In elenchus 56, however, Epiphanius invokes, in a completely different context, the presence of a specific element from this account, namely the dipping of a finger in water to cool the tongue (Luke 16:24), in a manner that implies its presence in Marcion's text. It is possible that

The clear conclusion at this point is that the relatively simplistic picture of Epiphanius's production of *Pan*. 42 by Zahn and Harnack cannot be embraced. There are overt indications that Epiphanius's excerpts from Marcion's Gospel did not always have the form found in the first listing in *Pan*. 42. In addition, not all of the material in the elenchi can be discarded out of hand and be evaluated as late and historically worthless. At the very least, the convoluted stages of production of *Pan*. 42 and the relatively poor transmission of Epiphanius's work require a careful evaluation of all the material found in both listings of scholia and the elenchi relating to Marcion's Gospel.

6.3 Epiphanius's Citation Habits

In an article dealing with the use of the Greek church fathers for NT textual criticism, Gordon Fee makes a reference to the citing habits of Epiphanius being "notoriously slovenly."[59] In addition, he notes that there are a significant number of singular readings in Epiphanius's *Panarion*.[60] Though these observations are undoubtedly true, Osburn points out that Epiphanius is also capable of reproducing verses with remarkable fidelity.[61] Therefore, when considering Epiphanius's testimony concerning Marcion's Gospel text one cannot hastily conclude either for or against its accuracy. It is worth noting that in the middle of the nineteenth century, Volckmar had already made several important observations concerning the manner in which Epiphanius executes his discussion of Marcion's Gospel. For example, Volckmar noted,

> Wo nur kürze Sätze vorkommen, citirt er freilich, namentlich beim Beginn seiner Scholien, wörtlich gleich mit unserm *Lucas*-Text, . . . Mehrfach aber erlaubt er sich dabei schon kleine Änderungen, wenn sie den Sinn nicht berühren, ohne dass wir desshalb berechtigt wären, abweichende Lesarten bei *Marcion* anzunehmen.[62]

Epiphanius is here making reference to an element in Marcion's Gospel to which he earlier only made a summary reference.

59 Gordon D. Fee, "The Use of the Greek Fathers for New Testament Textual Criticism," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the* Status Quaestionis (ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes; SD 46; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 192–93.

60 Ibid., 204.

61 Osburn, *Text of the Apostolos*, 16. Osburn points to accurate citations of 1 Cor 15:12–15 and Heb 6:4–8 as examples.

62 Volckmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, 33.

In addition, he stated,

> Sobald … die ihm nothwendigen Anführungen etwas umfänglicher werden, so bald sucht er abzukürzen. … Sobald aber grössere Abschnitte folgen, wird er in dem Versuch möglichst abgekürzt zu citiren, mannichfaltiger, je nachdem die Natur derselben ist.[63]

Indeed, though there clearly are instances where Epiphanius carefully notes the wording, especially when accusing Marcion of making an alteration, when general reference to the content of Marcion's Gospel is made not only is there a marked tendency to abbreviate the reference, Epiphanius often also evidences a very loose manner of citation.[64] To cite only one example, in the curious double citation of Luke 20:37–38a in scholia 56 and 57[65] Epiphanius twice notes that Marcion excised/did not have these verses; however, his "citation" of the same text twice in a row shows numerous, marked differences. Even a cursory reading of the scholia and elenchi reveal the number of instances in which Epiphanius uses summary keywords, omits elements, or simply cuts off a citation with καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς (cf. scholia 5, 59, 64 and elenchi 29, 70). For these reasons, one must be particularly aware of the possibility of omissions and alterations due to the hand of Epiphanius, especially in contexts where Epiphanius is not highlighting a difference between Marcion's Gospel and Luke.[66]

In addition, Lieu has recently rightly noted:

> There is a marked tendency in patristic citation for Matthew to influence quotations of Luke (or Mark), and this is more generally evident in both Epiphanius and *Adamantius*.[67]

63 Ibid., 34. Volckmar repeats the point concerning Epiphanius's tendency to abbreviate his citations on pp. 38, 39.

64 So also Ibid., 43–44 and Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:411–12. Volckmar also provided a helpful overview of the differing manner in which Epiphanius gave attention to different chapters of Marcion's Gospel and Luke ultimately correctly concluding "Auf Vollständigkeit in seinen Angaben der *Marcion* scheinbar widrigen Stellen ist also be *Epiph*. auch nicht zu rechnen, wenn er sie auch beabsichtigt hat" (*Das Evangelium Marcions*, 43).

65 Cf. the discussion below under 6.4.57.

66 Volckmar had already recognized the difficulties in these passages, ultimately, and rightly, concluding "Auf die Genauigkeit seiner Angaben in Betreff dessen, was *Marcion* mit *Lucas gemeinsam* hatte, werden wir uns … überhaupt nicht verlassen können" (*Das Evangelium Marcions*, 45).

67 Lieu, "Marcion and the Synoptic Problem," 737.

Indeed, in the index volume to Epiphanius's works noted above (*Epiphanius IV: Register zu den Bänden I–III*), there are 9.5 columns of verses cited from Matthew, 1.5 columns of verses cited from Mark, and 8.5 columns of verses cited from Luke, though here one needs to take into account that many of the verses are cited only in Epiphanius's refutation of Marcion. Thus, the tendency already seen in Tertullian once again must be taken into account for Epiphanius.

6.4 Epiphanius as a Source

As attention is now given to the passages attested by Epiphanius it is vitally important, as argued above, to keep the manuscript tradition and not simply Holl's text in view. For this reason, though Holl's critical text is used, whenever V and/or M attest a different reading it is noted in the cited text. In addition, as was the case in the discussion of Tertullian's testimony, whenever there are other witnesses for the text they are mentioned here. Since the analysis of Tertullian's testimony was undertaken in the previous two chapters, whenever Tertullian and Epiphanius are the only sources for a verse, a comparison of their testimony is presented.

6.4.1 *Luke 1–2; 3:1, 21–38*

42.9.1[68]—…οὗτος [Marcion] γὰρ ἔχει εὐαγγέλιον μόνον τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν, περικεκομμένον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς διὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος σύλληψιν καὶ τὴν ἔνσαρκον αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν. | 42.11.4–5—εὐθὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ πάντα τὰ ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς τῷ Λουκᾷ πεπραγματευμένα τουτέστιν ὡς λέγει ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Ἐλισάβετ καὶ τοῦ ἀγγέλου εὐαγγελιζομένου Μαρίαν τὴν παρθένον, Ἰωάννου τε καὶ Ζαχαρίου καὶ τῆς ἐν Βηθλεὲμ γεννήσεως, γενεαλογίας καὶ τῆς τοῦ βαπτίσματος ὑποθέσεως—ταῦτα πάντα περικόψας ἀπεπήδησεν καὶ ἀρχὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἔταξε ταύτην ἐν τῷ πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει Τιβερίου Καίσαρος καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. | 51.6.12—ἄρχεται δὲ κηρύττειν ὅθεν τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῷ παρεκελεύσατο, τὴν ἀρχὴν τάττων ἀπὸ πεντεκαιδεκάτου ἔτους Τιβερίου Καίσαρος. | 51.19.2—Μάρκος δὲ ἄρχεται ἀπὸ πεντεκαιδεκάτου ἔτους Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, <τὴν> μεσότητα τῶν μετὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν <οὐ> διηγούμενος. | 66.50.5—ἡ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσία ἐν τῷ πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει Τιβερίου Καίσαρος <ἐγένετο· ἀπὸ τότε γὰρ> ἤρξατο τοῦ κηρύγματος, … | 66.78.1—Εἶτα ἔφη ὅτι τὰ παλαιὰ ἔτη οὐδεὶς ἐσώθη, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ πεντεκαιδεκάτου ἔτους Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἄχρι τῶν αὐτοῦ χρόνων.

68 References without the title of a work are to the *Panarion*. The divisions and Greek text are those found in the Holl/Dummer volumes referenced in nn. 2 and 3 above.

In 42.9.1 Epiphanius makes a reference to the beginning of Luke's Gospel being omitted in Marcion's Gospel, with the reference to διὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος σύλλμψιν καὶ τὴν ἔνσαρκον αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν likely offering a broad summary of the contents of Luke 1–2. In 42.11.4, Epiphanius makes specific reference to the opening words of Luke and then to several elements in these first two chapters, indicating that indeed 1:1–2:52 were omitted in Marcion's text. This omission is also attested by many other sources. Furthermore, Epiphanius also goes on to note the omission of γενεαλογίας καὶ τῆς βαπτίσματος ὑποθέσεως, which makes reference, in the reverse order, to the content of Luke 3:21–38 not being present.

Epiphanius also provides a citation of the "beginning of the Gospel" of Marcion, where he writes the opening words from Luke 3:1 before unfortunately breaking off with καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. Elements of this verse are also attested by several other witnesses (Tertullian, Hippolytus, Origen, [Pseudo-]Ephrem, and in the *Adamantius Dialogue*) and when considering Epiphanius's testimony it is important to note the other instances where he cites from this verse. Two significant observations are that in every instance Epiphanius places the numeral before the year, an otherwise unattested word order in the manuscripts according to IGNTP, and that τῷ is also inserted after the preposition in 66.50.5. This word order, also different from the order attested by Tertullian, and wording may therefore be due to Epiphanius's own hand.[69]

6.4.2 *Luke 4:27*

42.11.6 μη (48)—…πολλοὶ λεπροὶ ἦσαν ἐν ἡμέραις Ἐλισσαίου τοῦ προφήτου καὶ οὐκ ἐκαθαρίσθη εἰ μὴ Νεεμὰν ὁ Σύρος. | 42.11.17 Σχ. μη (48)—…πολλοὶ λεπροὶ ἦσαν ἐν ἡμέραις Ἐλισσαίου τοῦ προφήτου καὶ οὐκ ἐκαθαρίσθη εἰ μὴ Νεεμὰν ὁ Σύρος. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. μη (48)—Καὶ ἐνταῦθα προφήτην τὸν Ἐλισσαῖον καλεῖ ὁ κύριος καὶ ἑαυτὸν πληροῦντα τὰ ἰσοτύπως παρ᾽ ἐκεινου προγεγενημένα, …

As already noted in the discussion of this verse in Tertullian, both Tertullian and Epiphanius attest the presence of this verse in the pericope of the cleansing of the ten lepers (Luke 17:11–19).[70] In the elenchus Epiphanius focuses on this statement highlighting that the Lord calls Elisha "a prophet" and is accomplishing things previously done by Elisha. The verse was reconstructed by Harnack as πολλοὶ λεπροὶ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Ἰσρα λ [*sic*] ἐν ἡμέραις Ἐλισσαίου τοῦ προφήτου καὶ οὐκ ἐκαθαρίσθη εἰ μὴ Νεεμὰν ὁ Σύρος.[71] Taking both the testimony of Tertullian and Epiphanius into account, this reconstruction is for the most part

69 Harnack reconstructed the opening of the verse according to Epiphanius's word order and wording (*Marcion*, 183*).

70 Cf. also the discussion below in 6.4.49.

71 Harnack, *Marcion*, 223*.

unproblematic. If no sayings material preceded 4:27, one would expect the opening copulative *καί* not to be present and for the statement to begin with *πολλοί*, as is the case here and also in Tertullian. Both sources also attest the unproblematic opening words πολλοὶ λεπροὶ ἦσαν; however, Epiphanius has no reference to ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ attested by Tertullian. Since the omission of this phrase, according to IGNTP, is elsewhere found only in 579, Origen, and Ambrose, it could be a simple omission by Epiphanius. Interestingly, both Tertullian and Epiphanius attest the reading ἐν ἡμέραις Ἐλισσαίου which is elsewhere found only in Origen and Hillary. At the same time the OL e reads *tempore Elie*, which may be related to the reading attested here. Curious, however, is Harnack offering the singular reading attested by Epiphanius for Marcion's text (οὐκ ἐκαθαρίσθη) as it is more likely that this reading is due to Epiphanius.[72] Finally, due to Tertullian's testimony being in Latin it is not certain whether Marcion's text spelled Ἐλισσαίου with one or two sigmas and Νεεμάν with one or two epsilons.[73]

6.4.3 *Luke 5:12–14*

42.11.6 α (1)—Ἀπελθὼν δεῖξον σεαυτὸν τῷ ἱερεῖ καὶ προσένεγκε περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ σου, καθὼς προσέταξε Μωυσῆς[74]· ἵνα ᾖ μαρτύριον τοῦτο ὑμῖν ἀνθ᾽ οὗ εἶπεν ὁ σωτήρ εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς. | 42.11.17 Σχ. <α> (1)—Ἀπελθὼν δεῖξον σεαυτὸν τῷ ἱερεῖ καὶ προσένεγκε περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ σου, καθὼς προσέταξε Μωυσῆς· ἵνα ᾖ μαρτύριον τοῦτο ὑμῖν ἀνθ᾽ οὗ εἶπεν ὁ σωτήρ εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς [ἀνθ᾽ … αὐτοῖς omitted by V M] | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. α (1)—Πῶς ἠδύνατο ὁ κύριος … λέγειν τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ θεραπευομένοις, φημὶ δὲ τῷ λεπρῷ … καὶ προσένεγκε περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ σου κἄν τε ἀποκόψῃς τὸ δῶρον, φανήσεται ἐκ τοῦ προσένεγκε ὅτι περὶ δώρου λέγει· | 66.57.2— … ἀπελθὼν προσένεγκε τὸ δῶρόν σου, τῷ καθαρισθέντι ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ λεπρῷ λέγων καθὼς προσέταξε Μωυσῆς.

In the elenchus Epiphanius attests that the healing of a leper took place (Luke 5:12–13), though no further insight is possible than that already gained from Tertullian's attestation of these two verses. Several other elements from the scholion are repeated verbatim in the elenchus and thus not cited above, though the claim of the omission of τὸ δῶρον is discussed further below. Harnack reconstructed v. 14: ἄπελθε δεῖξον σεαυτὸν τῷ ἱερεῖ καὶ προσένεγκε τὸ δῶρον (περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ σου?) ὃ προσέταξεν Μωϋσῆς, ἵνα ᾖ ὑμῖν <τοῦτο> μαρτύριον. Though several aspects of this reconstruction are unproblematic,

72 Tertullian reads the universally attested οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐκαθαρίσθη.

73 Both spellings, among others, are attested in the manuscript tradition.

74 In the Holl/Dummer volume Μωυσῆς is consistently spelled without a diaeresis over the upsilon.

differences between Tertullian and Epiphanius's testimony to v. 14, as well as a somewhat complicated transmission in the manuscript tradition, create difficulties at some points.

First, though ἄπελθε is attested by D,[75] the reading *vade* is essentially limited to the Latin tradition and could be rendering the imperatival sense of the participle ἀπελθών attested in most of the manuscript tradition and by Epiphanius for Marcion. Second, Tertullian attests τὸ δῶρον, which is not only unattested by Epiphanius but is indicated to have been omitted by Marcion in the elenchus. Harnack noted "es ist wohl ein nachträgliches Versehen des Epiph. anzunehmen," which is possible.[76] At the same time, however, since it is the Matthean reading, though also attested in a few manuscripts of Luke, it is also possible that Tertullian slipped into the Matthean wording when referencing the verse. It is also interesting to note that Epiphanius includes a reference to τὸ δῶρόν σου in his citation in 66.57.2, where he largely follows the Lukan wording. Perhaps then, since Tertullian may have added the term along the lines of a citation habit, and Epiphanius may have omitted it against the wording of his other citations of this passage, Epiphanius's comment in the elenchus may be correct as to the term not being present.[77] Third, Epiphanius attests περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ σου, a phrase that is not attested by Tertullian. Since Tertullian's reading is essentially a singular reading, it is likely that the phrase is not present due to a simple omission by Tertullian. Finally, the concluding elements to the verse present a significant challenge. Tertullian attests ὃ προσέταξεν Μωϋσῆς, ἵνα ᾖ ὑμῖν εἰς μαρτύριον whereas Epiphanius attests καθὼς προσέταξε Μωϋσῆς ἵνα ᾖ μαρτύριον τοῦτο ὑμῖν. Tertullian attests the Matthean ὃ προσέταξεν Μωϋσῆς, which once again may be due to Tertullian's own hand.[78] That Marcion's text read similarly to D and several OL manuscripts is clear, though the precise reading can no longer be reconstructed. Since all other witnesses with this reading attest εἰς and only e among these witnesses does not include τοῦτο, it is possible that both words were present and a simple omission took place by Epiphanius and Tertullian, respectively.

75 The full reading ἄπελθε δὲ καί is unique to D, d.

76 Harnack, *Marcion*, 188*.

77 Volckmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, 46 stated that Epiphanius's referring to an *excision* of τὸ δῶρόν arose due to Epiphanius recalling the Matthean version of the phrase, a view that may be correct.

78 The reading is attested for Luke, according to IGNTP, only in e, a few Armenian manuscripts, and Augustine.

6.4.4 *Luke 5:24*

42.11.6 β (2)—Ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. | 42.11.17 Σχ. β (2)—Ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. β (2)—Εἰ οὖν υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου ἑαυτὸν καλεῖ, … καὶ εἰ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, …

This verse is also attested by Tertullian. Epiphanius cites the opening element to Luke 5:24 in his excerpts from Marcion's text and makes a further reference to the "Son of Man" and having "authority upon the earth" in the elenchus. Both Epiphanius and Tertullian attest the unproblematic ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου and agree that the claim to "have authority to forgive sins" was made.[79] At the same time, however, though the manuscript tradition essentially unanimously offers the words attested by Epiphanius (and Tertullian), it also reveals a variety of different orderings of the words. Noteworthy is that IGNTP lists only sy[s] reading the same word order as that attested in Epiphanius. Therefore, though the words in the reading are quite certain, some hesitancy in ascribing Epiphanius's word order to Marcion is appropriate.[80]

6.4.5 *Luke 5:36–37*

42.2.1—[Marcion speaking] εἴπατέ μοι, τί ἐστι τό· οὐ βάλλουσιν οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς παλαιοὺς οὐδὲ ἐπίβλημα ῥάκους ἀγνάφου ἐπὶ ἱματίῳ παλαιῷ· εἰ δὲ μή γε, καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αἴρει καὶ τῷ παλαιῷ οὐ συμφωνήσει. μεῖζον γὰρ σχίσμα γενήσεται.

In his discussion of Marcion prior to his direct interaction with Marcion's texts, Epiphanius refers to the parable found in Luke 5:36–37 within the context of his account of Marcion's "debate" with the elders in Rome.[81] The verses are attested for Marcion in Tertullian, Philastrius, Ephrem, and in the *Adamantius Dialogue*, though here in Epiphanius, it is not entirely clear whether in this introductory material Marcion's own text is in view. It is interesting, however, that when comparing Epiphanius's reference to the verse here with the testimony of Tertullian, Epiphanius attests the order "wine" then "patch" as also

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79 Though Tertullian attests the word order ἔχει ἐξουσίαν.

80 Harnack, *Marcion*, 189* offers Epiphanius's word order without comment.

81 The note in Williams (trans.), *The* Panarion, 295n6 to the reference in Epiphanius is somewhat confusing. He rightly observes that Pseudo-Tertullian 6.2 makes reference to Matt 7:17, but then continues "Fil. 45.2 gives both citations, opening the possibility that this author knew Epiph as well as Hipp. Synt. Matt. 7:17 is referred to at Hipp. Refut. 10.19.3." Philastrius, however, clearly cites Luke 6:43 and Hippolytus *Haer*. refers to Matt 7:18. Gerd Lüdemann argues for several blocks of tradition being utilized by Epiphanius in these opening sections and sees this account of the "debate" as containing old and valuable material ("Zur Geschichte des ältesten Christentums in Rom: I. Valentin und Marcion II. Ptolemäus und Justin," *ZNW* 70 [1979]: 96n28).

found in Tertullian's references to the verses. In addition, Epiphanius attests the reading ἐπίβλημα ῥάκους ἀγνάφου (Matt 9:16//Mark 2:21), which may be underlying a play on words in Tertullian. Overall, Epiphanius begins with the Matthean wording from Matt 9:17a and 9:16, continues with a completely singular reading and sense, and concludes with wording similar to Matt 9:16c though with a future tense form of γίνομαι and referring to a σχίσμα that is μεῖζον rather than χεῖρον.

6.4.6 *Luke 6:3–4*

42.11.6 κα (21)—Οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀνέγνωτε, τί ἐποίησε Δαυὶδ· εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ. | 42.11.17 Σχ. κα (21)—Οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀνέγνωτε, τί ἐποίησε Δαυὶδ; εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. κα (21)—Εἰ οἶκον θεοῦ φάσκει τὸν οἶκον τῆς παρὰ Μωυσέως γενομένης σκηνοπηγίας … θεὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν φάσκει, ὅς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ πατήρ, …

The reference to Luke 6:3–4 occurs, somewhat curiously, between references to Luke 9:44 and 10:21. Apart from Luke 4:27, which is explicitly stated to have occurred in a different location in Marcion's Gospel, this is the only verse that appears out of canonical order in Epiphanius's list. Epiphanius makes no indication that the verse appeared at an alternate location and it may simply have been placed out of order when Epiphanius compiled his list.[82] Tertullian alluded to the reference to "David" in v. 3. Epiphanius's citation of this verse is essentially unproblematic and there are only a few variants in the manuscript tradition. IGNTP indicates that the reading τί instead of ὅ is found in a few witnesses, including numerous OL manuscripts. The remainder of v. 3 is unattested by Epiphanius and it is problematic for IGNTP to state that Marcion omitted these words.

In v. 4, Epiphanius focuses on only the first phrase of the verse, and the elenchus presents arguments drawn exclusively from this part of the verse. The wording here corresponds with that of the allusion in Tertullian, and the manuscript tradition essentially unanimously attests the reading as cited by Epiphanius. The only significant question is whether an opening conjunction, ὡς, or an opening interrogative particle, πῶς, was present, or if the clause began with εἰσῆλθεν. Harnack and IGNTP claim that Marcion, along with other witnesses such as P^4, B, and D attests the omission of ὡς/πῶς,[83] though NA^{28} rightly refrains from including Marcion in its apparatus. Since Epiphanius

82 Zahn offered the example of this misplacement of Luke 6:3 as support for his suggestion that Epiphanius had perhaps compiled his list of verses "auf einzelnen losen Zetteln" (*Geschichte*, 2:414).

83 Harnack stated that ὡς "scheint mit DB gefehlt zu haben" (*Marcion*, 190*).

seems to break off in v. 3 and then pick up one element from v. 4 no insight can be gained into the precise reading of the opening to v. 4 in Marcion's text.

6.4.7 *Luke 6:5*

30.32.9—οὕτως γὰρ εἶπεν ὅτι κύριός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ σαββάτου. | 42.11.6 γ (3)—Κύριός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ σαββάτου. | 42.11.17 Σχ. γ (3)—Κύριός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ σαββάτου. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. γ (3)—Δύο εὐθὺς ἐν ταὐτῷ, καὶ υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου καὶ κύριον σαββάτου ἑαυτὸν ὁ σωτὴρ ὁμολογεῖ διδάσκων, ...

In 30.32.9, Epiphanius introduces the words from Matt 12:8//Luke 6:5 with a phrase found in neither Gospel. Though Harnack included καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι within parentheses in his reconstruction, no introductory element to the saying is attested. The question surrounding the location of this verse in Marcion's Gospel was discussed when considering Tertullian's testimony and Epiphanius's reference offers no further insight on this point. Tertullian's allusions could allow for the word order cited here by Epiphanius, an order also attested in a variety of other manuscripts including A, D, L, *f*$^{1.13}$, and numerous versions. It could very well be, therefore, that Epiphanius is attesting the order in Marcion's text, which is also the order offered in Harnack's reconstruction.[84]

6.4.8 *Luke 6:16–17*

42.11.6 δ (4)—Ἰούδαν Ἰσκαριώτην, [V M read Ἰσκαριώθ] ὃς ἐγένετο προδότης. ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ [V M read ἀντὶ τοῦ δὲ] κατέβη μετ᾿ αὐτῶν ἔχει κατέβη ἐν αὐτοῖς. | 42.11.17 Σχ. δ (4)—Ἰούδαν Ἰσκαριώτην, ὃς ἐγένετο προδότης. ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ κατέβη μετ᾿ αὐτῶν ἔχει [ἔχει omitted by V M] κατέβη ἐν αὐτοῖς. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. δ (4)—Ἰούδας Ἰσκαριώτης, ὃς ἐγένετο προδότης. ... ἐλεγχθήσεται δὲ ἡ ὑπόνοιά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ γεγράφθαι Ἰούδαν προδότην. προέδωκε γὰρ καὶ παρέδωκεν εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δεσπότην. οὐδὲν δέ σε ὤνησε τὸ κατέβη ἐν αὐτοῖς λέγειν ἀντὶ τοῦ μετ᾿ αὐτῶν.

These verses are also attested by Tertullian, though Luke 6:16 only in an allusion in *Marc.* 2.28.2. Epiphanius's testimony is very difficult to evaluate since the manuscript tradition of the *Panarion* attests variant spellings of Judas Iscariot, with the elenchus even reading Ἰούδας Ἰσκαριώτης, which prompted Holl/Dummer to note "lies Ἰούδαν Ἰσκαριώτην?"[85] Though Harnack reconstructed Ἰσκαριώτην, and NA^{28} lists this as Marcion's reading according to Epiphanius, the variation in the witnesses to the *Panarion* prohibit a definitive

84 Cf. Harnack, *Marcion*, 190*.

85 Holl/Dummer (eds.), *Epiphanius II*, 126. In a claimed citation from the "Gospel of the Ebionites," Epiphanius wrote of Jesus choosing Ἰούδαν τὸν Ἰσκαριώτην (30.13.3), though this name is omitted in M.

conclusion.[86] In addition, Epiphanius attests the reading without καί after ὅς. καί is read in the Majority Text, D, and most other manuscripts, though it is omitted by P75vid, ℵ, B, the OL, and numerous versions, among others. The reference in the elenchus to Jesus having been delivered into the hands of men was certainly not found in this verse, but was drawn by Epiphanius from other synoptic passages (cf. Matt 17:22; Mark 9:31; Luke 9:44; 24:7). In v. 17, Tertullian attests the second half of the verse, whereas Epiphanius makes an explicit reference to a variant reading in Marcion's text at the outset of the verse. Harnack simply reproduced Epiphanius's attested reading, though even if one is inclined to accept Epiphanius's testimony concerning the singular reading ἐν αὐτοῖς, it is highly problematic to accept κατέβη. The reason for this is that Epiphanius offers the otherwise unattested aorist indicative for both the "canonical" text and Marcion's Gospel, which seems to reveal that he has employed this form instead of the elsewhere universally attested participle.[87]

6.4.9 *Luke 6:19–20*

42.11.6 ε (5)—Καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἐζήτει ἅπτεσθαι αὐτοῦ. [the next heading, i.e., scholion 6, begins here in V M] καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. [καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς omitted by V M] | 42.11.17 Σχ. ε (5)—Καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἐζήτει ἅπτεσθαι αὐτοῦ. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ε (5)—Πῶς πάλιν ὁ ὄχλος ἠδύνατο ἅψασθαι τοῦ ἁφὴν μὴ ἔχοντος; ποίους δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπῆρεν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ὁ ἐκ σαρκὸς μὴ ἡρμοσμένος;

Regardless of whether καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς was part of the scholion or not, it is clear that Epiphanius is selectively citing from Marcion's text. Luke 6:19 is attested only by Epiphanius, though, once again, Tertullian and Epiphanius attest different parts of v. 20. Most of v. 19 is unproblematic, though it is worth noting that Epiphanius attests the singular imperfect and not the plural imperfect as found in P75vid, ℵ, B, several OL manuscripts, and several versions, among others. Curiously, neither Zahn nor Harnack included v. 20a in their actual reconstructions, though they both make mention of the reference in their apparatus. Zahn stated, "Ep. sch. 5 schließt an 19a ohne Unterbrechung 20a, also fehlte 19b,"[88] but Harnack rightly countered "Daraus, daß Epiphanius

86 IGNTP rightly notes the variation in the manuscripts of Epiphanius.

87 Though not reflected in his reconstruction, in the apparatus Harnack did state, "auf die altlateinisch bezeugte LA κατέβη ist vielleicht kein Gewicht zu legen" (*Marcion*, 191*). That Harnack believed that the OL attests this reading is interesting, as neither Tischendorf, von Soden, nor IGNTP list any OL witnesses for this reading.

88 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:460.

sofort 20a folgen läßt, folgt nicht, daß 19b gefehlt hat."[89] In any case, the reference is unproblematic and nearly uniformly attested.[90]

6.4.10 *Luke 6:23*

42.11.6 ς (6)—Κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐποίουν τοῖς προφήταις οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ς (6)—Κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐποίουν τοῖς προφήταις οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ς (6)—Εἰ προφητῶν μέμνηται, οὐκ ἀρνεῖται προφήτας· εἰ ἐκδικεῖ τὸν τῶν προφητῶν φόνον καὶ ὀνειδίζει τοὺς πεφονευκότας τε καὶ διώξαντας, οὐκ ἀλλότριος προφητῶν τυγχάνει, … | 66.42.9— … οὕτως οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ἐποίουν τοῖς προφήταις, …

Luke 6:23 is also attested by Tertullian and Epiphanius's testimony both affirms and contradicts Tertullian's at a few points. First, Epiphanius attests the reading τὰ αὐτά, whereas Tertullian attested, with some confirmation of the reading based on multiple attestation, ταῦτα. In 66.42.9 Epiphanius seems to have been influenced by the wording in Matt 5:12 (οὕτως), which on the one hand shows how the wording in Epiphanius's citations can vary, but may also support the accuracy of the citation of Marcion's text. It is possible that the copies of Marcion's Gospel available to Tertullian and Epiphanius may have offered variant readings at this point. Secondly, like Tertullian, Epiphanius attests the omission of γάρ before ἐποίουν.[91] Finally, Epiphanius attests the reading ὑμῶν instead of αὐτῶν, attested by Tertullian, at the end of the verse. It is noteworthy that according to IGNTP only four other witnesses for this reading exist and that Epiphanius again uses the second person pronoun in 66.42.9. Therefore, it seems more likely that this reading is due to Epiphanius than that it was found in Marcion's text.

6.4.11 *Luke 7:9*

42.11.6 ζ (7)—Λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην πίστιν οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ εὗρον. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ζ (7)—Λέγω δὲ [V M omit δὲ] ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην πίστιν οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ηὗρον. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ζ (7)—Εἰ οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ τοιαύτην πίστιν εὗρεν ὡς ἐν τῷ ἀπὸ ἐθνῶν ἐλθόντι ἑκατοντάρχῃ, ἄρα οὐ ψέγει τὴν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ πίστιν.

Luke 7:9 is also attested by Tertullian and, once again, there are both similarities and differences. In the first list, Epiphanius reads an otherwise unattested

89 Harnack, *Marcion*, 191*. Tsutsui provides the citation from Epiphanius in his second row of text and offers a note on v. 19b agreeing with Harnack's assessment ("Evangelium," 82).

90 Perhaps worth noting is that Epiphanius does attest the αὐτός omitted in D, d, e, and sy^p and the αὐτοῦ omitted by numerous OL manuscripts and a few other witnesses.

91 As noted in chapter 4.4.11, this omission is also attested by a few other manuscripts. IGNTP confusingly indicates Marcion having omitted the γάρ in the first half of the verse; however, no source attests any of v. 23a.

δέ after λέγω. Harnack is likely correct in seeing this conjunction as erroneously inserted here,[92] either by Epiphanius or a copyist. Second, and significantly, both Tertullian and Epiphanius agree in the word order with the statement concerning "faith" preceding the reference to "in Israel."[93] Third, in the scholia Epiphanius attests τοσαύτην whereas in the elenchus he attests τοιαύτην. Both Zahn and Tsutsui viewed τοσαύτην as an assimilation to the canonical text and not the reading of Marcion's text. Tsutsui further places emphasis on the reading in the elenchus, disagreeing with Harnack's assessment that this is "zufällig" in its agreement with Tertullian's *talem*.[94] Yet, Harnack is absolutely right in having noted that Epiphanius's argument in the elenchus requires the use of τοιαύτην, and it is for this reason that Harnack did not see it as confirming a supposed variant attested by Tertullian, an opinion that appears to be correct.[95] Finally, οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ εὗρον agrees with Tertullian's testimony and the variant spelling of εὗρον/ηὗρον in the two scholia is insignificant.

6.4.12 *Luke 7:23*

42.11.6 η (8)—Παρηλλαγμένον τό μακάριός ὃς οὐ μὴ [V M read ἐὰν μὴ] σκανδαλισθῇ ἐν ἐμοί· εἶχε γὰρ ὡς πρὸς Ἰωάννην. | 42.11.17 Σχ. η (8)—Παρηλλαγμένον τό μακάριός ὃς οὐ μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ ἐν ἐμοί· εἶχε γὰρ ὡς πρὸς Ἰωάννην. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. η (8)—Κἄν τε πρὸς Ἰωάννην ἔχοι, κἄν τε πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν σωτῆρα, μακαρίζει τοὺς μὴ σκανδαλιζομένους, ἤτοι ἐν αὐτῷ ἤτοι ἐν Ἰωάννῃ, ... ἵνα μή τις τὸν μείζονα ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ταχθέντα Ἰωάννην, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος μείζονα νομίσῃ διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ γυναικὸς γεγεννῆσθαι, ἀσφαλίζεται καὶ λέγει τό καὶ μακάριος ὅς ἐὰν μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ ἐν ἐμοί.

Luke 7:23 is also attested by Tertullian and Ephrem. Epiphanius's testimony is confusing since it is unclear what his meaning is in the scholion and it appears that he himself may no longer have understood it in the elenchus.[96] It is possible, however, that Zahn was correct in seeing Epiphanius making some reference to an alteration in Marcion's text that resulted in v. 23 being explicitly

92 Harnack, *Marcion*, 196*.

93 This agreement is noted by Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:463 and Harnack, *Marcion*, 196* (who rather speculatively suggests that the element concerning Israel may even have been read after εὗρον by Tertullian); however, IGNTP curiously makes no reference to the variant word order in Marcion, listing only the variations in OL manuscripts and in Ambrose.

94 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 86.

95 Harnack, *Marcion*, 195*.

96 On the latter point, cf. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:463; Holl's comment on 42.11.5(8); and Harnack, *Marcion*, 196*.

related to John the Baptist being scandalized.[97] Unfortunately, however, it is impossible to know precisely what this altered reading was.[98] Nevertheless, it does appear that the almost universally attested canonical text of 7:23 is indicated as being present in Marcion's Gospel, with the omission of ἐστιν (in both scholia and the elenchus) being due to Epiphanius, and οὐ μή, attested elsewhere only in 2643 according to IGNTP, only possibly reflecting Marcion's text.

6.4.13 *Luke 7:27*

42.11.6 θ (9)—Αὐτός ἐστι περὶ οὗ γέγραπται· ἰδοὺ, ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου.[99] | 42.11.17 Σχ. θ (9)—Αὐτός ἐστι περὶ οὗ γέγραπται· ἰδοὺ, ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. θ (9)—... προγινώσκων [Jesus foreknowing John] δὲ ὑποδείκνυσι τοῖς βουλομένοις εἰδέναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὅτι οὗτός ἐστι περὶ οὗ γέγραπται ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ἄρα ὁ γράψας καὶ εἰπών ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου,[100] ὁ θεὸς ὁ αἰώνιος, ... ἀποστέλλει γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἄγγελον πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, ... οὐ γὰρ ἀπέστελλε τὸν αὐτοῦ ἄγγελον ἀλλοτρίῳ ἐξυπηρετησόμενον, ...

Luke 7:27 is also attested by Tertullian and in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. The section of the verse attested by Epiphanius is essentially unproblematic. Apart from the otherwise unattested αὐτός, likely due to Epiphanius's own hand, there is only one significant variant in the manuscript tradition of the passage surrounding the presence or absence of ἐγώ after ἀποστέλλω. Epiphanius does not attest the pronoun, thus agreeing with numerous witnesses, including $\aleph^2$, B, D, f^{13}, and numerous versions.

6.4.14 *Luke 7:36–38*

42.11.6 ι (10)—Καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Φαρισαίου κατεκλίθη. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ στᾶσα ὀπίσω ἡ ἁμαρτωλὸς παρὰ τοὺς πόδας ἔβρεξε τοῖς δάκρυσι τοὺς πόδας καὶ ἤλειψεν καὶ κατεφίλει. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ι (10)—Καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Φαρισαίου κατεκλίθη. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ στᾶσα ὀπίσω ἡ ἁμαρτωλὸς παρὰ τοὺς πόδας ἔβρεξε τοῖς δάκρυσι τοὺς

97 Cf. the discussion in Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:463–64. Holl contended that Epiphanius is simply making reference to an erroneous interpretation by Marcion (*Epiphanius II*, 108), an opinion that was followed by Harnack, *Marcion*, 196* and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 87. It is unclear, however, how Marcion's Gospel itself would have indicated this variant interpretation without a textual alteration.

98 Cf. Harnack's comment on v. 23, that "im Text selbst von M. auf den Täufer gedeutet, aber wie?" (*Marcion*, 197*).

99 As noted in the discussion above, in this scholion the numbering of the first list diverges from the second. Here, V and M label ἰδοὺ, ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου as heading ι (10).

100 ἄρα ὁ γράψας καὶ εἰπών ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου is omitted by M.

πόδας, [τοὺς πόδας omitted by V M] καὶ ἤλειψεν καὶ κατεφίλει. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ι (10)—Τό εἰσελθὼν [V M read εἰσελθὸν; V^{corr} εἰσελθὼν] σῶμα δείκνυσιν· … καὶ τὸ κατακλιθῆναι οὐδενός ἐστιν ἀλλ' ἢ σῶμα <ἔχοντος> … καὶ τὸ τὴν γυναῖκα βρέξαι τοῖς δάκρυσι τοὺς πόδας οὐ φαντασίας πόδας, οὐδὲ δοκήσεως· ἤλειψε γὰρ καὶ ἔβρεξε καὶ κατεφίλει, τῆς ἁφῆς τοῦ σώματος αἰσθανομένη. | 42.16.2—… καὶ πόρνην ἀλείφουσαν αὐτοῦ τοὺς πόδας ἰάσασθαι ἀπὸ πορνείας … | 77.28.1—… τῆς πόρνης ἁψαί; …

Though vv. 37 and 38 are also attested by Tertullian, Epiphanius is the sole witness for Luke 7:36. He attests only the second half of the verse, where two readings are worth noting. First, Epiphanius attests the reading τὸν οἶκον, with א, B, D, L, W, and numerous other manuscripts, and not τὴν οἰκίαν, as in the TR. Second, the use of the verb κατακλίνω and not ἀνακλίνω agrees with witnesses such as א², B, D, L, Ξ, and f^1. In v. 37 Epiphanius attests only that the pericope involves a γυνὴ ἁμαρτωλός, which is also the only element from the verse attested in Tertullian's allusion to the verse. That these words are arising from Marcion's text are confirmed by Epiphanius elsewhere referring to a πόρνη.

V. 38 is slightly more challenging in that Epiphanius simply summarizes the actions of the woman,[101] which is also the case for Tertullian.[102] After beginning with a reference to the position of the woman that follows the word order in many manuscripts including א, B, and D, Epiphanius lists the actions in a different order from the canonical account, an order that is also different from the variant order in Tertullian. In addition, he omits reference to the "drying" of Jesus' feet.[103] Concerning the ordering of the elements, Tsutsui summarizes the differing orders found in Luke, Tertullian, and Epiphanius, noting "daß es hier einzig und allein um die Stelle von 'καταφιλεῖν' geht—da die sonstigen drei Handlungen sich aus sachlichen Gründen nicht umstellen lassen" and then concludes "ob hierin etwas Absichtliches liegt, ist unklar."[104] The likely insignificance of Tertullian's order of the elements was already discussed in chapter 5.27, and here it should be observed that though Tsutsui rightly notes the order that Epiphanius employs for the elements in scholia 10 and 11 (cf. below), he did not note that in the elenchus Epiphanius changes the order

101 Zahn spoke of an "abkürzende Zusammenfassung" (*Geschichte*, 2:464).

102 Tertullian and Epiphanius also employ the verse in the same argumentative strategy, namely, to highlight that these actions can only be performed on a true body and not a phantom.

103 Williams's translation "wiped and kissed" is not particularly helpful in that it allows for confusion as to whether the "wiping" is with reference to drying (several English Bible, including the NIV and NASB render ἐκμάσσω with "wipe dry") or to anointing.

104 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 88.

once more (ἤλειψε γὰρ καὶ ἔβρεξε καὶ κατεφίλει), which demonstrates that the reference to the three grouped actions can indeed be altered. Therefore, as was the case for Tertullian no significance should be read into the change of order. Furthermore, in elenchus 11 (cf. below), Epiphanius concludes with a reference to Jesus' comments that abbreviates the actions even further (αὕτη τοὺς πόδας μου καὶ ἤλειψε καὶ κατεφίλει), so the lack of reference to certain actions should also be seen as insignificant. Unfortunately, very little insight can be gained into the exact wording of Marcion's text in much of this verse. Though Epiphanius attests the "Western" reading ἔβρεξε, whether this was the reading of Marcion's text is ultimately unclear due to the summary nature of the reference. Similarly, the otherwise unattested aorist ἤλειψεν also seems due to Epiphanius's reference. Both verbs are also used in scholion 11 (cf. below).

6.4.15 *Luke 7:44–46*

42.11.6 ια (11)—Καὶ πάλιν αὕτη τοῖς δάκρυσιν ἔβρεξεν τοὺς πόδας μου [V M read μου τοὺς πόδας] καὶ ἤλειψεν καὶ κατεφίλει. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ια (11)—Καὶ πάλιν· αὕτη τοῖς δάκρυσιν ἔβρεξε τοὺς πόδας μου καὶ ἤλειψε καὶ κατεφίλει. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ια (11)—Ἵνα μὴ νομίσῃς, ὦ Μαρκίων, μόνον νομίζεσθαι παρὰ ἀνθρώποις τὴν ἁμαρτωλὸν γυναῖκα τοὺς πόδας τοῦ σωτῆρος βρέξαι τε καὶ ἀλεῖψαι καὶ καταπεφιληκέναι, αὐτὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἐπιβεβαιοῖ, οὐ κατὰ δόκησιν ταῦτα γεγενῆσθαι διδάσκων, ἀλλὰ ἐξ ἀληθείας, πρὸς ἔλεγχον τοῦ Φαρισαίου … δισχυριζόμενος καὶ λέγων αὕτη τοὺς πόδας μου καὶ ἤλειψε καὶ κατεφίλει.

For Luke 7:44–46 Epiphanius once again summarizes the words of Jesus concerning what the woman mentioned in 7:37 has done. In v. 44 Epiphanius attests ἔβρεξεν τοὺς πόδας μου, with the first list of scholia placing μου before τοὺς πόδας. The latter reading is found in most manuscripts with the former confined to the versions, including several OL manuscripts. The change to the more common reading in the copying of the original excerpts from Marcion's Gospel is more likely and the reading of the second list of scholia may have been Marcion's order. For vv. 45 and 46 only the verbs καταφιλέω and ἀλείφω are attested.[105]

6.4.16 *Luke 8:19–20*

30.14.5—… ἰδού, ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου ἔξω ἔστηκασιν … | 42.11.6 ιβ (12)—Οὐκ εἶχεν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ιβ (12)—Οὐκ εἶχεν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ιβ (12)—Κἄν τε ἀνωτέρω

105 Harnack only wrote v. 44 before citing Epiphanius here (*Marcion*, 197*); however, Tsutsui more accurately wrote 44–46 ("Evangelium," 87).

παρακόψῃς, ὦ Μαρκίων, τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ἵνα ποιήσῃς τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν μὴ συντιθέμενον τῇ ὑπό τινων ῥηθείσῃ λέξει ὅτι ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου, οὐ δύνασαι ὑπερβαίνειν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.... καὶ μή σε πλανάτω ὁ λόγος, ὃν εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τίς μου ἡ μήτηρ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί;... | 78.9.2—... ἰδού, ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου ἔξω ἕστηκαν ζητοῦντές σε. | 78.9.4—... ἰδού, ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου ἔξω ἑστήκασι ζητοῦντές σε ... | 78.10.7—... ἰδού, ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου ἔξω ἑστήκασιν.

Epiphanius clearly attests the omission of Luke 8:19, both in the scholion and in the discussion in the elenchus, where Epiphanius indicates that Marcion "falsified" the passage in order to avoid the Gospel writer making the statement that the Christ had a mother. Luke 8:20 is also attested by Tertullian and Ephrem. Epiphanius's testimony makes reference only to the opening words of what Jesus was told: ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου. This reading is essentially unproblematic, even if there are a few witnesses, including P^{75} and א, that attest the omission of the first pronoun.[106] In his other four citations of this verse, Epiphanius appears to cite Matt 12:47; however, the opening of the statement appears verbatim in Matthew and Luke. In his reconstruction, Harnack offered the wording attested by Epiphanius without parentheses and included the additional elements to which Tertullian alluded in parentheses.

6.4.17 *Luke 8:23–24*

Ancor. Prooemium—... τὴν φωνὴν ταύτην εἰκότως καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀφιέντες· ἐπιστάτα, σῶσον. | *Ancor.* 31.2—[Ps 120:4 precedes] ... ὕπνωσε δέ, φησίν, ὁ κύριος ἐν τῇ νηΐ. | 42.11.6 ιγ (13)—Πλεόντων αὐτῶν ἀφύπνωσεν· ὁ δὲ ἐγερθεὶς ἐπετίμησε τῷ ἀνέμῳ καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ιγ (13)—Πλεόντων αὐτῶν ἀφύπνωσεν· ὁ δὲ ἐγερθεὶς ἐπετίμησε τῷ ἀνέμῳ καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ιγ (13)—Τίς ὕπνωσεν, λέγε.... οἱ γὰρ αὐτὸν διυπνίσαντες οὐ δόκησιν εἶδον, ἀλλὰ ἐνανθρώπησιν ἀληθινήν. ἀμέλει χερσὶ κινοῦντες καὶ φωνήσαντες μαρτυροῦσιν ὅτι ἤγειραν. ἀναστὰς γάρ, φησίν, ... ἠγέρθη μὲν ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ἐπετίμησε δὲ ὡς θεὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἐποὶησεν <γαλήνην>. | 76.39.7—... ἀνέμῳ μὲν ἐπιτιμῶν καὶ κλύδωνι καὶ θαλάσσῃ, ... | 77.28.4—... ἐπιτιμᾷ μὲν κλύδωνι καὶ τοῖς ἀνέμοις καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ...

Luke 8:23–24 are also attested by Tertullian. For these verses, Epiphanius attests the opening words of v. 23 immediately followed by a phrase from near the conclusion of v. 24. It is most likely that Epiphanius has simply abbreviated his citation of the verses,[107] and indeed the elenchus assumes the presence in Marcion's text of several elements not mentioned in the scholion. For v. 23,

106 Cf. chapter 4, n. 156. In chapter 4.4.28 I argued that Tertullian's testimony does not require the conclusion that only one possessive pronoun appeared in Marcion's text.

107 Cf. also Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:464.

the wording πλεόντων αὐτῶν ἀφύπνωσεν is unproblematic,[108] and it is almost certain that Epiphanius simply omitted the otherwise universally attested δέ after the genitive participle. v. 24 presents two challenges in terms of the text that Epiphanius attests. First, ἐγερθείς is the reading of Matt 8:26, though it is also found in many Lukan manuscripts (including A, D, and the TR). It may have been the reading in Marcion's Gospel, though Epiphanius inclining to the Matthean reading is also possible. Second, the rebuking of the wind καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ also reflects the reading from Matthew.[109] It is interesting to note that Epiphanius often conflates elements from Matthew and Luke in this account, with the "sea" also appearing in 76.39.7 and 77.28.4. Though Tertullian also attested τῇ θαλάσσῃ for v. 24, it may very well be that both these witnesses are independently being influenced by Matthew (or, in Tertullian's case, a citation from Nahum) in their discussions of this passage and are not reflecting Marcion's Gospel.

6.4.18 *Luke 8:42–46*

Ancor. 31.4—…καὶ περὶ τῆς αἱμορροούσης τίς μου ἥψατο;…| *Ancor.* 38.1—… ἀνθρωποπαθῶς <λέγων> καὶ περὶ τῆς αἱμορροούσης τίς μου ἥψατο;…| *Ancor.* 38.6—…καὶ τίς μου ἥψατο;…| *Ancor.* 108.2—…καὶ τίς μου ἥψατο;…| *Ancor.* 108.5—…τίς μου ἥψατο;…| 31.14.10—…ἁψαμένην τοῦ κρασπέδου αὐτοῦ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰρηκέναι τὸν σωτῆρα τίς μου ἥψατο;…| 42.11.6 ιδ (14)—Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν αὐτούς, [V M read αὐτόν] συνέπνιγον αὐτόν οἱ ὄχλοι. καὶ γυνὴ ἁψαμένη αὐτοῦ ἰάθη τοῦ αἵματος· καὶ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος· τίς μου ἥψατο; καὶ πάλιν ἥψατό μού τις. καὶ γὰρ ἔγνων δύναμιν ἐξελθοῦσαν ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ιδ (14)—Ἐγένετο δὲ [V M omit δέ] ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν αὐτούς, [V M read αὐτόν] συνέπνιγον αὐτόν οἱ ὄχλοι. καὶ γυνὴ ἁψαμένη αὐτοῦ ἰάθη τοῦ αἵματος. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος, τίς μου ἥψατο; καὶ πάλιν ἥψατό μού τις. καὶ γὰρ ἔγνων δύναμιν ἐξελθοῦσαν ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ιδ (14)—Ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν αὐτούς, καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν αὐτόν, ἵνα μὴ ἑτέρως αὐτὸν σχηματίσῃ παρὰ τὴν τῶν ὁδοιπορούντων ἀκολουθίαν. τὸ δέ συνέπνιγον [V M read συνπνίγειν] αὐτὸν οἱ ὄχλοι, πνεῦμα οὐκ ἠδύναντο συμπνίγειν οἱ ὄχλοι. γυνὴ δὲ ἁψαμένη καὶ ἰαθεῖσα οὐκ ἀέρος ἥψατο, ἀλλὰ ἁφῆς ἀνθρωπείας. ἵνα γὰρ δείξῃ ὅτι οὐχὶ δοκήσει μόνον ἡ ἁφὴ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς γεγένηται, διδάσκει λέγων τίς μου ἥψατο; καὶ γὰρ ἔγνων δύναμιν ἐξελθοῦσαν ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ.

Epiphanius begins this scholion with a reference to Luke 8:42 where his opening words present two significant challenges for a reconstruction. First, Epiphanius appears to attest v. 42b as beginning with an ἐγένετο δέ. Though

108 ἀφύπνωσεν arising from Marcion's text is also confirmed by Epiphanius utilizing the verb ὑπνόω in both the elenchus and in *Anchor.* 31.2.

109 According to IGNTP it also appears in Syriac and a few OL manuscripts.

C*, D, most Latin and a few other witnesses read καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι, Epiphanius's opening for this verse is otherwise unattested. V. 40, however, opens with ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν, which led Zahn to posit that Marcion combined the opening of v. 40 with 42b. Zahn therefore reconstructed ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν . . . .[110] It is worth noting that Zahn appears to ignore the pronoun that follows the infinitive. Turning to Harnack one discovers that, rather curiously, he offered no discussion of the opening words and focused exclusively on the pronoun ignored by Zahn. This second issue arises only because of Epiphanius's comments in the elenchus. Both V and M read the universally attested αὐτόν; yet, Epiphanius's first statement in the elenchus makes no sense if this was originally the reading in the scholion. Concerning Epiphanius's statement in the elenchus, Harnack rightly noted "die Stelle is nicht ganz deutlich," though he went on to contend "wahrscheinlich hat M. das hier singuläre αὐτούς geboten und nicht αὐτόν."[111] It seems to me, however, that both Zahn and Harnack may be incorrect in positing these singular readings for Marcion's text. First, the elenchus makes it clear that Epiphanius's primary interest in this verse arises from the references to people "pressing against" or "touching" Jesus. Indeed, the "Who touched me?" question is also referenced several times in *Ancor*. Second, in Matt 9:19, the disciples are said to accompany Jesus, which raises the possibility that Epiphanius is simply providing a generic introduction to the account along the Matthean lines of having Jesus go and being followed by his disciples. Thus, it is not entirely clear that Epiphanius's citation of v. 42 actually begins with ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν αὐτούς and may rather begin with the reference to the crowds. Apart from the word order, which may well be due to Epiphanius, συνέπνιγον αὐτόν οἱ ὄχλοι is essentially unproblematic.

Verses 43–46 are also attested by Tertullian. Similar to Tertullian, Epiphanius makes a summary reference to vv. 43–44, indicating that a woman touched Jesus. Epiphanius, however, also makes reference to her being healed of her hemorrhages and thus indirectly relates her condition. Thus, γυνή in v. 43 and ἥψατο in v. 44 are securely attested, with other elements in the verse being alluded to. For v. 45, Epiphanius confirms Tertullian's testimony to τίς μου ἥψατο as the wording of Jesus' question, though κύριος in καὶ εἶπεν ὁ κύριôς may be due to Epiphanius.[112] Both Tertullian and Epiphanius attest Jesus' statement in v. 46.[113] Epiphanius's καί is unlikely to have been in Marcion's text, though it is

110 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:466.
111 Harnack, *Marcion*, 199*.
112 IGNTP lists only two lectionaries and syr^{c} as attesting κύριος.
113 In the elenchus Epiphanius appears to have conflated Jesus' two responses.

possible that Marcion read ἐξελθοῦσαν with numerous other witnesses including A, C, D, W, $f^{1,13}$, and the majority text among others.[114]

6.4.19 *Luke 9:16*

42.11.6 ιε (15)—Ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐλόγησεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ιε (15)—Ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸυς οὐρανοὺς ηὐλόγησεν ἐπ᾽ [ἐπ᾽ omitted by V M] αὐτούς. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ιε (15)—Εἰ ἀνέβλεψεν εἰς οὐρανοὺς καὶ ηὐλόγησεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς, …

Luke 9:16 is perhaps also attested in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. The attestation to Luke 9:16 by Epiphanius varies in the two versions of this scholion. The omission of ἐπ᾽ in the second listing is best understood as an assimilation to the predominant reading as ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς is attested only by D, several OL manuscripts, and sy[c]. Also, as noted above, according to IGNTP the plural τὸυς οὐρανούς is a singular reading and though one cannot be completely certain, it may well be an error in the second listing that is repeated in the elenchus.[115] There is also no real significance to be drawn from the variant spelling of the aorist of εὐλογέω. In sum, the reading in the first listing more likely reflects Marcion's text, which is also the reconstruction of this part of the verse by Harnack.[116]

6.4.20 *Luke 9:22*

42.11.6 ις (16)—Λέγων, δεῖ [V reads λέγω δή] τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πολλὰ παθεῖν καὶ ἀποκτανθῆναι καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐγερθῆναι. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ις (16)—Λέγων, δεῖ [V reads λέγω δή] τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πολλὰ παθεῖν καὶ ἀποκτανθῆναι καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐγερθῆναι. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ις (16)—Εἰ υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου καὶ παθεῖν καὶ ἀποκτανθῆναι <μέλλοντα> ἑαυτὸν ὁμολογεῖ ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός τοῦ θεοῦ, … καὶ γάρ φησι πάλιν καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμερας ἐγερθῆναι.

Luke 9:22 is also attested by Tertullian and possibly in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. A comparison of Tertullian and Epiphanius here reveals both similarities and differences. Though they both attest the same opening words,

114 Tertullian's *profectam*, on the other hand, seems to attest the reading ἐξεληλυθυῖαν.

115 The plural "heavens" occurs only 4 times in Luke compared to 31 occurrences of the singular. In Matthew, however, the plural occurs 55 times and the singular 27 times. It is possible that familiarity with the Matthean plural influenced the reference here.

116 Harnack, *Marcion*, 200*. Tsutsui sees the insertion of ἐπ᾽ as an intentional Marcionite change so that the bread is not blessed directly, but rather could be paraphrased as "und er segnete (d.i. den Gott?) 'über' die Brote (so daß sie aufhören, Geschöpf zu sein, und durch die erfreuliche Kraft Gottes in etwas den Marcioniten Annehmbares verändert werden)" ("Evangelium," 90–91). Tsutsui goes on to propose that the construction may have been a *terminus technicus* in the cultic meal of the Marcionite church. Though possible, these suggestions seem somewhat speculative.

Epiphanius makes no reference to the second element involving the rejection of Jesus, continuing immediately with reference to Jesus' death and resurrection. Since Epiphanius appears to be focusing on the body that suffered and died being the body that was raised (cf. the elenchus), the omission is likely due to Epiphanius himself.[117] Epiphanius agrees with Tertullian in the wording καὶ ἀποκτανθῆναι καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας,[118] with ἐγερθῆναι also being possible as the reading attested by Tertullian.[119] Whether the opening λέγων, according to IGNTP attested elsewhere only in sy^{h}, arose out of Marcion's text is unclear. Harnack therefore rightly noted "vielleicht ist darauf nichts zu geben" and placed the word in parentheses in his reconstruction.[120]

6.4.21 *Luke 9:28, 30–31*

23.6.2—. . . ἄλλως τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δόξαν μὴ ὑποδείξαντα ἀλλὰ ἢ ἀνὰ μέσον Ἠλίου καὶ Μωυσέως τῶν καὶ αὐτῶν ἐν δόξῃ ἰδίᾳ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὀφθέντων; | 42.11.6 ιζ (17)—Καὶ ἰδοὺ δύο ἄνδρες συνελάλουν αὐτῷ, Ἠλίας καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐν δόξῃ. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ιζ (17)—Καὶ ἰδοὺ, δύο [δύο omitted by V M][121] ἄνδρες συνελάλουν αὐτῷ, Ἠλίας καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐν δόξῃ. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ιζ (17)—. . . ἀμφοτέρους ἤγαγεν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτοῦ δόξῃ καὶ ἔδειξε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ, . . . | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ξγ (63)—πόθεν οὖν Ἡλίας καὶ Μωυσῆς ὤφθησαν μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἐν δόξῃ; . . . | 64.14.9—. . . ὥσπερ ἦν τὸ Ἰησοῦ εἶδος καὶ Μωυσέως καὶ Ἡλίου οὐχ ἕτερον ἐν τῇ μεταμορφώσει παρ' ὃ ἦν. | 64.17.10—. . . ὅτε εἰς τὸ ὄρος ἀνέβη μετὰ Πέτρου, καὶ τὸ Μωυσέως καὶ τὸ Ἡλίου τῶν ὀφθέντων αὐτῷ. | 64.44.5–6—. . . καὶ ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὸν πλούσιον καὶ τὸν πένητα φράσει καὶ ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὸν Μωυσέα καὶ τὸν Ἡλίαν ὀπτασίᾳ. . . . ἐδείκνυεν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ ὄρει τὸν Ἡλίαν καὶ τὸν Μωυσέα, ἀλλ' ὃ ἦσαν ἀψευδῶς.

These verses are also attested by Tertullian and Ephrem. Epiphanius refers only to the location where Elijah and Moses appeared in elenchus 63 (ἐν τῷ ὄρει). It is not entirely clear whether Epiphanius is here referring to Marcion's text; however, the reference to the location of the appearance (Luke 9:28) also appears in Tertullian's allusion to the verse. For vv. 30–31 Epiphanius, in the scholia, attests καὶ ἰδοὺ δύο ἄνδρες συνελάλουν αὐτῷ, followed by what appear to be truncated references: Ἠλίας καὶ Μωϋσῆς and ἐν δόξῃ. The order

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117 So also Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:466.

118 Due to the agreement with Tertullian, Volckmar would appear to be incorrect in attributing the wording here to Epiphanius (*Das Evangelium Marcions*, 33; N.B. that Volckmar incorrectly refers to the verse as VIII, 22).

119 Cf. the discussion in chapter 4.4.30

120 Harnack, *Marcion*, 201*.

121 This omission could have occurred through a scribal error in copying ΙΔΟΥΔΥΟ. According to IGNTP only 174 also contains the omission.

δύο ἄνδρες is attested by several OL manuscripts, the Vulgate, sy^{s,c,p}, and geo, though the order Ἠλίας καὶ Μωϋσῆς is otherwise unattested.[122] The fact that Epiphanius also employs this order of the names in elenchus 63, 23.6.2, and the final reference in 64.44 indicates that it should not be attributed to Marcion's text. Furthermore, though Epiphanius alludes to Elijah and Moses having "appeared" in glory (v. 31a) in the elenchus, it is likely that simple omissions by Epiphanius account for the brief nature of his references in the scholion.

6.4.22 *Luke 9:35*

42.11.6 ιη (18)—Ἐκ τῆς νεφέλης φωνή· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ιη (18)—Ἐκ τῆς νεφέλης φωνή· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ιη (18)—… ἡ νεφέλη … ὅθεν ἡ φωνὴ πρὸς τὸν σωτῆρα ἠνέχθη. … ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ἐν νεφέλῃ λαλεῖ, ὑποδεικνύων τοῖς μαθηταῖς τὸν αὐτοῦ υἱόν, … ὁ καὶ διὰ νεφέλης τῷ ἰδίῳ υἱῷ μαρτυρήσας … | 51.20.6—… οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε … | 57.3.8—… ἦλθε φωνὴ ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου, αὐτοῦ ἀκούσατε. … | 73.20.3—… οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός. | 76.29.7—… οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, [καὶ] αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε … | 76.39.12—… οὗτός μού ἐστιν ὁ υἱός, αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε. … | 77.13.2—… οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν ᾧ ηὐδόκησα. …

These verses are also attested by Tertullian and Ephrem. Epiphanius's attestation of the voice coming "out of the cloud" confirms the observations made in chapter 4.4.36 that Tertullian's *de caelo* is not the reading of Marcion's text.[123] Though Tertullian always mentions the *vox* prior to the locale from which it came, Epiphanius places φωνή after ἐκ τῆς νεφέλης.[124] This otherwise unattested word order, along with the omission ἐγένετο and λέγουσα,[125] are most likely due to Epiphanius's abbreviated citation.[126] The words spoken by the

122 The parallel in Matt 17:3 also reads Μωϋσῆς καὶ Ἠλίας; however, in Mark 9:4 Elijah is mentioned before Moses in the phrase καὶ ὤφθη αὐτοῖς Ἠλίας σὺν Μωϋσεῖ.

123 Epiphanius once makes reference to the voice coming from heaven (cf. his citation in 57.3.8, likely conflated with Matt 3:17//Luke 3:22)

124 As mentioned in the previous note, the likely influence from Matt 3:17//Luke 3:22 also leads to the voice being mentioned before the locale in 57.3.8. Curiously, IGNTP lists Epiphanius's word order as the reading of "Marcion."

125 IGNTP lists only K as attesting the first omission, though several manuscripts and versions, including P^{45}, attest the second.

126 Thus already Volckmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, 34 concerning the omission of λέγουσα. In the elenchus Epiphanius makes an explicit reference to the Father λαλεῖ.

voice confirm the testimony of Tertullian, including the reading ὁ ἀγαπητός,[127] before breaking off and leaving the final phrase of the verse unattested.

6.4.23 *Luke 9:40–41*

42.11.6 ιθ (19)—Ἐδεήθην τῶν μαθητῶν σου. εἶχε δὲ παρὰ τό οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτό καὶ πρὸς αὐτούς· ὦ γενεὰ ἄπιστος, ἕως πότε ἀνέξομαι ὑμῶν; | 42.11.17 Σχ. ιθ (19)—Ἐδεήθην τῶν μαθητῶν σου. εἶχε δὲ παρὰ τό οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτό καὶ πρὸς αὐτούς· ὦ γενεὰ ἄπιστος, ἕως πότε ἀνέξομαι ὑμῶν; | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ιθ (19)—Τό ἕως πότε ἐνσάρκου παρουσίας χρόνου ἐστὶν σημαντικὸν καὶ τό ὦ γενεὰ ἄπιστος, ὡς τῶν προφητῶν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ θεοσήμεια ἐργασαμένων καὶ πεπιστευκότων, . . .

Luke 9:40 is attested only by Epiphanius, and whereas the opening words are unproblematic and almost uniformly attested in the manuscript tradition,[128] οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτό is a singular reading. By reconstructing Marcion's text in this way, and judging by the references in his apparatus, Harnack appears to have thought that this Lukan reading had been influenced by the syntax of Matt 17:16; however, since Epiphanius focuses exclusively on elements from v. 41 in the elenchus, it is also possible that the phrasing is due to carelessness on the part of Epiphanius.

Concerning v. 41, first, πρὸς αὐτούς is a singular reading that Harnack contended was "tendenziös von M. hinzugesetzt."[129] Though Harnack posed the question "ob es Tert. gelesen hat?,"[130] Tsutsui rightly observes that "Tertullian (4,23,2) und Epiphanius stimmen darin überein, daß Jesus sein Wort nach Marcions Auffassung auf die Jünger gerichtet hat,"[131] which, at least indirectly, means that the reading is attested in both sources. Second, though in the analysis of Tertullian's testimony it was noted that καὶ διεστραμμένη could have been a simple omission by Tertullian, Epiphanius confirms its absence. Finally, Tertullian, in his two citations for v. 41, attests both of the final elements of the Lukan question whereas Epiphanius attests only ἕως πότε ἀνέξομαι ὑμῶν. Harnack argued that the absence of ἕως πότε ἔσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς in Epiphanius

127 The double attestation by Tertullian and Epiphanius weigh more strongly than the fact that Epiphanius always refers to a υἱός ἀγαπητός in his other citations of this and related passages.

128 The opening καί is here unattested and should be marked with ellipses (IGNTP states that two mss. of sy^c omit the conjunction). Harnack simply began the verse with ἐδεήθην.

129 Harnack, *Marcion*, 203*.

130 Ibid.

131 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 94.

"ist nichts zu geben," and both sources do attest ἕως πότε immediately before ἀνέξομαι along with numerous other manuscripts and lectionaries.[132]

6.4.24 *Luke 9:44*

42.11.6 κ (20)—Ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μέλλει παραδίδοσθαι εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων. | 42.11.17 Σχ. κ (20)—Ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μέλλει παραδίδοσθαι εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. κ (20)—Υἱοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ παραδοθησομένου εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων οὐ δοκήσεως ἡ ἔμφασις οὐδὲ φαντασίας, . . .

Epiphanius's citation of the second half of 9:44 is unproblematic and reproduces the essentially unanimously attested reading of the verse.

6.4.25 *Luke 10:21*

21.6.2— . . . ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγελίῳ φησὶν ὡς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἴδιον πάτερ, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς. | 40.7.9— . . . εὐχαριστῶ σοι, πάτερ, κύριε οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, . . . | 42.11.6 κβ (22)—Εὐχαριστῶ σοι, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. οὐκ εἶχεν δέ καὶ τῆς γῆς, οὔτε πάτερ εἶχεν. ἐλέγχεται δέ· κάτω γὰρ εἶχεν ναὶ, ὁ πατήρ. | 42.11.17 Σχ. κβ (22)—Εὐχαριστῶ σοι, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. οὐκ εἶχε δέ καὶ τῆς γῆς, οὔτε πάτερ εἶχεν. ἐλέγχεται δέ· κάτω γὰρ εἶχεν ναὶ, ὁ πατήρ. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. κβ (22)—Εὐχαριστεῖ κυρίῳ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, κἂν περιέλης <τό> <καὶ> τῆς γῆς κἂν <τε> παρακόψης τό πάτερ, . . . ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν λειψάνῳ κατὰ λήθην εἴασας, ὦ Μαρκίων, τό ναί, ὁ πατήρ, . . . ἀποδέδεικται τοίνυν ἐξ ἅπαντος τῷ ἰδίῳ πατρὶ εὐχαριστεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ οὐρανοῦ κύριον αὐτὸν ὀνομάζειν.

Epiphanius here attested several readings also found in Tertullian. First, εὐχαριστῶ confirms the reading in Tertullian,[133] and the presence of σοι here tends to support the possibility that the absence of *tibi* in Tertullian was due to a simple omission on his part. Epiphanius does not attest the καὶ ἐξομολογοῦμαι found in Tertullian, and though Harnack was convinced that Epiphanius here abbreviated the citation,[134] it is also possible that the extra words were inserted by Tertullian. Second, Epiphanius explicitly notes the omission of καὶ τῆς γῆς, confirming that Tertullian's silence is due to the absence of this element. Harnack viewed the omission as tendentious, and Marcion may have had theological reason for doing so; yet, the words are also missing in P^{45}

132 Reference to this reading is also made by Williams, "Reconsidering Marcion's Gospel," 482n14 [cont.].

133 Since only Tertullian and Epiphanius attest this verse, Braun presumably meant to write "Epiphanius" in his statement "*Gratias ago* (εὐχαριστῶ) est confirmé par Adamantius" (*Contre Marcion IV*, 315n2). Interestingly, however, Epiphanius also attests this verb in 40.7.9.

134 Harnack, *Marcion*, 204*.

and the 10th century minuscule 27*.[135] Gregory, following Klijn, rightly notes "although the omission of καὶ τῆς γῆς *can* be explained as the result of a particular Marcionite tendency, nevertheless this is not a necessary explanation."[136] Third, Epiphanius also confirms that πάτερ was not present in Marcion's text. Here again Harnack saw a tendentious omission on Marcion's part,[137] but it is difficult to find a rationale for this view. Tsutsui rightly asks what tendency necessitated the deletion of πάτερ,[138] and his question is particularly poignant because Harnack himself, as seen in the discussion of Tertullian, believed that both Tertullian and Epiphanius rightly attested πατήρ as present in Marcion's text in the final clause of Luke 10:21.[139] Therefore, the possibility must be entertained that if the word was absent it was not due to an excision by Marcion and could have already been absent in his exemplar.[140] Ultimately, Klijn is likely

135 Harnack, *Marcion*, 206*. Blackman, *Marcion and His Influence*, 46 also saw a tendentious omission. Of course, Harnack did not have access to P^{45} when he wrote his work on Marcion. It is curious, however, that Tsutsui offers a theological rationale for Marcion's omission (the earth symbolizes all of creation and the Creator God), but does not mention the reading of P^{45}. Williams simply writes "In X, 21 together with the Chester Beatty papyrus, P^{45}, he [Marcion] omitted και της γης" (*Alterations*, 14). It is also worth remembering, however, as E.C. Colwell noted, "As an editor the scribe of P^{45} wielded a sharp axe.... He frequently omits phrases and clauses.... He shortens the text in at least fifty places in *singular readings alone*" ("Scribal Habits in Early Papyri: A Study in the Corruption of the Text," in *The Bible in Modern Scholarship: Papers Read at the 100th Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, December 28–30, 1964* [ed. J. Philip Hyatt; Nashville: Abingdon, 1965], 383; cf. also the extensive discussion of the scribe of P^{45} in Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 103–97).

136 Gregory, *Reception of Luke and Acts*, 181. Cf. Klijn, "Matthew 11:25 // Luke 10:21," 13–14. Klijn's summary is helpful: "Marcionite influence on early Greek papyri seems impossible. This means that here also variant readings originated spontaneously, possibly influenced by the usage of the LXX where in this phrase the words καὶ τῆς γῆς are often omitted, as we have seen above.... The omission ... can be explained from a particular Marcionite tendency, but incidental errors, free rendering in quotations, and the influence of the LXX are equally possible as sources of corruption" ("Matthew 11:25 // Luke 10:21," 14).

137 Harnack, *Marcion*, 206*.

138 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 96.

139 Cf. chapter 4.4.40, in particular n. 215.

140 IGNTP notes that it may possibly have been omitted by the OL manuscript a, with Athanasius being the only other witness omitting it. Tsutsui offers the rather weak argument that Marcion may have deleted the first reference to "father" out of stylistic reasons because he did not want to keep two terms of address in the text ("Evangelium," 96). Braun, on the other hand, argues it was Tertullian "qui a supprimé aussi l'apostrophe (πάτερ)" (*Contre Marcion IV*, 315n2).

correct in his conclusion: “It appears impossible to give a definite answer to this question.”[141]

6.4.26 *Luke 10:25–28*

42.11.6 κγ (23)—Εἶπεν τῷ νομικῷ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τί γέγραπται; καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς μετὰ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν τοῦ νομικοῦ εἶπεν ὀρθῶς εἶπες. τοῦτο ποίει, καὶ ζήσῃ. | 42.11.17 Σχ. κγ (23)—Εἶπεν τῷ νομικῷ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τί γέγραπται; καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς μετὰ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν τοῦ νομικοῦ εἶπεν ὀρθῶς εἶπες. τοῦτο ποίει, καὶ ζήσῃ. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. κγ (23)—Ἀλήθεια ὢν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδένα ἐπλάνα τῶν περὶ ζωῆς ἐρωτώντων· … καὶ τῷ κατὰ νόμον ἀποκριθέντι φήσαντος ὀρθῶς λελαληκέναι καὶ οὕτως ποίει καὶ ζήσῃ, …

In this passage, vv. 25 and 27 are also attested by Tertullian. Epiphanius's only reference in the scholion to v. 25 is the indication that the pericope involves a νομικός. In the elenchus, given Tertullian's testimony that αἰώνιον was not present in Marcion's text, it is interesting that Epiphanius states only that the Son of God was asked περὶ ζωῆς and not περὶ ζωῆς αἰωνίου. Though it is difficult to ascertain how much significance should be read into this formulation, if it was influenced by the wording of Marcion's Gospel it would support Tertullian's testimony. For v. 26, Epiphanius attests that Jesus asked the νομικός a question, the wording of which is essentially unproblematic. Since Harnack's view that this verse was definitely missing in Tertullian's copy of Marcion's text has already been questioned,[142] it is possible that Epiphanius is not merely attesting a later, altered version of Marcion's Gospel.[143] Following a mere allusion to the scribe's answer (v. 27), Epiphanius attests Jesus' reply in v. 28. The only difference here from the nearly universally attested text is εἶπες instead of ἀπεκρίθης, which does not necessarily reflect the reading of Marcion's Gospel.[144]

6.4.27 *Luke 11:5, 9, 11–13*

Anchor. 18.4—… εἰ ὑμεῖς πονηροὶ ὄντες οἴδατε δόματα ἀγαθὰ διδόναι τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν περὶ ἰχθύος καὶ ἄρτου λέγων. | 42.11.6 κδ (24)—Καὶ εἶπεν τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἕξει φίλον, καὶ πορεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν μεσονυκτίου, αἰτῶν τρεῖς ἄρτους; καὶ λοιπόν

141 Klijn, “Matthew 11:25 // Luke 10:21,” 13. Klijn continues “The presence of the omission in Codex F, Pseudo-Clement, and Augustine, and in addition to this the omission of the word in similar expressions in the LXX, make it clear that the omission could have been brought about in more than one way.” Blackman, however, contends that OL a omitted πάτερ due to Marcionite influence (*Marcion and His Influence*, 136, 157).

142 Cf. chapter 4.4.43 and n. 240 there.

143 This is the position taken by Harnack, *Marcion*, 206*–207* and Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 98, who explicitly refers to “einen von den Schülern revidierten Text.”

144 IGNTP offers only aeth and geo as supporting this reading. In addition, οὕτως in the elenchus is certainly due to Epiphanius altering the wording.

αἰτεῖτε καὶ δοθήσεται. τίνα γὰρ ἐξ ὑμῶν τὸν πατέρα υἱὸς αἰτήσει ἰχθύν καὶ ἀντὶ ἰχθύος ὄφιν ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ ἢ ἀντι ᾠοῦ σκορπίον; εἰ οὖν ὑμεῖς πονηροὶ οἴδατε δόματα ἀγαθά, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ πατὴρ; | 42.11.17 Σχ. κδ (24)—Καὶ εἶπεν τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἕξει φίλον. καὶ πορεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν μεσονυκτίου, αἰτῶν τρεῖς ἄρτους; καὶ λοιπόν αἰτεῖτε, καὶ δοθήσεται. τίνα γὰρ ἐξ ὑμῶν τὸν πατέρα υἱὸς αἰτήσει [V M read αἰτήσας] ἰχθύν καὶ ἀντὶ ἰχθύος ὄφιν ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ ἢ [V M read καί] ἀντι ᾠοῦ σκορπίον; εἰ οὖν ὑμεῖς πονηροὶ οἴδατε δόματα ἀγαθά. πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ πατὴρ; | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. κδ (24)—... λέγει γὰρ τίνα ὁ υἱὸς αἰτήσει ἰχθύν, μὴ ὄφιν αὐτῷ ἐπιδώσει ἢ ἀντὶ ᾠοῦ σκορπίον; καὶ ὕστερόν φησιν εἰ οὖν ὑμεῖς πονηροὶ ὄντες οἴδατε δόματα ἀγαθὰ διδόναι τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ ἐπουράνιος; εἰ τοίνυν δόματα ἀγαθὰ κέκληκεν ἰχθὺν καὶ ᾠόν, ...

Epiphanius's citation from Luke 11:5, a verse to which Tertullian alludes, references essentially unproblematic readings, though the quotation is quite clearly abbreviated.[145] The most obvious abbreviation occurs with the summary comment αἰτῶν τρεῖς ἄρτους alluding to the conclusion of the verse. Harnack thought that Marcion's text omitted προς αὐτούς,[146] an omission that is also found in D and d; however, it is not clear that Epiphanius began his citation at the beginning of v. 5. He may rather have simply used a brief introduction to the citation of Jesus' words, similar to his shortly thereafter introducing the second quote with καὶ λοιπόν.

Epiphanius continues the scholion with elements from vv. 9 and 11–13, verses also attested by Tertullian, with vv. 11–13 additionally attested in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. In v. 9, Epiphanius cites αἰτεῖτε καὶ δοθήσεται. The first verb is confirmed by Tertullian, and the latter may be the reading of Marcion's text.[147] For v. 11, Epiphanius attests τίνα γὰρ ἐξ ὑμῶν τὸν πατέρα υἱὸς αἰτήσει ἰχθύν καὶ ἀντὶ ἰχθύος ὄφιν ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ. Numerous readings need to be discussed here. First, τινα is attested, and not τις, as read in several manuscripts, including ℵ and D. Second, γάρ is only rarely found in the manuscript tradition, though it is the reading in P^{45}.[148] Third, ἐξ is attested with numerous manuscripts against the TR. Fourth, the article before πατέρα is attested (it is omitted in several

145 Cf. also Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:473 and Harnack, *Marcion*, 208*.

146 Harnack, *Marcion*, 208*.

147 Cf. the discussion in chapter 4.4.49.

148 IGNTP erroneously lists P^{75} instead of P^{45} as attesting γάρ. Also, it is unclear to me why NA[28] chose to list (Mcion[E] Epiph) as evidence for the critical text τίνα δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν τὸν πατέρα αἰτήσει ὁ υἱὸς when the reading attested by Epiphanius could just as easily, and perhaps more accurately, be listed as slightly varying from the reading of P^{45} (τίνα γὰρ ἐξ ὑμῶν πατέρα αἰτήσει υἱὸς).

manuscripts, including P^{45} and P^{75}) but no article is present before υἱός, at least in the scholion (it is also absent in P^{45} and a few other manuscripts). Fifth, according to IGNTP, the word order υἱὸς αἰτήσει is also found in D, d, W, and a few additional manuscripts. Sixth, like Tertullian, Epiphanius does not mention the pair "bread and stone" (cf. Matt 7:9 and the presence of the element in most manuscripts of Luke).[149] Finally, the scholion attests ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ, though in the elenchus, in an abbreviated reference to v. 11, Epiphanius writes αὐτῷ ἐπιδώσει.[150] In all of this it is very difficult to decipher that which is drawn from Marcion's text and that which is due to Epiphanius's own hand.

The references to vv. 12 and 13 are more cursory, with Epiphanius attesting ἢ ἀντι ᾠοῦ σκορπίον for v. 12 and εἰ οὖν ὑμεῖς πονηροὶ οἴδατε δόματα ἀγαθὰ, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ πατὴρ for v. 13. The content of the former verse is simply summarized by Epiphanius. The latter verse reproduces several unproblematic phrases from the verse, though Epiphanius has clearly omitted some elements. V. 13 is attested, however, in a longer form in the elenchus. There Epiphanius may simply be referring to the verse in the longer form, or perhaps the verse was expanded in the process of copying. In any case, it is difficult to attribute the expanded citation to Marcion's Gospel with any degree of certainty and therefore one should view elements of v. 13 not present in the scholion as unattested by Epiphanius.[151]

149 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:473 stated that Epiphanius "übergeht" this element and Harnack, *Marcion*, 208* viewed the omission here, as well as in sy^s, as "ein Zufall" (Harnack did not mention that B and several OL manuscripts also omit the phrase). Of course, both scholars were, however, working prior to the discovery of P^{45} and P^{75}, neither of which contain this element.

150 The former reading is that of the TR, though also supported by P^{45}, ℵ, A, C, W, $f^{1.13}$, and other manuscripts. Important witnesses for the reading of the elenchus (also the reading of NA^{28}) include P^{75} and D.

151 Though Harnack, *Marcion*, 208* did include a question mark, there is no source supporting the insertion of "(ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ?)" in Marcion's Gospel. It should, therefore, also be recognized that Adalbert Merx's suggestion that the reading ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ "aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach zu den marcionitischen Änderungen gehört" (*Die Evangelien des Markus und Lukas nach der syrischen im Sinaikloster gefundenen Palimpsesthandschrift* [vol. 2.2 of *Die vier kanonischen Evangelien nach ihrem ältesten bekannten Texte: Übersetzung und Erläuterung der syrischen im Sinaikloster gefundenen Palimpsesthandschrift*; Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1905], 287), an idea for which T.W. Manson stated "there is something to be said" (T.W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus* [London: SCM, 1949], 82), is based upon the speculation that a reading that is not attested for Marcion's Gospel is a Marcionite interpolation.

6.4.28 *Luke 11:29–32*

42.11.6 κε (25)—Παρακέκοπται [V M read περικέκοπται] τὸ περὶ Ἰωνᾶ τοῦ προφήτου. εἶχεν γάρ ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη, σημεῖον οὐ δοθήσεται αὐτῇ. οὐκ εἶχεν δὲ περὶ Νινευὴ καὶ βασιλίσσης νότου καὶ Σαλομῶνος. | 42.11.17 Σχ. κε (25)—Παρακέκοπται τὸ περὶ Ἰωνᾶ τοῦ προφήτου. εἶχεν γάρ ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη, σημεῖον οὐ δοθήσεται αὐτῇ. οὐκ εἶχεν δὲ περὶ Νινευὴ καὶ [Νινευὴ καί omitted by V M] βασιλίσσης νότου καὶ Σαλομῶνος. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. κε (25)—Καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς δοκεῖς παρακόπτειν οὐ δύνασαι, ὦ Μαρκίων, λαθεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. κἂν ἀφέλῃς γὰρ <τὸ> περὶ Ἰωνᾶ τοῦ προφήτου, ... ἀφέλῃς δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης τοῦ νότου καὶ Σαλομῶνος καὶ τῆς Νινευὴ τὴν σωτηριώδη ὑπόθεσιν καὶ τοῦ Ἰωνᾶ τὸ κήρυγμα, αὐτὸς ὁ προκείμενος λόγος τοῦ σωτῆρός <σε> ἐλέγχει. λέγει γάρ ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη σημεῖον αἰτεῖ, καὶ σημεῖον οὐ δοθήσεται αὐτῃ, ...

Luke 11:29 is also attested by Tertullian where his reference to σημεῖον οὐ δοθήσεται confirms this element in Epiphanius's reference. It seems quite likely that Epiphanius has abbreviated the citation, making IGNTP's reference to Marcion's Gospel attesting an omission of γενεὰ πονηρά ἐστιν· σημεῖον ζητεῖ, καί problematic. In any case, the intervening words are simply unattested,[152] and the attested elements are nearly uniformly attested in the manuscript tradition. The additional elements added by Epiphanius in the elenchus are likely a paraphrase of the intervening words based on memory.[153] The remainder of the scholion and the elenchus reveal that Marcion's Gospel did not contain vv. 30–32.[154]

6.4.29 *Luke 11:42*

42.11.6 κϛ (26)—Ἀντὶ τοῦ παρέρχεσθε [V and M read παρέρχεσθαι] τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ θεοῦ [V^corr added θεοῦ] εἶχεν παρέρχεσθε [V and M read παρέρχεσθαι] τὴν κλῆσιν τοῦ θεοῦ. | 42.11.17 Σχ. κϛ (26)—Ἀντὶ τοῦ παρέρχεσθε [V and M read παρέρχεσθαι] τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ θεοῦ εἶχεν παρέρχεσθε [V and M read παρέρχεσθαι] τὴν κλῆσιν τοῦ θεοῦ. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. κϛ (26)—ἐὰν γὰρ εἴπῃ κατέχετε τὰς παραδόσεις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ὑμῶν καὶ παρέρχεσθε [V read παρέρχεσθαι, V^corr παρέρχεσθε]τὸ ἔλεος καὶ τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ θεοῦ, ...

This verse is also attested by Tertullian, and Epiphanius's explicit statement concerning the reading confirms Tertullian's attestation of the reading τὴν κλῆσιν. Though the Holl/Dummer edition altered the reading of the Epiphanius manuscripts from παρέρχεσθαι to παρέρχεσθε, regardless of the original reading of the scholion, Marcion's Gospel almost certainly did not read the otherwise

152 Harnack, *Marcion*, 209* placed these words in brackets.

153 The idea of paraphrasing the verse with the verb "ask" was already seen in Tertullian.

154 The omission of Νινευὴ καὶ in the second list of scholia could be a result of homoeoteleuton.

unattested middle infinitive. The remainder of the verse is unattested, and it is evident that the elenchus is loosely reflecting the entire verse based on Epiphanius's (faulty) memory.

6.4.30 *Luke 11:47*

33.10.4—ὅθεν καὶ ὁ κύριος, ἐπαινῶν τὴν νομοθεσίαν καὶ τοὺς αὐτῆς διακίους, ἔλεγεν κοσμεῖτε τοὺς τάφους τῶν προφητῶν καὶ οἰκοδομεῖτε τὰ μνημεῖα τῶν δικαίων, καὶ οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ἀπέκτειναν αὐτούς. | 42.11.6 κζ (27)—Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, ὅτι οἰκοδομεῖτε τὰ μνήματα τῶν προφητῶν καὶ οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ἀπέκτειναν αὐτούς. | 42.11.17 Σχ. κζ (27)—Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, ὅτι οἰκοδομεῖτε τὰ μνημεῖα τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ἀπέκτειναν αὐτούς. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. κζ (27)—Εἰ τῶν προφητῶν ποιεῖται τὴν φροντίδα, τοὺς ἀποκτείναντας ὀνειδιζων, οὐκ ἀλλότριοι αὐτοῦ ἦσαν οἱ προφῆται, ... [a series of citations from the OT and one from John follows]

Epiphanius provides a citation of Luke 11:47, where Tertullian offers only an allusion. Most of the reading is unproblematic, though discussion concerning two points is necessary. First, in 42.11.6 Epiphanius attests the reading τὰ μνήματα, whereas in 42.11.17 the scholion reads τὰ μνημεῖα. As mentioned in chapter 5 (5.48), Tertullian's use of *monimentum* may point towards the reading τὰ μνημεῖα; however, this is not certain.[155] In 33.10.4, Epiphanius offers the latter reading, and one would expect that in the process of the production or copying of the *Panarion* it is more likely that a change to a far more common reading was made as opposed to τὰ μνημεῖα being replaced with the almost singular reading τὰ μνήματα. Much more than Marcion's Gospel possibly containing this reading, however, cannot be said.

Second, Epiphanius attests καὶ οἱ πατέρες instead of the far more common οἱ δὲ πατέρες. Volckmar had already made reference to this reading, commenting that it is an example of a place where Epiphanius "sich ... kleine Änderungen [erlaubt], wenn sie den Sinn nicht berühren, ohne dass wir desshalb berechtigt wären, abweichende Lesartern bei *Marcion* anzunehmen."[156] At the same time, however, the original hand of א (corrected to οἱ δέ) and C also read καὶ οἱ revealing that Epiphanius's reading is not completely beyond the realm of possibility. The elenchus, unfortunately, cannot help further with either of these two issues.

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155 All OL manuscripts render the Greek here with *monumentum*, though this lemma is generally used in the OL to render both μνημεῖον and μνῆμα. According to *Itala*, in only two instances in the Synoptic Gospels does an OL manuscript use *monimentum*, in both instances rendering μνημεῖον (a in Mark 6:29 and k in Mark 15:46).

156 Volckmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, 33–34.

6.4.31 *Luke 11:49–51*

42.11.6 κη (28)—Οὐκ εἶχεν διὰ τοῦτο εἶπεν ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ· ἀποστέλλω εἰς αὐτοὺς προφήτας καὶ περὶ αἵματος Ζαχαρίου καὶ Ἄβελ καὶ τῶν προφητῶν ὅτι ἐκζητηθήσεται ἐκ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης. | 42.11.17 Σχ. κη (28)—Οὐκ εἶχεν διὰ τοῦτο εἶπεν ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀποστέλλω εἰς αὐτοὺς προφήτας καὶ περὶ αἵματος Ζαχαρίου καὶ Ἄβελ καὶ τῶν προφητῶν ὅτι ἐκζητηθήσεται ἐκ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. κη (28)—... τῆς παρεκτομῆς [Marcion's] τῶν κλεμμάτων σου εὑρισκομένης ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀντιγράφου τοῦ κατὰ Λουκᾶν εὐαγγελίου, τῶν τόπων εὑρισκομένων καὶ τῶν παρὰ σοῦ ἀφαιρεθέντων ἐλεγχομένων.

Epiphanius here indicates the omission of Luke 11:49–51 in Marcion's text through summary references to the content of these verses.[157]

6.4.32 *Luke 12:4–6*

42.11.6 κθ (29)—Λέγω τοῖς φίλοις μου· μὴ φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτενόντων τὸ σῶμα, φοβήθητε δὲ τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι [V^{corr} crossed out ἀποθανεῖν and wrote ἀποκτεῖναι in the margin] ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν [V reads τὴν ἐξουσίαν] βαλεῖν εἰς γέενναν. οὐκ εἶχεν δὲ οὐχὶ πέντε στρουθία ἀσσαρίων δύο πωλοῦνται καὶ [V M omit καί] ἓν ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιλελησμένον ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. | 42.11.17 Σχ. κθ (29)—Λέγω [V M read λέγω δέ] τοῖς φίλοις μου, μὴ φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτενόντων τὸ σῶμα, φοβήθητε δὲ τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι [V^{corr} crossed out ἀποθανεῖν and wrote ἀποκτεῖναι in the margin] ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν [V reads τὴν ἐξουσίαν] βαλεῖν εἰς γέενναν [M reads δὲ τὸν ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν τὸ μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸ σῶμα τὴν ψυχὴν βαλεῖν εἰς γέενναν]. οὐκ εἶχεν δὲ οὐχὶ πέντε στρουθία ἀσσαρίων δύο πωλεῖται, καὶ ἓν ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιλελησμένον ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ; | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. κθ (29)—Τό λέγω [ἐγὼ] τοῖς φίλοις μου, μὴ φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτενόντων τὸ σῶμα, φοβήθητε δὲ τὸν ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν τοῦ [V reads τόν; M reads τό] μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸ σῶμα τὴν ψυχὴν βαλεῖν εἰς γέενναν ἀναγκάζει σε, ὦ Μαρκίων, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς τῆς παραβολῆς ὁμολογῆσαι. ἄνευ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται, κἂν ἀπάρῃς [V M read ἐπάρῃς] τὸ περὶ τῶν στρουθίων. ἀπολόγησαι οὖν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ ῥητῷ καταλειφθέντων ὑπὸ σοῦ, ὦ Μαρκίων, καὶ ἀπόκριναι ἡμῖν τί διανοῇ περὶ τοῦ ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντος.... ἐπειδὴ ἔχει τὴν ἐξουσίαν, δέδωκας αὐτὸν κριτὴν ὄντα καὶ ἑκάστῳ νέμοντα τὸ κατ᾽ ἀξίαν.

If Epiphanius provides an accurate citation of the opening to v. 4, he attests a slightly different reading than Tertullian (who included δὲ ὑμῖν).[158] If, however,

157 Epiphanius also makes reference to Luke 11:49–51 or the Matthean parallel in Matt 23:24–26 in 38.5.5 and 66.42.11. Though the question of the wording of the verse is not relevant for an omission from Marcion's Gospel, the different wording of all these citations is another example of Epiphanius's habit of varying his references and quotations.

158 The inclusion of δέ in the manuscript tradition in the scholion in 42.11.17 is likely an assimilation to the nearly unanimously attested Lukan reading.

one views Epiphanius as simply abbreviating the introduction to the verse,[159] there is no need to posit the possible omission of ὑμῖν, as is done by Harnack. Epiphanius's attestation to the ensuing element is unproblematic, though shortened. If the argument in chapter 4.4.59 is valid, namely that Tertullian's testimony is largely due to his own and not Marcion's text, there is no difficulty in positing that Marcion's Gospel likely read as Luke does.[160]

Epiphanius also offers an abbreviated citation of v. 5. The δέ after φοβήθητε is clearly due to Epiphanius's own hand and provides the transition to the segment of v. 5 that he references. For the remainder of the verse, the elements that Epiphanius attests in the scholion overlap with Tertullian's testimony, apart from the differing word order ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν.[161] Notably, Epiphanius affirms the reading βαλεῖν for Marcion's text. In the elenchus Epiphanius is apparently citing from memory and "fills in the gaps" of his citation in the scholion with elements from Matt 10:28. Finally, Epiphanius concludes the scholion with a reference to the omission of v. 6. Though it has often been contended that v. 7 was therefore also necessarily not present in Marcion's text,[162] it is more precise, from a methodological standpoint, simply to view v. 7 as unattested.[163]

6.4.33 *Luke 12:8*

42.11.6 λ (30)—Ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁμολογήσει ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ λέγει. | 42.11.17 Σχ. λ (30)—Ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁμολογήσει ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ [V M omit τοῦ θεοῦ] ἐνώπιον [V M read ἐκεῖνος] τοῦ θεοῦ λέγει. | 54.2.7—... ὁ ὁμολογῶν ἐν ἐμοί, ὁμολογήσω αὐτὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ πατρός μου. | 65.2.3—... πᾶς ὁ ὁμολογῶν ἐν ἐμοί ὁμολογήσω κἀγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρός μου.

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159 Cf. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:474 who commented that Epiphanius's testimony here is "sichtlich abkürzend."

160 The reference in IGNTP to Marcion reading τη δε ψυχη in v. 4 is completely erroneous. The only place where the soul is mentioned is in the elenchus, and there it is referring to v. 5 (under the influence of Matt 10:28).

161 In the elenchus, however, Epiphanius offered a variant word order when referring to these words in the context of his refutation.

162 Cf., e.g., Hahn, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, 167; Ritschl, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, 91; Volckmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, 94–95; Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:474; Harnack, *Marcion*, 212*; and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 103. Hilgenfeld, however, drawing attention to the fact that only v. 6 is explicitly attested as omitted, entertained the possibility that v. 7 was present in Marcion' Gospel (*Kritische Untersuchungen*, 465). Cf. also the comments in chapter 4.4.60.

163 Perhaps one could understand Epiphanius's comment in the elenchus (κἂν ἀπάρῃς τὸ περὶ τῶν στρουθίων) as including v. 7; yet, even here the statement could have only v. 6 in view.

Luke 12:8 is also attested by Tertullian. Epiphanius's comments here focus upon the reading ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ instead of ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ.[164] The explicitly noted omission of τῶν ἀγγέλων confirms that Tertullian's silence concerning this element is due to its absence in Marcion's text.[165] The otherwise unattested preposition ἐνώπιον,[166] which both Zahn and Harnack confidently assumed to be the reading of Marcion's text,[167] is far from secure as the reading for Marcion's Gospel. First of all, the manuscript tradition of Epiphanius's text offers two different readings in the two listings of the scholion as it relates to the element actually attested for Marcion's text (ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ and ἐκεῖνος τοῦ θεοῦ). More significant, however, is the fact that in 54.2.7 Epiphanius also writes ἐνώπιον. The use of this preposition may therefore be due to Epiphanius's own hand. One final observation concerning Epiphanius's testimony is that though Harnack appeared to assume that Epiphanius also attested ὁμολογήσει,[168] this is not clearly the case. The phrase following Epiphanius's ἀντί in the scholion is not necessarily drawn from Marcion's text.

6.4.34 *Luke 12:28*

42.11.6 λα (31)—Οὐκ ἔχει τό ὁ θεὸς ἀμφιέννυσι τὸν χόρτον. | 42.11.17 Σχ. λα (31)—Οὐκ ἔχει τό ὁ θεὸς ἀμφιέννυσι τὸν χόρτον.

Epiphanius, in summary fashion, attests to the absence of most of Luke 12:28. As usual, such cursory references do not provide much insight concerning the precise extent of the omission, though it does appear that the statement is in conflict with Tertullian's allusions. As argued in chapter 4.4.64, however, Tertullian's allusion to the elements that Epiphanius attests as absent are likely due to Tertullian himself, and not to Marcion's Gospel.

6.4.35 *Luke 12:30*

42.11.6 λβ (32)—Ὑμῶν δὲ ὁ πατὴρ οἶδεν ὅτι χρῄζετε τούτων, τῶν σαρκικῶν δή [V M omit δή]. | 42.11.17 Σχ. λβ (32)—Ὑμῶν δὲ ὁ πατὴρ οἶδεν ὅτι χρῄζετε τούτων,

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164 Zahn rightly noted, "Dem Ep. kam es nur auf die Beseitigung der Engel an" (*Geschichte*, 2:474).

165 By extension, this may also make the omission of τῶν ἀγγέλων in Luke 12:9 likely.

166 The preposition does not occur in the manuscript tradition in either Luke 12:8 or the parallel in Matt 10:32. It is, however, the reading at the end of Luke 12:6.

167 Cf. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:474 and Harnack, *Marcion*, 212*.

168 On the basis of Tertullian's testimony, Harnack, as noted in chapter 4.4.60, reconstructed the verse with the Matthean ὁμολογήσω. In his apparatus he noted the Lukan reading and commented "so hat Epiph. bereits wieder gelesen falls er sich nicht bei der Wiedergabe geirrt hat" (*Marcion*, 212*).

τῶν σαρκικῶν δή. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. λβ (32)—Οἶδεν ὁ πατὴρ ὅτι χρῄζουσιν οἱ μαθηταὶ τῶν σαρκικῶν χρειῶν καὶ προνοεῖ τῶν τοιούτων.

Epiphanius attests the second half of Luke 12:30 in the form in which it is found in nearly all of the manuscript tradition. The wording is, however, different in two important ways from Tertullian's testimony. First, Tertullian does not attest the presence of ὑμῶν and second, Tertullian attests the word order οἶδεν δὲ ὁ πατήρ. It is not entirely clear how to evaluate Epiphanius's testimony at this point; however, it is interesting to note that in scholion 34 Epiphanius attests that Marcion's text did not read ὑμῶν in Luke 12:32. It would be curious if Marcion read the possessive pronoun here but not two verses later. Furthermore, given that Tertullian attested v. 30 without the possessive pronoun it may be that Epiphanius is here interested only in the statement that God knows and supplies the disciples' needs (cf. the elenchus) and simply refers to the canonical wording of the verse.[169] If this is the case, then Tertullian's word order may also be closer to Marcion's reading.

6.4.36 *Luke 12:31*

42.11.6 λγ (33)—Ζητεῖτε δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν. | 42.11.17 Σχ. λγ (33)—Ζητεῖτε δὲ [V M omit δέ] τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. λγ (33)—… ἢ γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐστι τὰ ἐνταῦθα καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία· διὸ προστίθησι πάντα τὰ ἐνταῦθα, ὄντα αὐτοῦ, …

Epiphanius's citation in the first listing of this scholion begins with ζητεῖτε δέ, a reading also attested by D, d, and a.[170] Both listings of the scholion also read πάντα, the reading of Matt 9:33 but also of many (mostly later) Lukan manuscripts. It is difficult to evaluate whether Epiphanius is offering readings from Marcion's text corresponding to the text attested in D, for example, or is being influenced by the Matthean version. For this reason, the view of Zahn and Harnack that Marcion definitely read ζητεῖτε δέ should be viewed with the same caution when considering wheter πάντα was Marcion's reading.[171] Both readings are simply not secure for Marcion. The comparison with Tertullian also does not allow for further insight as Tertullian did not include any conjunctions in his citations and never includes πάντα in his citations, even when

169 This is the view advocated by Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:476 and apparently Harnack, *Marcion*, 214*.

170 Volckmar's statement that Epiphanius here cited the verse "nur ohne πλὴν [*sic*]" (*Das Evangelium Marcions*, 34) may apply to 42.11.17, but overlooks the δέ in 42.11.6.

171 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:476 and Harnack, *Marcion*, 214*. Interestingly, IGNTP does not list "Marcion ap Epiph" for the reading ζητεῖτε δέ, and it is not clear to me whether this was intentional or an oversight.

revealing the influence of Matthew by writing *primus/prius*. Apart from these two issues, however, the remainder of the verse is essentially unproblematic.

6.4.37 *Luke 12:32*

42.11.6 λδ (34)—Ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ πατὴρ εἶχεν. | 42.11.17 Σχ. λδ (34)—Ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ πατὴρ εἶχεν.

Epiphanius here makes the simple observation that Marcion's text did not contain ὑμῶν. IGNTP indicates that 1247, *l*524, aeth, and a few church fathers also attest this reading. Though Epiphanius is the only witness for this verse, as discussed above, there may be indirect evidence from Tertullian concerning Luke 12:30 supporting that the possessive pronoun was missing both there and in the present verse in Marcion's Gospel.

6.4.38 *Luke 12:38*

42.11.6 λε [V M omit the numeral] (35)—Ἀντὶ τοῦ δευτέρᾳ ἢ τρίτῃ φυλακῇ εἶχεν ἑσπερινῇ φυλακῇ [V M read ἑσπερινὴν φυλακήν]. | 42.11.17 Σχ. λε (35)—Ἀντὶ τοῦ δευτέρᾳ ἢ τρίτῃ φυλακῇ εἶχεν ἑσπερινῇ φυλακῇ. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. λε (35)—Ἐλήλεγκται ὁ κτηνώδης μεταστρέψας τοὺς θείους λόγους ἀνοήτως πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὑπόνοιαν. οὐ γὰρ ἡμεριναὶ γίνονται φυλακαὶ ἀλλὰ νυκτεριναί, ἀπὸ ἑσπέρας εἰς τὴν πρώτην τὴν προκοπὴν [φυλακὴν] τῆς ἐπεκτάσεως ἔχουσαι καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἕω εἰς τὴν ἑσπέραν, ὡς οὗτος ἁλίσκεται ῥᾳδιουργήσας.

For this otherwise unattested verse, Epiphanius notes that Marcion read ἑσπερινῇ φυλακῇ. Though Epiphanius accuses Marcion of altering his text, D and several OL manuscripts (d e b ff^2 i l r^1) also attest this reading. All but b, however, have both a reference to the evening watch and the second and third watch.[172]

6.4.39 *Luke 12:46*

33.11.8—… ὅτι ἐλεύσεται ὁ αὐτοῦ δεσπότης … καὶ διχοτομήσει αὐτὸν τὸν δοῦλον καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων θήσει. | 42.11.6 λϛ (36)—Ἥξει ὁ κύριος τοῦ δούλου ἐκείνου καὶ διχοτομήσει αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων θήσει. | 42.11.17 Σχ. λϛ (36)—Ἥξει ὁ κύριος τοῦ δούλου ἐκείνου καὶ διχοτομήσει αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων θήσει. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. λϛ (36)—Τίς ὁ διχοτομῶν τὸν δοῦλον; λέγε. | 69.44.2—[context of being prepared] … ᾗ οὐκ οἴδασιν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ᾗ οὐ προσδοκῶσιν ὥρᾳ ὁ δεσπότης αὐτῶν παραγίνεται, …

This verse is also attested by Tertullian and in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. The elenchus reveals that Epiphanius is focused upon the cleaving in two of the servant, which also explains his offering the opening words of the verse

172 Also noted by Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:476 and Harnack, *Marcion*, 215*.

and then skipping to the section of interest to him. The omitted section is, however, referenced by Tertullian. That the precise wording of the opening to the verse is following Marcion's text receives support from Epiphanius's other references to the verse where he twice refers to the master as a δεσπότης and employs the verb ἔρχομαι. The remaining elements attested by Epiphanius are unproblematic and often confirmed by Tertullian. As already discussed in chapter 5.55 on Tertullian's attestation of this verse, Harnack's view that Tertullian and Epiphanius are attesting different readings in Marcion's texts is questionable.[173]

6.4.40 *Luke 12:58*

27.5.3—[what Gnostics mean by this parable] … μή πως ὁ ἀντίδικος παραδῷ σε τῷ κριτῇ καὶ ὁ κριτὴς τῷ ὑπηρέτῃ, καὶ ὁ ὑπηρέτης βάλῃ σε εἰς φυλακήν· … | 42.11.6 λζ (37)—Μή ποτε κατασύρῃ σε πρὸς τὸν κριτὴν καὶ ὁ κριτὴς παραδώσει σε τῷ πράκτορι. | 42.11.17 Σχ. λζ (37)—Μή ποτε κατασύρῃ σε πρὸς τὸν κριτὴν καὶ ὁ κριτὴς παραδώσει σε τῷ πράκτορι.

Epiphanius's citation of the second half of v. 58 is for the most part unproblematic. Worth noting is the attested reading παραδώσει σε also found in P^{45}, D, d, 157, and 1241.[174] The reference to the, for Epiphanius, more familiar Matthean wording in 27.5.3 increase the likelihood that he is here following Marcion's text. Tertullian's testimony overlaps only in the mentioning of the κριτής as Epiphanius does not refer to the final comment in the verse mentioned by Tertullian, namely, the reference to being thrown in prison. Epiphanius's attestation of the future, rather than subjunctive, tense does, however, make the reading βαλεῖ more likely.

6.4.41 *Luke 13:1–9*

42.11.6 λη (38)—Ἦν παρακεκομμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἦλθόν τινες ἀναγγέλλοντες αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν Γαλιλαίων, ὧν τὸ αἷμα συνέμιξε Πιλᾶτος μετὰ τῶν θυσιῶν αὐτῶν ἕως ὅπου λέγει περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Σιλωὰμ δεκαοκτὼ ἀποθανόντων ἐν τῷ πύργῳ, καὶ τό [V M add ὅτι] ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσητε καὶ <τὰ ἑξῆς> ἕως τὴς παραβολῆς τῆς συκῆς, περὶ ἧς εἶπεν ὁ γεωργὸς ὅτι [V M add καί] σκάπτω καὶ βάλλω κόπρια καὶ ἐὰν μὴ ποιήσῃ, ἐκκόψον.

173 Thus, it is also not necessary to posit that the canonical reading attested by Epiphanius "war im Exemplar des Epiph. wiederhergestellt" (Harnack, *Marcion*, 215*–16*).

174 σε παραδώσει is attested in several other manuscripts, including P^{75}, א, and B. This is one of numerous examples where advances in textual criticism have aided scholarship on Marcion's Gospel. Volckmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, 34 offered the example of the reading παραδώσει instead of παραδῷ as an instance where Epiphanius made a minor change that does not justify positing a variant reading in Marcion's text. In fact, παραδώσει is an earlier reading and likely reflects the reading in Marcion's Gospel.

| 42.11.17 Σχ. λη (38)—Ἦν παρακεκομμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἦλθόν τινες ἀναγγέλλοντες αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν Γαλιλαίων, ὧν τὸ αἷμα συνέμιξε Πιλᾶτος μετὰ τῶν θυσιῶν αὐτῶν ἕως ὅπου λέγει περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Σιλωὰμ δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ ἀποθανόντων ἐν τῷ πύργῳ, καὶ τό ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσητε καὶ <τὰ ἑξῆς> ἕως τὴς παραβολῆς τῆς συκῆς, περὶ ἧς εἶπεν ὁ γεωργὸς ὅτι σκάπτω καὶ βάλλω κόπρια καὶ ἐὰν μὴ ποιήσῃ, ἐκκόψον. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. λη (38)—Τούτων πάντων ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν ὁ συλητής, κρύψας ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, διὰ τὸ τὸν κύριον συμπεφωνηκέναι τῷ καλῶς δικάσαντι τοὺς τοιούτους Πιλάτῳ καὶ ὅτι καλῶς οἱ ἐν τῷ Σιλωὰμ ἀπέθανον ἁμαρτωλοὶ ὄντες καὶ ὑπὸ θεοῦ οὕτως τιμωρηθέντες. . . .

Epiphanius indicates the omission of Luke 13:1–9 by mentioning the "falsification" of v.1 to v. 2 and v. 3 to v. 9. Once again, the references to the content of the passages are simply summary in nature.[175]

6.4.42 *Luke 13:16*

42.11.6 λθ (39)—Ταύτην δὲ θυγατέρα Ἀβραάμ, ἣν [V M omit ἥν] ἔδησεν ὁ Σατανᾶς. | 42.11.17 Σχ. λθ (39)—Ταύτην δὲ θυγατέρα Ἀβραάμ, ἣν ἔδησεν ὁ Σατανᾶς. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. λθ (39)—Εἰ τῆς θυγατρὸς τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ἐπιμελεῖται ἐλθὼν ὁ κύριος, οὐκ ἀλλότριος αὐτοῦ ἐστιν ὁ Ἀβραάμ.

Epiphanius cites only the elements of Luke 13:16 that were relevant for his argument connecting the Lord to Abraham and is essentially unproblematic. The second listing of the scholion reads ἥν and may very well be due to a copyist being influenced by the canonical text. Though οὖσαν is omitted in numerous OL manuscripts, it is here likely to be a simple omission by Epiphanius.

6.4.43 *Luke 13:28*

42.11.6 μ (40)—Παρέκοψε πάλιν τό [V M omit τό] τότε ὄψεσθε Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ καὶ πάντας τοὺς προφήτας ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ· ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου ἐποίησεν ὅτε [V M read ὅτι] πάντας τοὺς δικαίους ἴδητε ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐκβαλλομένους—ἐποίησε δέ κρατουμένους—ἔξω, ἐκεῖ [V M read καὶ ἐκεῖ; ἐκεῖ added in margin by V^corr] ἔσται [V M read ἔστιν] ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων. | 42.11.17 Σχ. μ (40)—Παρέκοψε πάλιν τό τότε ὄψεσθε Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ καὶ πάντας τοὺς προφήτας ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου ἐποίησεν ὅτε [V M read ὅτι] πάντας τοὺς δικαίους ἴδητε ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐκβαλλομένους—ἐποίησε [M reads προσέθηκεν; V^corr crossed out ἐποίησε and wrote προσέθηκεν in the margin] δέ κρατουμένους—ἔξω, ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. μ (40)—. . . οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν ὄψεσθε δικαίους εἰσερχομένους καὶ ὑμᾶς μὴ εἰσερχομένους, ἀλλά ὄψεθε [*sic*] τοὺς δικαίους

175 Epiphanius makes a passing reference to the parable in 31.34.4, here also simply referring to it as the parable of the fig tree.

ἐν τῇ βασιλεια̜, ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐκβαλλομένους. καὶ περί μὲν τοῦ ἐκβαλλομένους μελλητικῶς ἀπεφήνατο, … | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. νς (56)—ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ αἰσχύνῃ καταλέλοιπεν τό ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων.

Epiphanius apparently first comments on the altered section of this verse before appending the verse opening which, according to Tertullian, was found at the outset of v. 38.[176] The likely original καί should thus be understood as indicating a retrospective addition and not as attesting a reading καὶ ἐκεῖ (as presented in IGNTP). Taking this final element first, Epiphanius confirms that the variant word order in Tertullian was due to his own hand, and Tertullian confirms that an otherwise unattested ἔστιν in the first listing of the scholion was due to some sort of error (both the second listing and the reference in elenchus 56 read ἔσται).

There are also two significant elements in the sections Epiphanius attests as altered that are confirmed by Tertullian, namely the readings τοὺς δικαίους and ὑμᾶς δὲ κρατουμένους ἔξω. Other aspects are more difficult to evaluate. First, though both Zahn and Harnack reconstructed Marcion's text with the otherwise unattested ὅτε, V and M actually attest ὅτι. Given that Epiphanius offers the canonical text with an otherwise unattested τότε it is unclear, even if Epiphanius were attesting an opening adverb, how accurate his citation is. Second, Epiphanius attests different wordings in the scholion and the elenchus: the verb ἴδητε in the scholion, but ὄψεσθε in the elenchus; the presence of πάντας in the scholion but not in the elenchus; and the replacement of ἐκβαλλομένους in the scholion, but its presence in the elenchus.[177] Finally, Epiphanius writes ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ whereas Tertullian attested εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν, and Tertullian included εἰσερχομένους whereas Epiphanius does not. The precise reading in these instances appears unrecoverable.

6.4.44 *Luke 13:29–35*

42.11.6 μα (41)—Παρέκοψε πάλιν τό ἥξουσιν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν καὶ ἀνακλιθήσονται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ [M reads βασιλείᾳ μου] καὶ τό οἳ ἔσχατοι ἔσονται πρῶτοι καὶ τό προσῆλθον οἱ Φαρισαῖοι λέγοντες, ἔξελθε καὶ πορεύου, ὅτι Ἡρῴδης σε θέλει ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ τό εἶπεν· πορευθέντες εἴπατε τῇ ἀλώπεκι ταύτῃ ἕως ὅπου [V M read ὅτου] εἶπεν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται προφήτην ἀπολέσθαι ἔξω Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ τό

176 Cf. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:478 who stated that Epiphanius "nachträglich ein für die Polemik nutzbringendes Textelement [bringt]."

177 It is quite possible that Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:413, 478 was correct in contending that the variant προσέθηκεν in the second listing of the scholion arose due to confusion surrounding the parenthetical comment and that this confusion carried into the comments found in the elenchus.

Ἱερουσαλήμ, Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἡ ἀποκτένουσα τοὺς προφήτας καὶ λιθοβολοῦσα τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους καὶ τό πολλάκις ἠθέλησα ἐπισυνάξαι ὡς ὄρνις τὰ τέκνα σου καὶ τό ἀφίεται ὑμῖν ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν καὶ τό οὐ [V M omit οὐ] μὴ ἴδητέ με, ἕως οὗ εἴπητε· εὐλογημένος. | 42.11.17 Σχ. μα (41)—Παρέκοψε πάλιν τό ἥξουσιν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν καὶ ἀνακλιθήσονται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ τό οἳ ἔσχατοι ἔσονται πρῶτοι καὶ τό προσῆλθον οἱ [V M omit οἱ] Φαρισαῖοι λέγοντες, ἔξελθε καὶ πορεύου, ὅτι Ἡρῴδης σε θέλει ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ τό εἶπεν· [V M omit εἶπεν] πορευθέντες εἴπατε τῇ ἀλώπεκι ταύτῃ ἕως ὅπου [V M read ὅτου] εἶπεν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται προφήτην ἀπολέσθαι ἔξω Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ τό [M omits καὶ τό] Ἱερουσαλήμ, Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἡ ἀποκτένουσα τοὺς προφήτας καὶ λιθοβολοῦσα τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους καὶ τό πολλάκις ἠθέλησα ἐπισυνάξαι ὡς ὄρνις τὰ τέκνα σου καὶ τό ἀφίεται ὑμῖν ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν [M reads ὑμῶν ἔρημος] καὶ τό οὐ μὴ ἴδητέ με, ἕως οὗ εἴπητε, εὐλογημένος. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. μα (41)—Ὅρα τὴν τοσαύτην τόλμαν· πόσην ποιεῖται ἀφαίρεσιν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου; …

Epiphanius attests the omission of Luke 13:29–35 with references to individual elements from each of these verses. Though the readings here are not relevant for Marcion's Gospel, they do provide some insight into Epiphanius's citation habits and the freedom with which he often provides "citations." For example, in the reference to Luke 13:34 Epiphanius offers an otherwise unattested word order (ὡς ὄρνις τὰ τέκνα σου) and in the citation of the same verse (//Matt 23:37) in 66.42.9 he simply omits the reference to the ὄρνις.[178]

6.4.45 *Luke 15:11–32*

42.11.6 μβ (42)—Πάλιν παρέκοψε [V M read ἀπέκοψε] πᾶσαν τὴν παραβολὴν [V M read τὴν παραβολὴν πᾶσαν] τῶν δύο υἱῶν, τοῦ εἰληφότος τὸ μέρος τῶν ὑπαρχόντων καὶ ἀσώτως δαπανήσαντος [V M omit καὶ ἀσώτως δαπανήσαντος] καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου. | 42.11.17 Σχ. μβ (42)—Πάλιν παρέκοψε πᾶσαν τὴν παραβολὴν τῶν δύο υἱῶν, τοῦ εἰληφότος τὸ μέρος τῶν ὑπαρχόντων καὶ ἀσώτως δαπανήσαντος καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. μβ (42)—Οὐδὲν διοίσει τὸ ἀκόλουθον τῆς ῥᾳδιουργίας ἀπὸ τῶν πρότερον ἑαυτῷ τετολμημένων·

Epiphanius attests that the Parable of the "two sons" was not present with a reference to both the prodigal and his brother.

6.4.46 *Luke 16:16*

42.11.6 μγ (43)—Ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται ἕως Ἰωάννου καὶ πᾶς εἰς αὐτὴν βιάζεται. | 42.11.17 Σχ. μγ (43)—Ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται ἕως Ἰωάννου καὶ πᾶς εἰς αὐτὴν βιάζεται. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. μγ (43)—Εἰ νόμον τάσσει καὶ προφήτας ἀποκαλεῖ … σαφῶς

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178 In addition, this scholion provides several examples of variation in the manuscript transmission of the *Panarion*.

ὁμολογεῖται μεμαρτυρηκέναι τὸν σωτῆρα τοῖς προφήταις … | 66.75.1—… ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται ἕως Ἰωάννου. | 66.75.5—… ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται ἄχρις Ἰωάννου.

Epiphanius here provides a citation of the opening and final element of Luke 16:16. The elenchus reveals that he is primarily interested in the mentioning of "the law and the prophets," which likely explains his truncated reference. Tertullian confirms the opening words, and if Epiphanius is citing accurately, he would provide evidence for Tertullian's *usque ad* rendering ἕως. Epiphanius, however, also writes ἕως in 66.75.1 and, only a few lines later, ἄχρις. The variation in adverbs reveals that Epiphanius was not always concerned with providing the exact wording and may not be doing so for Marcion's text. Turning to the final words of the verse, they are essentially unproblematic and have very little variation in the manuscript tradition.

6.4.47 *Luke 16:19–20, 22, 24–25, 29, 31*

42.11.6 μδ (44)—Περὶ τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ Λαζάρου τοῦ πτωχοῦ, ὅτι ἀπηνέχθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Ἀβραάμ. | 42.11.17 Σχ. μδ (44)—Περὶ τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ Λαζάρου τοῦ πτωχοῦ, ὅτι ἀπηνέχθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Ἀβραάμ.| 42.11.17 Ἔλ. μδ (44)—Ἰδού, καὶ ἐν ζῶσι καὶ μακαριζομένοις καὶ ἐν κληρονομίᾳ ἀναπαύσεως ὁ Ἀβραὰμ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἐγκατελέχθη καὶ Λάζαρος ἐν κόλποις αὐτοῦ κατηξίωται. … | 42.11.6 με (45)—Νῦν δὲ ὅδε [V M read ὧδε] παρακαλεῖται ὁ αὐτὸς Λάζαρος. | 42.11.17 Σχ. με (45)—Νῦν δὲ ὅδε [V M read ὧδε] παρακαλεῖται ὁ αὐτὸς Λάζαρος. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. με (45)—Εἰ παρακαλεῖται Λάζαρος ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ, … | 42.11.6 μς (46)—Εἶπεν Ἀβραάμ ἔχουσι Μωυσέα καὶ τοὺς προφήτας, ἀκουσάτωσαν αὐτῶν, ἐπει οὐδὲ τοῦ ἐγειρομένου ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀκούσουσιν [V M read ἀκούουσιν]. | 42.11.17 Σχ. μς (46)—Εἶπεν Ἀβραάμ ἔχουσι Μωυσέα καὶ τοὺς προφήτας, ἀκουσάτωσαν αὐτῶν, ἐπει οὐδὲ τοῦ ἐγειρομένου ἐκ [V M read ἀπό] νεκρῶν ἀκούσουσιν [V M read ἀκούουσιν]. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. νς (56)— … πῶς οὐχὶ νοεῖ ὅτι ἴση αὕτη ἡ μαρτυρία τυγχάνει τῇ τοῦ Λαζάρου τοῦ πτωχοῦ … ὧν παραβολῶν τὰ λείψανα εἴασε καὶ οὐ παρέκοψεν … δακτύλου δὲ ἐμβρεχομένου εἰς ὕδωρ μετὰ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἀπαλλαγὴν καὶ γλώσσης καταψυχομένης ὕδατι, ὡς ὁ πλούσιος ἔφη τῷ Ἀβραὰμ διὰ τὸν Λάζαρον, … | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. νθ (59)—… ἔλεγεν ὁ Ἀβραὰμ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν, ὅτι ἔχουσι Μωυσέα καὶ τοὺς προφήτας, ἀκουσάτωσαν αὐτῶν. …[179]

Epiphanius's attestation of this pericope is spread out over several scholia and elenchi. Of the verses attested by Epiphanius, the *Adamantius Dialogue* attests all of them and vv. 22 and 29 are also attested by Tertullian. In scholion 44, the scholion introducing this pericope, Epiphanius references or alludes to the presence of ἄνθρωπος … τις ἦν πλούσιος from v. 19, πτωχός … Λάζαρος

179 Summary references and allusions to this pericope are also found in 59.10.4 and 64.44.1.

from v. 20, and Lazarus being carried ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Ἀβραάμ from v. 22.[180] The fact, however, that Epiphanius introduces the scholion with περί raises the question of the extent to which the wording used to summarize the contents of the opening verses arose directly out of Marcion's Gospel. Epiphanius may have phrased the scholion in his own words as he led up to the mentioning of Abraham, the individual in whom he was interested here (cf. elenchus 44). In scholion 45, Epiphanius quotes νῦν δὲ ὧδε παρακαλεῖται from v. 25.[181] In scholion 46, Epiphanius cites two elements taken from Abraham's words in the final three verses of the pericope. The quotation of ἔχουσι Μωυσέα καὶ τοὺς προφήτας, ἀκουσάτωσαν αὐτῶν from v. 29 is largely unproblematic, though it does not contain the ἐκεῖ attested by Tertullian.[182] For v. 31, however, the wording ἐπει οὐδὲ τοῦ ἐγειρομένου ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀκούσουσιν seems to reflect a different reading from the one generally found in the manuscripts. In order to evaluate this verse further, however, the *Adamantius Dialogue* must also be considered. Finally, in elenchus 56 Epiphanius implies that though he had previously mentioned only excerpts from the parable, the entire passage was present in Marcion's Gospel. In this elenchus he also alludes to πέμψον Λάζαρον ἵνα βάψῃ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ δακτύλου αὐτοῦ ὕδατος καὶ καταψυξῃ τὴν γλῶσσάν μου from v. 24.

6.4.48 *Luke 17:10b*

42.11.6 μζ (47)—Παρέκοψε τό λέγετε ὅτι ἀχρεῖοι δοῦλοί ἐσμεν· ὃ ὠφείλομεν ποιῆσαι πεποιήκαμεν. | 42.11.17 Σχ. μζ (47)—Παρέκοψε τό λέγετε ὅτι [V M omit ὅτι] ἀχρεῖοι δοῦλοί ἐσμεν· ὃ [V reads ὧ] ὠφείλομεν ποιῆσαι πεποιήκαμεν. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. μζ (47)—... [Marcion] οὐ παραδέχεται ...

180 τοῦ Ἀβραάμ is the reading in the TR; however, the definite article is omitted in many manuscripts.

181 Holl/Dummer (eds.), *Epiphanius II*, 113 amended the reading to ὅδε with reference to Zahn. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:480, who clearly was influenced by his reading of the *Adamantius Dialogue*, had stated "Auch Ep. sch. 45 bestätigt οδε, obwohl es dort nicht überliefert ist; denn wozu sonst hätte Ep. geschrieben ωδε (lies οδε) παρακαλειται, ο αυτος Λαζαρος, als um das aus dem Zusammenhang gerissene οδε zu deuten?" Though Harnack, *Marcion*, 221* also wrote "(lies οδε)" in his apparatus, Zahn's argument is problematic as the reading ὅδε is not absolutely necessary to explain Epiphanius's remark. The lack of an external subject for the verb could just as easily have led to the clarification. In addition, the ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ in elenchus 45 is not necessarily picking up wording from the previous scholion and elenchus, but may be specifying the ὧδε of scholion 45.

182 Epiphanius quoted these words verbatim in elenchus 59. IGNTP apparently viewed the introductory words of scholion 46 also attesting Marcion's text; however, this is likely simply Epiphanius's introduction to the citation.

Luke 17:10a is unattested, but Epiphanius attests that v. 10b was not present. Harnack observed

> Ob diese Bemerkung so verstanden werden muß, daß 7–10 ganz fehlten (Zahn), ist nicht sicher; es ist doch möglich, daß M. nur 10 b gestrichen hat, weil ihn die Härte befremdete; der sinaitische Syrer läßt ἀχρεῖοι fort. Hat Epiph. Vielleicht auch nur sagen wollen, daß ἀχρεῖοι gefehlt hat und lautete sein Text ursprünglich: Παρέκοψε τὸ <ἀχρεῖοι ἐν τῷ> λέγετε κτλ.? Die Refutatio steht dieser Hypothese nicht entgegen.[183]

The observation that Epiphanius's testimony does not require the omission of the entire pericope is certainly correct; however, the emendation to the scholia appears somewhat strained.[184] It seems best to view Epiphanius as attesting that the entirety of v. 10b was not present and to view the remainder of the pericope as unattested.

6.4.49 *Luke 17:12–14*

42.11.6 μη (48)—Ὅτε συνήντησαν οἱ δέκα λεπροί. ἀπέκοψε δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἐποίησεν ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς λέγων, δείξατε ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ ἄλλα ἀντὶ ἄλλων ἐποίησε, λέγων ὅτι [cf. above under Luke 4:27]. | 42.11.17 Σχ. μη (48)—Ὅτε συνήντησαν οἱ δέκα λεπροί. ἀπέκοψε δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἐποίησεν ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς λέγων, δείξατε ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ ἄλλα ἀντὶ ἄλλων ἐποίησε, λέγων ὅτι [cf. above under Luke 4:27]. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. μη (48)—[cf. above under Luke 4:27 as the refutation deals with this passage] | 66.41.1—ὁ κύριος δέκα λεπροὺς ἐκαθάρισε καὶ οἱ ἐννέα ἀπελθόντες οὐκ ἔδωκαν δόξαν τῷ θεῷ, ὁ δὲ εἷς ὑποστρέψας ἔμεινεν, …

Elements of Luke 17:12–14 are also attested by Tertullian and it is admittedly difficult, at first glance, to reconcile elements of his testimony with that of Epiphanius. Harnack stated "Nach Epiph. [war] einiges in der Perikope gestrichen, aber was? Alle Hauptsachen müssen nach Tertullians Bericht vorhanden gewesen sein."[185] Noteworthy, however, is that Epiphanius mentions

183 Harnack, *Marcion*, 223*.

184 Tsutsui also rejects the contention that only ἀχρεῖοι was missing, but not on the basis of the problematic emendation; rather, he contends that "eine Absicht, mit der man nur das Adjektiv streichen würde, kaum vorstellbar ist" ("Evangelium," 114). Curiously, Tsutsui appears to have misread Harnack in that he speaks of Harnack having offered "zweierlei Vermutungen." Tsutsui also rejects that the entire pericope was omitted as this idea is difficult "befriedigend zu begründen", but never interacts with the third possibility that Harnack mentioned, namely, that only v. 10b was omitted.

185 Harnack, *Marcion*, 223*.

that Jesus met ten lepers (δέκα λεπροί in 17:12), then states ἀπέκοψε δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἐποίησεν followed by the citation of 17:14. Harnack rightly noted the problem if Epiphanius is referring to elements "cut out" of the remainder of the pericope (vv. 15–19), for they are all attested by Tertullian; yet, if Epiphanius is referring to vv. 12c-13, these elements are not attested by Tertullian. Of course, the question arises as to whether Epiphanius would refer to one and a half verses as πολλά. If Epiphanius has the whole pericope in mind that may indeed be unlikely; yet, if he is considering only vv. 12–14, the only verses to which he makes reference, the excision of half the material may indeed be seen as omitting "much."[186] If this argument is correct, then it would also be possible to understand Epiphanius's words καὶ ἄλλα ἀντὶ ἄλλων ἐποίησε followed by the citation of Luke 4:27 as indicating that in Marcion's text Luke 4:27 replaced the material in Luke 17:12c–13.[187]

The citation of v. 14 contains an otherwise unattested opening, which is likely due to Epiphanius.[188] He goes on to attest the verb δείξατε, found in only a few other manuscripts,[189] followed by the essentially unproblematic ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, an element also attested by Tertullian.

6.4.50 *Luke 17:22*

42.11.6 μθ (49)—Ἐλεύσονται ἡμέραι, ὅταν ἐπιθυμήσητε ἰδεῖν μίαν τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. | 42.11.17 Σχ. μθ (49)—Ἐλεύσονται ἡμέραι, ὅταν ἐπιθυμήσητε ἰδεῖν [V M omit ἰδεῖν] μίαν τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

Epiphanius is the only source for Luke 17:22 and there are two elements of the attested reading that should be noted. First, though IGNTP records a few manuscripts reading ὅταν and several manuscripts reading ἐπιθυμήσητε, 0211 is the only manuscript listed as reading ὅταν ἐπιθυμήσητε. Second, the location of ἰδεῖν is also attested in numerous OL manuscripts.[190] Whether Epiphanius is accurately reproducing Marcion's text in these two instances is difficult to ascertain.

6.4.51 *Luke 18:18–20*

Ancor. 18.1—... οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ θεός ... | *Ancor*. 18.3—... εἷς ἐστιν ἀγαθὸς ὁ θεός. | 33.7.5—... ἕνα γὰρ μόνον εἶναι ἀγαθὸν θεὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν

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186 For a similar argument cf. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:482–83.

187 For this position of Luke 4:27 in Marcion's text, cf. the comments above in chapter 5, n. 307.

188 Tertullian here read the almost universally attested πορευθέντες.

189 Cf. above in chapter 5, n. 308.

190 This comment obviously only applies to the first listing of the scholion as ἰδεῖν is omitted in the second.

ἀπεφήνατο … | 42.11.6 ν (50)—Εἶπέ τις πρὸς αὐτὸν· διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω; ὁ δὲ· [V M omit ὁ δέ] μή με λέγε [V reads λέγεται; V^corr M read λέγετε] ἀγαθόν. εἷς ἐστιν ἀγαθὸς ὁ θεός [V M omit ὁ θεός]. προσέθετο ἐκεῖνος ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας λέγει τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδα. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ν (50)—Εἶπέν τις πρὸς αὐτὸν· διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω; ὁ δὲ· [V^corr added ὁ δέ] μή με λέγε ἀγαθόν· εἷς ἐστιν ἀγαθὸς ὁ θεός. προσέθετο ἐκεῖνος ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας λέγει τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδα. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ν (50)—Ἵνα μὴ δείξῃ τὰς ἐντολὰς ἤδη προγεγραμμένας, λέγει τὰς εντολὰς οἶδα. τὸ δὲ ὅλον κεφάλαιον φανερὸν ὑπάρχει ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκολουθίας. καὶ εἰ πατέρα ἀγαθὸν φάσκει καὶ θεὸν ὀνομάζει, … | 66.69.5—… ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ εὑρίσκεται ὁ γραμματεὺς πρῶτος καὶ δεύτερος λέγων τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω; ὁ δε ἔφη· τίμα τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον. | 69.19.1—[the “insane Arius” says] … τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; εἷς ἐστιν ἀγαθὸς ὁ θεός, … | 69.57.3—… διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω; | 69.57.4—… τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ θεός, …

These three verses are also attested by Tertullian and in the *Adamantius Dialogue*, with Origen and Hippolytus attesting v. 19. Considering Epiphanius’s testimony, after the introductory εἶπέν τις πρὸς αὐτὸν, likely from Epiphanius’s own hand,[191] he attests διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω from v. 18.[192] This is the unproblematic Lukan reading (cf. Matt 19:16 and Mark 10:17) and it is interesting that it is this wording to which Epiphanius appeals in 66.69.5 and 69.57.3. More problematic and confusing are Epiphanius’s references to v. 19, which also differ from the wording attested by Tertullian. First, there are the differences between the two scholia. In the unexpected citation of a negative imperative, does Epiphanius attest λέγετε or λέγε?[193] The only other witness for an imperative here is the Pseudo-Clementine *Hom.* 18.1, which reads μή με λέγε ἀγαθόν.[194] Although it is somewhat tenuous to view this Pseudo-Clementine passage as attesting Marcion’s text,[195] it may support the Holl/Dummer view that the reading should be λέγε. Also, does Epiphanius attest the presence or the absence of ὁ θεός? It is

191 Cf. also Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:483. It is thus problematic for Harnack, *Marcion*, 227*–28* to have reconstructed Marcion’s opening following Epiphanius’s wording and based on it apparently to have assumed that Marcion’s text did not read ἄρχων. Cf. also chapter 7, n. 164.

192 This is the only instance in these verses where Epiphanius mirrors the testimony of Tertullian.

193 In the bracketed reconstruction by Harnack, apparently intended to offer an attested variant, he offered only λέγετε (*Marcion*, 226*).

194 Also mentioned by Fred C. Conybeare, “Three Early Doctrinal Modifications of the Text of the Gospels,” *HibJ* 1 (1903): 110; Harnack, *Marcion*, 225*; and Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:483.

195 Cf. chapter 3, n. 55.

included in all of Epiphanius's other citations of the verse and seems to be assumed by the elenchus. It is possible that it was omitted in the first scholion due to homoeoteleuton. Finally, Epiphanius notes that Marcion added ὁ πατήρ after ὁ θεός.[196] The rather different texts attested by Epiphanius and Tertullian for this verse may very well point to their respective copies of Marcion's Gospel containing variant readings.[197] For v. 20, Epiphanius observes that Marcion read τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδα instead of τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας. The question arising here is whether the questioner or Jesus spoke these words. Zahn contended that it was the former, and much more recently Lieu wrote,

> although he does not indicate the speaker, it would make best sense on the mouth of the questioner, thus relieving Jesus of any direct appeal to the law.[198]

Though the testimony of other witnesses must still be considered, once again, it is noteworthy that the reading οἶδα is different than the one attested by Tertullian.[199]

6.4.52 *Luke 18:31–33*

42.11.6 νβ (52)—Παρέκοψε τό παραλαβὼν τοὺς δώδεκα ἔλεγεν· ἰδού, ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα καὶ τελεσθήσεται πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν τοῖς προφήταις περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. παραδοθήσεται γὰρ καὶ [V M omit γὰρ καί] ἀποκτανθήσεται καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστήσεται· ὅλα ταῦτα παρέκοψε. | 42.11.17 Σχ. νβ (52)—Παρέκοψε τό παραλαβὼν τοὺς δώδεκα ἔλεγεν· ἰδού, ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα καὶ τελεσθήσεται πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν τοῖς προφήταις περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. παραδοθήσεται γὰρ καὶ ἀποκτανθήσεται καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστήσεται· [V M read

196 Lieu notes that "a form of the pericope with 'father' is also to be found in some OL witnesses to Matt 19,17, as well as in other accounts of the exchange in early Christian traditions" ("Marcion and the Synoptic Problem," 736–37).

197 Cf. Harnack, *Marcion*, 225* who referred to some "in den Marcionit. Codd. selbst schwankenden Abweichungen."

198 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:484 and Lieu, "Marcion and the Synoptic Problem," 736.

199 Lieu also notes, "Only Epiphanius explicitly claims to identify distinctive Marcionite readings whereas Tertullian, characteristically, is concerned to paraphrase the text and to use it to demonstrate Jesus' compliance with prophetic demands. Thus Epiphanius alone reports the reading 'I know' …" ("Marcion and the Synoptic Problem," 736). Though it is not explicitly stated, it appears as though she views Tertullian's paraphrasing as explaining the differences between his attestation and Epiphanius's; however, it does not seem clear to me that the text attested by Epiphanius was the one Tertullian had at hand. In addition, as was seen in chapter 5, Tertullian explicitly attests the reading οἶδας.

εγερθήσεται] ὅλα ταῦτα παρέκοψεν. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. νβ (52)—… ἔκρυψε γὰρ τὰ ῥητά, ἵνα δῆθεν τὰ περὶ τοῦ πάθους ἀρνήσηται. …

Epiphanius attests that Luke 18:31–33 was not present, once again revealing the summary nature of many of his "citations" as Epiphanius himself omits numerous elements in his reference to the verses.[200] It is, nevertheless, clear that Epiphanius notes that the entirety of vv. 31–33 was not present (ὅλα ταῦτα παρέκοψε).[201]

6.4.53 *Luke 18:35, 38, 42–43*

42.11.6 να (51)—Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν αὐτὸν [V M omit αὐτόν][202] τῇ Ἱεριχὼ τυφλός ἐβόα· Ἰησοῦ υἱὲ Δαυίδ, ἐλέησόν με. καὶ ὅτε ἰάθη, φησίν· ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε. | 42.11.17 Σχ. να (51)—Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν αὐτὸν τῇ Ἱεριχὼ τυφλός ἐβόα· Ἰησοῦ υἱὲ Δαυίδ, ἐλέησόν με. καὶ ὅτε ἰάθη, φησίν· ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. να (51)—λέγει γοῦν· υἱὲ Δαυίδ, καὶ ἐπαινεῖται καὶ κομίζεται τὸ αἴτημα ὁ τὸ ὄνομα ὁμολογήσας … οὐκ ἄρα ἄσαρκος ὁ διὰ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ ὀνόματος χαρισάμενος τῷ τυφλῷ τὸ βλέπειν.

These verses are also attested by Tertullian and the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Epiphanius refers to three verses in the pericope involving the blind man outside of Jericho. The attestation of v. 35 is mostly unproblematic with only the reading τῇ Ἰεριχώ presenting a challenge. IGNTP lists 13, 124, 346, 788, 826, and 983 as also attesting this reading, though Harnack opined that Epiphanius "hier nicht zu trauen ist."[203] For v. 38 Epiphanius writes an otherwise unattested imperfect ἐβόα, almost certainly due to his own hand, before offering the words of the blind man in the form attested throughout most of the manuscript tradition. In v. 42 Epiphanius cites the final words spoken by Jesus in v. 42, after alluding to the healing effected by Jesus' words and narrated in v. 43.

200 Zahn's comment that Epiphanius's citation here does not employ an "Abkürzungsformel" and is "verhältnismäßig sehr genau" (*Geschichte*, 2:485) might be true as far as it goes; however, the question remains as to what, precisely, is the point of comparison? Compared to the canonical text, which Epiphanius presumably is "quoting," the citation is not particularly "genau."

201 The omission of these verses has also elicited discussion concerning the unattested verses surrounding 18:31–33 (cf. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:485; Harnack, *Marcion*, 56, 226*; and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 116–17), verses concerning which their presence or absence is, for methodological reasons, not speculated upon here.

202 This omission could possibly have occurred through homoeoteleuton during the production of the *Panarion*, even though this would only be on the basis of the final nu.

203 Harnack, *Marcion*, 226*. Cf. also Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:485.

6.4.54 *Luke 19:29–46*

42.11.6 νγ (53)—Παρέκοψεν τὸ κεφάλαιον τὸ περὶ [V M omit τὸ περί] τῆς ὄνου καὶ Βηθφαγὴ καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ὅτι γεγραμμένον ἦν ὁ οἶκός μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται, καὶ ποιεῖτε [ποιῆται in V corrected to ποιεῖτε by V^corr; M reads ποιῆτε] αὐτὸν σπήλαιον λῃστῶν. | 42.11.17 Σχ. νγ (53)—Παρέκοψεν τὸ κεφάλαιον τὸ περὶ τῆς ὄνου καὶ Βηθφαγὴ καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, διότι γεγραμμένον ἦν ὁ οἶκός μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται, καὶ ποιεῖτε αὐτὸν σπήλαιον λῃστῶν. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. νγ (53)—… εὐθὺς γὰρ ἀνεπήδησε, παραλιπὼν ὅλα τὰ κεφάλαια τὰ προειρημένα διὰ τὸν μαρτυρηθέντα τόπον τοῦ ναοῦ ὄντα αὐτοῦ ἴδιον καὶ εἰς ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ᾠκοδομημένον καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἱεριχὼ καταλιπὼν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῆς ὁδοιπορίας, πῶς τε ἦλθεν εἰς Βηθφαγή· …

Epiphanius attests that Luke 19:29–46 was not present with summary references to pericopes contained therein. In the elenchus the explicit statement is made that the "whole" (ὅλα) of these passages to which Epiphanius had made reference had been "jumped over" (ἀνεπήδησε).[204]

6.4.55 *Luke 20:9–17*

42.11.6 νε (55)—Πάλιν ἀπέκοψε τὰ περὶ [V M read τήν] τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος τοῦ ἐκδεδομένου γεωργοῖς καὶ τό τί οὖν [M omits οὖν] ἐστι τό· λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες; | 42.11.17 Σχ. νε (55)—Πάλιν ἀπέκοψε τὰ περὶ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος τοῦ ἐκδεδομένου γεωργοῖς καὶ τό τί οὖν ἐστι τό· λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες; | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. νε (55)—… κἂν τε γὰρ αὐτὸ περικόψῃ, οὐκ ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀπέκοψεν, ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐζημίωσεν· …

Epiphanius attests that the parable in Luke 20:9–16 was not present, referring to it as the pericope περὶ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος τοῦ ἐκδεδομένου γεωργοῖς. He follows this by a reference to the omission of v. 17 by making an abbreviated reference to the verse. Though v. 18, which concludes the thought begun in v. 17, is therefore also likely to have not been present,[205] it is not directly attested as such.

6.4.56 *Luke 20:19*

42.11.6 νδ (54)—Καὶ ἐζήτησαν ἐπιβαλεῖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν. | 42.11.17 Σχ. νδ (54)—Καὶ ἐζήτησαν ἐπιβαλεῖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. νγ (53)—… ἵνα δὲ ἐλεγχθῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου στόματος, φησίν ἐγένετο ἐν

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204 Since this scholion attests an omission, Epiphanius's citation of or allusion to these verses elsewhere in his corpus (e.g., *Ancor*. 31.4; *Pan*. 34.18.14; 66.43.3) are not relevant for Marcion's text, and in this case do not provide further insight into his citation habit.

205 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:486; Harnack, *Marcion*, 229*; and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 119 all simply list vv. 9–18 as omitted without any further comment.

μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν διδάσκοντος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ἐζήτησαν ἐπιβαλεῖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν, ὡς ἔχει τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο κεφάλαιον νδ. ...

Luke 20:19 presents a somewhat curious case in that elenchus 53 provides a citation from Marcion's text followed by a reference to the following scholion 54. The scholion, however, provides less text than what was written in the elenchus. Harnack and Tsutsui did not mention this state of affairs and Zahn, as always, is completely dismissive of any readings found in an elenchus.[206] Though one cannot be certain, it may very well have been the case that Epiphanius essentially invented a supposed reading for Marcion's Gospel in order to provide a transition to the elements attested in scholion 54; however, ultimately one cannot provide any definitive evidence for or against this view. Concerning the reading of the scholion itself, Zahn simply asserted "es besteht kein Grund, dieses Citat für ungenau zu halten,"[207] which is not quite the same thing as having a reason to view it as accurate. Even Harnack's attempts to explain the omission of all the unattested elements on account of the reading Φαρισαῖοι in Luke 19:1 and the omission of the parable is not fully convincing.[208] Unfortunately, therefore, it is difficult to gain any clear insight into the reading of this verse beyond the elements in agreement with most of the manuscript tradition.

6.4.57 *Luke 20:37–38a*

42.11.6 νς (56)—Ἀπέκοψε τό ὅτι δὲ ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροί Μωυσῆς [M reads ὁ Μωυσῆς] ἐμήνυσε ἐπὶ [V M read περί] τῆς βάτου, καθὼς λέγει κύριον τὸν θεὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ. θεὸς δέ ἐστι ζώντων καὶ οὐχι νεκρῶν. | 42.11.17 Σχ. νς (56)—Ἀπέκοψε τό ὅτι δὲ ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροί, Μωυσῆς ἐμήνυσε ἐπὶ [V M read περί] τῆς βάτου, καθὼς [V M read ὡς] λέγει κύριον [V M read ὁ κύριος] τὸν θεὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ. θεὸς δέ ἐστι ζώντων καὶ οὐχι νεκρῶν. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. νς (56)—Θαυμάσαι ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνοίᾳ τοῦ ματαιόφρονος, πῶς οὐχὶ νοεῖ ὅτι ἴση αὕτη ἡ μαρτυρία τυγχάνει τῇ τοῦ Λαζάρου τοῦ πτωχοῦ καὶ τῇ παραβολῇ τῶν μὴ συγχωρουμένων εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν εἰσελθεῖν· ... | 42.11.6 νζ (57)—Οὐκ εἶχε ταῦτα ὅτι δὲ ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροί καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐμήνυσε λέγων θεὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ θεὸν Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεὸν Ἰακώβ θεὸν ζώντων [V M read θεὸς ζώντων]. | 42.11.17 Σχ. νζ (57)—Οὐκ εἶχε ταῦτα ὅτι δὲ ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροί καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐμήνυσε λέγων θεὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ θεὸν

206 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:486 referred to the references as "ebenso bedeutungslos für uns wie alle anderen Irrtümer in den Refutationen."

207 Ibid.

208 Harnack, *Marcion*, 228*. For example, how do either of these points explain the omission of τὸν λαόν as the object of their fear?

Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεὸν Ἰακώβ θεὸν ζώντων. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. νζ (57)—Διὰ τὸ δευτερῶσαι τὸν σωτῆρα τὴν παραβολήν, διττῶς παρ᾽ ἡμῶν ἐντέτακται, . . .

That Luke 20:37–38a was not present is, rather curiously, attested twice by Epiphanius. The reason that he gives for this in elenchus 57 is that the Savior stated the parable twice and therefore he wrote it twice. Precisely how Epiphanius came to commit this error is unclear; Harnack was right to note "irrtümlich zweimal geschrieben."[209] It is interesting, however, to note the differences in the two "citations" of the omitted passage and once again notice the variant and imprecise manner in which Epiphanius refers to biblical verses. Though Harnack wrote "37. 38 getilgt,"[210] Tsutsui rightly notes that it is actually only vv. 37–38a that are attested as omitted.[211] v. 38b is simply unattested.[212]

6.4.58 *Luke 21:18*

42.11.6 νη (58)—Πάλιν παρέκοψε τό θρὶξ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὑμῶν οὐ μὴ ἀπόληται. | 42.11.17 Σχ. νη (58)—Πάλιν παρέκοψε τό θρὶξ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὑμῶν οὐ μὴ ἀπόληται. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. νη (58)—[the refutation is missing—M left blank lines]

Epiphanius attests that Luke 21:18 was not present, citing the entirety of the verse except for the opening conjunction καί.

6.4.59 *Luke 21:21–22*

42.11.6 νθ (59)—Πάλιν παρέκοψε ταῦτα τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φευγέτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὄρη καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς, διὰ τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα ἐν τῷ ῥητῷ [V M read τὰ ἐπιφερόμενον] ἕως πληρωθῇ πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα. | 42.11.17 Σχ. νθ (59)—Πάλιν παρέκοψε ταῦτα τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φευγέτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὄρη καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς, διὰ τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα ἐν τῷ ῥητῷ ἕως πληρωθῇ πάντα [V M omit πάντα] τὰ γεγραμμένα. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. νθ (59)—Δοκεῖ λήθην κεκτημένος τοὺς ἅπαντας ἴσως αὐτῷ ἀνοήτους εἶναι καὶ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι κἂν μικρὸν ῥητὸν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καταλειφθῇ, ἔλεγχον ποιεῖται καὶ πολλῶν ἕκαστον ῥητῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ παρακοπέντων. . . .

Epiphanius attests that Luke 21:21–22 was not present by beginning with a citation of the opening words of v. 21 and then making reference to "the ensuing (in the stated)" (τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα ἐν τῷ ῥητῷ or τὰ ἐπιφερόμενον) element in

209 Harnack, *Marcion*, 229*. Cf. also Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:414–15.

210 Ibid.

211 Tsutsui, "Marcions Evangelium," 120.

212 Tsutsui does posit, however, that v. 38b was omitted "da er mit vv.37–38a inhaltlich eng verbunden ist und sich nicht leicht auf v.36 beziehen läßt" (ibid.).

v. 22. It seems, therefore, that Epiphanius's καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς here does not extend beyond these two verses. Vv. 23–24 are therefore unattested.[213]

6.4.60 *Luke 22:4*

42.11.6 ξ (60)—Συνελάλησε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸ [V M read καὶ τό] πῶς αὐτὸν παραδῷ αὐτοῖς. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ξ (60)—Συνελάλησε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸ πῶς αὐτὸν παραδῷ αὐτοῖς. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ξ (60)—... συνελάλησεν, τίς ἀλλ' ἢ Ἰούδας; τὸ τί ποιῆσαι ἀλλ' ἢ παραδοῦναι τὸν σωτῆρα; ...

Though Tertullian also referred to this verse, he only attested παραδῷ. Epiphanius attests only some elements in the verse and it is not particularly helpful to speculate concerning the presence or absence of unattested elements.[214] The first listing of the scholion attests the reading καὶ τό, which Zahn believed was the reading of Marcion's text. Zahn supported this contention by arguing

> Da jenes και zwischen Worten steht, welche im katholischen Text durch nichts getrennt sind, so wird es auch nicht wie sonst oft zwei bei Mrc. getrennte Stücke, welche Ep. besonders hervorheben will, an einander reihen.[215]

Since, however, Epiphanius addresses the two actions in the verse (discussing and betraying) in two separate statements at the outset of the elenchus, it is not certain that Zahn's argument holds.[216] At the end of the verse, Epiphanius attests the word order found in many manuscripts: αὐτὸν παραδῷ αὐτοῖς.

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213 Volckmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, 166 viewed vv. 23–24 as present in Marcion's Gospel, a position rejected by Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:488. Both Zahn and Harnack, *Marcion*, 231* recognized that Epiphanius does not clearly attest the omission of all four verses and therefore appealed to Tertullian's continuing with v. 25 immediately after v. 20, and thus his silence regarding vv. 21–24, as evidence for the omission of the entire passage. Tsutsui problematically lists an "Auslassungsangabe bei Epiph Schol 59" for vv. 21–24.

214 E.g., Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:490 asserted "es wird αρχιερευσιν nicht gefehlt haben" whereas Harnack, *Marcion*, 232* stated "τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν fehlt vor τοῖς στρατηγοῖς" (IGNTP also lists an omission for Marcion). Volckmar apparently made some type of error when he wrote that Epiphanius attested "XXII, 4 nur ohne καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς" (*Das Evangelium Marcions*, 34). I tend to view Osburn's contention that the quotation here is "a verbally precise citation" as somewhat problematic given Osburn's own qualification that immediately follows, namely, "with the exception of the omission of τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι καί and the addition of καί after στρατηγοῖς" (review of *New Testament in Greek*, 525).

215 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:490.

216 Harnack, *Marcion*, 232* reconstructed the text without καί.

6.4.61 ***Luke 22:8***

42.11.6 ξα (61)—Καὶ εἶπεν τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς· ἀπελθόντες ἑτοιμάσατε ἵνα φάγωμεν τὸ Πάσχα. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ξα (61)—Καὶ εἶπεν τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς· ἀπελθόντες ἑτοιμάσατε ἵνα φάγωμεν τὸ Πάσχα. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ξα (61)—… εἰ γὰρ προστάσσει ἑτοιμάζεσθαι αὐτῷ φαγεῖν τὸ Πάσχα, …

Epiphanius is the only source attesting this verse and Luke 22:8 is here rendered in an almost completely unique manner.[217] The only point of contact with the manuscript tradition is in the placement of τὸ Πάσχα, also attested in a handful of minuscules.[218] Though Zahn strongly asserted that Epiphanius gave no indication of having shortened or altered the text and therefore concluded "jede hiervon abweichende Wiederherstellung des marcionitischen Textes [ist] Willkür," such a view simply ignores that Epiphanius often varies the wording of his "citations" from those of his source considerably. For this reason, no certainty can be ascribed to this reading actually representing the wording of Marcion's text.

6.4.62 ***Luke 22:14–15***

30.22.3—πάλιν δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος λέγει ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ Πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν· καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν ἁπλῶς Πάσχα, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο τὸ Πάσχα, … | 30.22.5—… αὐτὸς δὲ ἀληθῶς ἔλεγεν ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ Πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν· … | 42.11.6 ξβ (62)—Καὶ ἀνέπεσε, καὶ οἱ δώδεκα ἀπόστολοι σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπεν· ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ Πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ξα (61)—… καὶ μὴ λέγε ὅτι ὅ ἔμελλε μυστήριον ἐπιτελεῖν, τοῦτο προωνόμαζε λέγων· θέλω μεθ' ὑμῶν φαγεῖν τὸ Πάσχα. … | 42.11.17 Σχ. ξβ (62)—Καὶ ἀνέπεσε καὶ οἱ δώδεκα ἀπόστολοι σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ εἶπεν· ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ Πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ξβ (62)—Ἀνέπεσεν ὁ σωτήρ, ὦ Μαρκίων, καὶ οἱ δώδεκα ἀπόστολοι μετ' αὐτοῦ. εἰ ἀνέπεσε καὶ συνανέπεσον, … καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ Πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν … | 51.27.2—ὅθεν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ σωτὴρ τὸ Πάσχα τελειώσας ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος μετὰ τὸ βεβρωκέναι ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπιθυμήσας. καὶ ἐκεῖνο τὸ Πάσχα τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν ἔφαγεν, … | 77.27.1—… ἀγαθὴν δὲ ἐπιθυμίαν ἐπεθύμησε φήσας ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν. …

For Luke 22:14–15, though v. 15 is also attested by Tertullian and Eznik, Epiphanius is the only source for v. 14. V. 15 is cited in several other locations in the *Panarion*; however, it is only in scholion 62 that Epiphanius refers to v. 14. He cites most of the verse here, though does not mention the opening ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ ὥρα. Harnack stated that Marcion apparently did not read these

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217 Harnack rightly stated "Die Fassung ist selbständig" (*Marcion*, 232*).

218 IGNTP lists 13, 69, 124, 346, 543, 788, 826, 828, and 983.

words and Zahn thought that the omission was not accidental.[219] Volckmar, though, contended that this was simply one of numerous examples were Epiphanius abbreviated his citation and ignored something not relevant for the argument.[220] Once again, it is best not to speculate concerning a phrase that is simply unattested. The remainder of the verse is essentially unproblematic, though it should be noted that Epiphanius attests δώδεκα, found in Matt 26:20 and many manuscripts of Luke (but not in P^{75}, B, D, and several OL manuscripts, among others). It is possible that the numeral was present in Marcion's text; however, it cannot be ruled out completely that Epiphanius is being influenced by the Matthean wording.

For v. 15, Epiphanius attests καὶ εἶπεν· ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν. In the opening words, once again, the omission of πρὸς αὐτούς after εἶπεν is the reading of the Matthean parallel (Matt 26:21) and should not be viewed as evidence for an omission in Marcion's text. Epiphanius is very consistent in his citation of the words of Jesus in this verse,[221] though his apparent lack of interest in the final phrase elsewhere lends credence to the view that here it arose from Marcion's Gospel. Furthermore, apart from the inclusion of the demonstrative pronoun τοῦτο, the citation of what Jesus said corresponds precisely to the reading attested by Tertullian.

6.4.63 *Luke 22:16*

42.11.6 ξγ (63)—Παρέκοψε τό λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ φάγω αὐτὸ ἀπάρτι, ἕως ἂν [V M omit ἄν] πληρωθῇ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ξγ (63)—Παρέκοψε τό λέγω γὰρ [V M omit γὰρ] ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ φάγω αὐτὸ ἀπάρτι, ἕως ἂν πληρωθῇ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ξγ (63)—Τοῦτο περιεῖλεν καὶ ἐρρᾳδιούργησεν, ἵνα δῆθεν μὴ ποιήσῃ ἐν βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ βρωτὰ ἢ ποτά· …

Epiphanius here attests that Luke 22:16 was not present.[222]

219 Harnack, *Marcion*, 233* and Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:490.

220 Volckmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, 34.

221 The only exception is the "citation" in 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ξα (61) where Epiphanius offers several very imprecise references (cf. chapter 3, n. 58).

222 Harnack's view that Marcion likely deleted vv. 17–18 was noted above in chapter 3, n. 57. As Schmid, "Marcions Evangelium," 76 points out, however, "Davon, daß auch Lk 22,17–18 im marcionitischen Evangelium gefehlt hat, ist weder bei Epiphanius noch sonst etwas bekannt." Schmid also provides a convincing refutation of the view of Amphoux that "les v. 19b–20 viennent, selon toute vraisemblence, de la révision de Marcion, où ils remplaçaient les v. 16–18 supprimés" ("Les premières éditions de Luc II. L'histoire du texte au IIe siècle," *ETL* 68 [1992], 30).

6.4.64 *Luke 22:35–38*

42.11.6 ξδ (64)—Παρέκοψε τό ὅτε ἀπέστειλα ὑμᾶς, μή τινος ὑστερήσατε; καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς, διά τό [M omits τό] καὶ τοῦτο τὸ γεγραμμένον δεῖ τελεσθῆναι, τό· καὶ μετὰ ἀνόμων συνελογίσθη. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ξδ (64)—Παρέκοψε τό ὅτε ἀπέστειλα ὑμᾶς, μή τινος ὑστερήσατε; καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς διὰ τό καὶ τοῦτο τὸ γεγραμμένον δεῖ τελεσθῆναι, τό· καὶ μετὰ ἀνόμων συνελογίσθη. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ξδ (64)—Κἂν παρακόψῃς τὰ ῥήματα, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου φαίνονται αὐτῶν οἱ τόποι, προάγοντος τοῦ νόμου καὶ προκηρυττόντων τῶν προφητῶν καὶ κυρίου πληροῦντος.

With a reference to the opening and closing words of Jesus' question in Luke 22:35, Epiphanius indicates that this verse καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς was not present. As already noted by Zahn, "Die Grenze wird nicht näher angegeben, nur hervorgehoben, daß in v. 37 der Grund der Tilgung gelegen habe."[223] Since, vv. 35–38 are clearly interrelated, it is most likely that the entire pericope is in view in Epiphanius's comment.[224]

6.4.65 *Luke 22:41*

42.11.6 ξε (65)—Ἀπεσπάσθη ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὡσεὶ λίθου βολὴν [V reads βολή] καὶ θεὶς τὰ γόνατα προσηύχετο. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ξε (65)—Ἀπεσπάσθη ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὡσεὶ λίθου βολὴν καὶ θεὶς τὰ γόνατα προσηύχετο. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ξε (65)—Θεὶς τὰ γόνατα ὁρατῶς ἔθηκε καὶ αἰσθητῶς ἐπετέλεσεν. εἰ δὲ αἰσθητῶς, κατὰ τὸ εἶδος <ἀνθρώπινον> τὸ ἔργον ἐποίησε τῆς γονυκλισίας· … | 69.60.1—… διέστη ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὡσεὶ λίθου βολὴν καὶ ἀπελθὼν ηὔχετο καὶ ἔλεγε· …

Epiphanius here attests an essentially unproblematic text, in which the "kneeling" is of particular interest for him. The far more imprecise citation of the verse in 69.60.1 may also support the sense that the wording is here being governed by Marcion's text.

6.4.66 *Luke 22:47*

38.4.13—οὕτω καὶ ὁ Ἰούδας τί θέλετέ μοι φησί δοῦναι, καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν παραδώσω ὑμῖν; καί ὃν ἂν φιλήσω, αὐτός ἐστι, κρατήσατε αὐτόν. καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ προδότης χαῖρε Ῥαββί ἔλεγε, … | 42.11.6 ξς (66)—Καὶ ἤγγισε καταφιλῆσαι αὐτόν Ἰούδας [V M omit Ἰούδας] καὶ εἶπεν. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ξς (66)—Καὶ ἤγγισε καταφιλῆσαι αὐτόν Ἰούδας καὶ εἶπεν. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ξς (66)—Ἤγγισε σαρκὶ ὄντι δεσπότῃ καὶ θεῷ σῶμα λαβόντι, καταφιλῆσαι ἀληθινὰ χείλη καὶ οὐ δοκήσει ὄντα καὶ φαντάζοντα. | 66.63.9–10—… καὶ λέγων αὐτῷ χαῖρε Ῥαββί, καὶ ἐλεγχόμενος καὶ ἀκούων, ἑταῖρε, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ πάρει; οὗτος ὁ Ἰούδας ἐμιμήσατο τὸν Κάϊν …

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223 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:491.

224 So also Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:491; Harnack, *Marcion*, 234*; and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 124.

Epiphanius is the only source for Luke 22:47, and it is obvious that he has offers an abbreviated reference to the verse as he is interested in making the point that one can kiss only a corporeal body. In addition, it may be that Epiphanius initially did not include the explicit reference to Judas, as it is not found in the manuscript tradition for the first scholion. That which is quoted in both scholia, as already noted by both Zahn and Harnack, has points of contact with Matt 26:49.[225] Both also apparently believed, however, that Epiphanius accurately reflected Marcion's text. Zahn reconstructed . . . καὶ ἤγγισε καταφιλῆσαι αὐτόν καὶ εἶπεν . . ., and went so far as to state "Das και ειπεν beweist, daß Mrc. die bei Lc. fehlende Anrede des Judas aus Mt. 26, 49 oder die kürzere aus Mc. 14, 45 herübergenommen hatte."[226] Harnack reconstructed . . . . Ἰούδας . . . καὶ ἤγγισε καταφιλῆσαι αὐτόν καὶ εἶπεν (χαῖρε ῥαββεί [*sic*]).[227] It seems that both Zahn and Harnack may have been too hasty in their assessment. First, there is no manuscript evidence for Luke ever containing the reading καταφιλῆσαι.[228] Second, Epiphanius seems to have omitted the universally attested τῷ Ἰησοῦ after ἤγγισε. Third, in both Matthew and Mark, the reference to Judas saying something precedes the kiss. Finally, and most significantly, in Epiphanius's two other references to this scene in 38.4.13 and 66.63.9–10, he clearly draws from Matt 26:48–50 and in both instances cites Judas's words. It seems quite possible that Epiphanius may have seen this verse in Marcion's text, but then simply jotted down the gist of the verse under the influence of Matthew's version.

6.4.67 *Luke 22:50–51*

42.11.6 ξζ (67)—Παρέκοψεν ὃ [V M read τό] ἐποίησε Πέτρος, ὅτε ἐπάταξε καὶ ἀφείλετο τὸ οὖς τοῦ δούλου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως [V M omit τοῦ δούλου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως]. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ξζ (67)—Παρέκοψεν ὃ ἐποίησε Πέτρος, ὅτε ἐπάταξε καὶ ἀφείλετο [M reads ἀφεῖλε] τὸ οὖς τοῦ δούλου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ξζ (67)—Δοκῶν εἰς τιμὴν Πέτρου ὁ ἀπατεὼν κρύπτειν τὸ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ γενόμενον τῆς δοξολογίας τοῦ σωτῆρος τὸ ῥητὸν τεμών, ἀπέκρυψεν. ἀλλὰ οὐδὲν ὠφελήσει· κἂν τε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀποκόψῃ, ἡμεῖς οἴδαμεν τὰ θεοσήμεια. μετὰ γὰρ τὸ ἀποκόψαι τὸ ὠτίον ὁ κύριος πάλιν λαβὼν ἰάσατο, ἵνα ἀποδειχθῇ ὅτι θεός ἐστι καὶ θεοῦ ἔργον ἐπετέλεσεν.

In scholion 67 Epiphanius attests that Luke 22:50 was not present, referring to what Peter (cf. John 18:10) did in cutting off the ear ("of the high priest" is

225 Cf. Harnack, *Marcion*, 234* and Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:491.

226 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:491.

227 Harnack, *Marcion*, 234*.

228 Also noted by Harnack, *Marcion*, 234*. Zahn stated that it was also drawn from either Matthew or Mark (*Geschichte*, 2:491).

found only in the second listing). The elenchus reveals that v. 51 was also not present in Marcion's text. V. 49, present in some reconstructions but listed as omitted in others, is actually unattested.[229]

6.4.68 *Luke 22:63–64*

42.11.6 ξη (68)—Οἱ συνέχοντες ἐνέπαιζον δέροντες καὶ τύπτοντες καὶ [V M omit καί] λέγοντες· προφήτευσον τίς ἐστιν ὁ παίσας σε; | 42.11.17 Σχ. ξη (68)—Οἱ συνέχοντες ἐνέπαιζον δέροντες καὶ τύπτοντες καὶ λέγοντες· προφήτευσον, τίς ἐστιν ὁ παίσας σε; | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ξη (68)—Ὅτι τὸ συνέχοντες καὶ τὸ ἐνέπαιζον καὶ τὸ δεῖραι καὶ τὸ τύψαι καὶ τὸ προφήτευσον τίς ἐστιν ὁ παίσας σε, τοῦτο οὐ δόκησις ἦν, ἀλλὰ ἀφῆς ἐστι σωματικῆς καὶ ἐνσάρκου ὑποστάσεως δηλωτικόν, …

For the obviously abbreviated references to these verses, Epiphanius highlighted only those elements relevant for his refutation of Marcion relating to the bodily reality of Jesus. For v. 63 the attested elements are unproblematic, as is the citation of what those smiting Jesus said at the end of v. 64. It is worth noting, however, that Epiphanius attests the phrase with the verb τύπτω in v. 24, against P^{75}, B, among others.

6.4.69 *Luke 23:2*

42.11.6 ξθ (69)—Προσέθετο μετὰ τό [V M read τοῦτο] τοῦτον εὕρομεν διαστρέφοντα τὸ ἔθνος καὶ καταλύοντα τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ξθ (69)—Προσέθετο μετὰ τό [V M read τοῦτο] τοῦτον ηὕραμεν διαστρέφοντα τὸ ἔθνος καὶ καταλύοντα τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ξθ (69)—…ὅταν γὰρ ἐνταῦθα προσθείης τὸ μὴ γεγραμμένον, συκοφαντῶν σεαυτὸν … λέγων ὅτι τοῦτον ηὕραμεν καταλύοντα τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας, τὸ ἀντιζυγον τούτου ἐλέγξει σε, ὦ ματαιόπονε, αὐτοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος λέγοντος οὐκ ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας, ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι [Matt 5:17] οὐ δύναται τοίνυν ὁ αὐτὸς <ὁ> λέγων οὐκ ἦλθον καταλῦσαι διὰ τὸ καταλύειν κατηγορεῖσθαι. οὐ γὰρ εἶχεν οὕτως τὸ ῥητόν, ἀλλά· ηὕρομεν τοῦτον διαστρέφοντα τὸν λαόν, λέγοντα ἑαυτὸν Χριστὸν βασιλέα. | 42.11.6 ο (70)—Προσθήκη μετὰ τό κελεύοντα φόρους μὴ δοῦναι καὶ ἀποστρέφοντα τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ο (70)—Προσθήκη μετὰ [V M omit μετά] τό κελεύοντα φόρους μὴ δοῦναι καί [V^{corr} M insert τό] ἀποστρέφοντα τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ο (70)—… οὐ γὰρ ἀπέστρεψεν Ἰησοῦς γυναῖκας ἢ τέκνα· …

229 Once again, Volckmar, *Evangelium Marcions*, 167 listed v. 49 as present in Marcion's Gospel; whereas, Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:491; Harnack, *Marcion*, 234*; and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 124 assume that Epiphanius's testimony here included the omission of v. 49. Parker, *Living Text*, 159 cautiously suggests that Marcion's omission here may have left a trace in the manuscript tradition in v. 51 being omitted in 0171.

Though Tertullian also attests Luke 23:2, his testimony does not overlap with that offered by Epiphanius. In the scholia 69 and 70 Epiphanius refers to two additions in Marcion's text of this verse. Holl's emendation in scholion 69 sought to clarify Epiphanius's meaning, but it is clear from the elenchus that Epiphanius does not view the entire statement as a Marcionite addition, but only the reference to destroying the Law and the prophets.[230] In the text that Marcion's Gospel shares with Luke the ὑμῶν after τὸ ἔθνος is omitted,[231] and though this is the reading of the majority text, it may be a simple omission by Epiphanius.[232] The added phrase is found, in slightly different forms, in the OL manuscripts e, b, c, ff², gat, and i (and also in a few Vulgate manuscripts). It appears, therefore, that there is some point of contact between the readings preserved in these manuscripts and the reading in Marcion's Gospel. Concerning the second addition involving the turning away of wives and children mentioned in scholion 70, though it is not elsewhere attested in v. 2, c and e contain a similar statement in v. 5. Once again there seem to be points of contact. Here also Epiphanius's reference to the text Marcion's Gospel had in common with Luke seems to be summary in nature and little weight should be given to the Epiphanius's formulation.

6.4.70 ***Luke 23:33–34, 45***

42.11.6 οα (71)—Καὶ ἐλθόντες εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Κρανίον τόπος ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτὸν καὶ διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ [V M omit αὐτοῦ] καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος. | 42.11.17 Σχ. οα (71)—Καὶ ἐλθόντες εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Κρανίον τόπος ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτὸν καὶ διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. οα (71)—… ὁ γὰρ μὴ σάρκα ἔχων οὔτε σταυρωθῆναι δύναται.… εἰ γὰρ ὅλως ἐσταυρώθη, πῶς οὐ βλέπεις τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον ἁφὴν ἔχοντα καὶ ἥλοις τὰς χεῖρας πηγνύμενον καὶ πόδας;… ἐπειδὴ ὁμολογεῖται καὶ παρὰ σοὶ σταυρῷ προσπαγεὶς ὁ κύριος.

For these verses the testimony of Tertullian also must be considered and for vv. 34 and 45 the testimony of Ephrem and Eznik, respectively. As Zahn already noted, Epiphanius "gibt kein Citat, sondern faßt 33a. 34b. 44a [*sic*]

230 Cf. also the comments in Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:492. Though it is unclear from where precisely Irenaeus is drawing the information, he also makes a reference to Marcion holding the view that Christ abolished the law and the prophets (*Haer*. 1.27.2).

231 τὸ ἔθνος being the reading of Marcion's text receives support from Epiphanius selecting the wording τὸν λαόν in his own reference to the verse in the elenchus. It is also curious that between the scholia and elenchus one reads three variations of the form of the aorist verb.

232 Both Harnack, *Marcion*, 235* and Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:492 are hesitant to view the possessive pronoun as missing in Marcion's Gospel.

ungenau zusammen."[233] For v. 33 Epiphanius attests a text very similar to Matt 27:33, where for Luke, ἐλθόντες, εἰς, λεγόμενον, and Κρανίον τόπος are all singular readings. This wording is almost certainly due to Epiphanius. Tertullian's allusion cannot help us further concerning most of these readings and therefore much of the precise reading of Marcion's text remains unclear.[234] For v. 34, only v. 34b is attested by Epiphanius.[235] The major problem here is that Tertullian explicitly indicated that this element of the verse was not present in Marcion's Gospel. Volckmar concluded that "*Epiph.* hier ungenau über den Text des *Marcion* berichtet" and that "er [Epiphanius] beim Zusammenfassen der ganzen Kreuzigungs-Geschichte mehr das allgemeine Ev. als das specielle *Marcion's* im Auge oder Sinn gehabt hat."[236] Supporting Volckmar's point is the fact that in the elenchus, Epiphanius seems to have only the crucifixion itself in view, not the details surrounding the event.[237] Finally, Epiphanius refers to v. 45, which, interestingly, is two verses *subsequent* to the verse discussed in the following scholion. Here he simply makes reference to ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος, in agreement with the majority reading in Luke. In sum, given that Epiphanius is likely simply summarizing elements of the entire account as evidenced, in particular, by the Matthean wording in v. 33; skipping to a verse beyond the one he discussed in the following scholion; and the elenchus revealing that it was only the fact of the crucifixion in which he is interested, it may very well be the case that these elements did not arise directly from the wording of Marcion's Gospel.

233 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:492.

234 Harnack, *Marcion*, 235*–236* somewhat confusingly reconstructs vv.32–33 based on Tertullian's allusion, followed by v. 33a based on Epiphanius's scholion.

235 I am not sure to what Nathan Eubank, "A Disconcerting Prayer: On the Originality of Luke 23:34a," *JBL* 129 (2010): 523 is referring when he writes that the prayer in Luke 23:34a is "apparently [cited] by Marcion (in Epiphanius, *Pan.* 42.11.6) in the second century," as there is no reference to the prayer in Epiphanius's interaction with Marcion's text.

236 Volckmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, 48. Cf. also Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:492 who agreed with this analysis. Harnack, *Marcion*, 236* stated in his reconstruction "Verteilung der Kleider, von M. gestrichen (aber Epiph. las es wieder" and in his apparatus "Epiph. hat in seinem Exemplar gelesen." He, however, gave no explanation for how he envisioned this state of affairs coming about. Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 126 also simply observes the difference and comments: "Wie man diese Tatsache beurteilen soll, ist unklar." It should also be noted, however, that a few pages later in his monograph, Volckmar recognized, "Da aber endlich nichts hindert, dass auch im Exemplar des *Tert.* zufällige Lücken gewesen sein, so muss immerhin die Möglichkeit hiervon in Betreff der von *Tert.* angegebenen Auslassung der Kleider-Vertheilung (23, 34) im Auge behalten werden, wenn auch die abweichende Angabe des Andern gerade hier völlig erklärlich ist" (*Das Evangelium Marcions*, 51).

237 Volckmar himself also makes this point (*Das Evangelium Marcions*, 47–48).

6.4.71 *Luke 23:43*

42.11.6 οβ (72)—Παρέκοψε τό σήμερον μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ. | 42.11.17 Σχ. οβ (72)—Παρέκοψε τό σήμερον μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. οβ (72)—Καλῶς τοῦτο καὶ ἁρμοδίως παρέκοψας, ὦ Μαρκίων· ἀπῆρες [V M read ἐπῆρες] γὰρ ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ τὴν εἴσοδον τοῦ παραδείσου.

Epiphanius here attests that Luke 23:43 was not present.[238] Though Zahn also viewed vv. 37–42, and Harnack and Tsutsui vv. 35–42, as omitted, Epiphanius's testimony simply leaves these verses unattested.[239]

6.4.72 *Luke 23:46*

42.11.6 ογ (73)—Καὶ φωνήσας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ἐξέπνευσεν. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ογ (73)—Καὶ φωνήσας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ἐξέπνευσεν. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ογ (73)—Εἰ ἐξέπνευσεν, ὦ Μαρκίων, καὶ φωνὴν μεγάλην ἀπέδωκεν, πόθεν ἐξέπνεεν ἢ τί τὸ ἐκπνέον; | 69.49.5–7—…ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἔλεγε τῷ πατρὶ εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθημι τὸ πνεῦμά μου…[references/citations drawn from John 19:33 and Matt 27:46]…καὶ ἐξέπνευσε φησὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. τὸ δὲ ἐξέπνευσε καὶ εἰς χεῖράς σου καὶ τὸ ἡ ψυχή μου τετάρακται [John 12:27] καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τῆς ἀληθείας λεγούσης,…[240]

This verse is also attested by Tertullian and possibly in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. As was the case in Tertullian's testimony, at the outset of the verse Epiphanius does not make reference to what Jesus said, but only to his having cried out. He then immediately attests the final element of the verse referring to Jesus expiring.[241] The wording attested by Epiphanius is essentially unproblematic with very little variation in the manuscript tradition.

238 The verbatim wording for this verse is also found in *Ancor*. 54.7 and in *Pan*. 66.40.3, though also with the introductory ἀμὴν λέγω σοι in the latter reference.

239 Cf. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:492 who stated that it is "sehr zweifellhaft" that vv. 37–43 were in Marcion's text. Harnack, *Marcion*, 236* expressed the opinion that vv. 35–43 "scheint vollständig gefehlt zu haben," a sentiment followed by Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 126. Regarding 23:35–36, Ps 22:16, 7 in *Marc*.4.42.4 is not clearly a reference to these verses being in Marcion's text (cf. Harnack, *Marcion*, 236* *contra* Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:492).

240 The only point of contact with Marcion's text here is ἐξέπνευσε. In *Ancor*. 69.8 and *Pan*. 74.6.8 Epiphanius cited πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παραθήσομαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου from Luke 23:46. Since he did not attest these words for Marcion's text no relevant insight can be gained from these two passages.

241 Harnack's comment, "Das kann eine Verkürzung sein, aber es ist auch sehr wohl möglich, daß spätere Marcioniten das Wort Jesu ausgelassen haben, weil es ihnen unbequem wurde" refers to a theoretical possibility but remains speculative (*Marcion*, 236*). Zahn's assertion that Epiphanius has "willkürlich contrahirt" (*Geschichte*, 2:493) is also possible; however, the fact remains that Epiphanius simply leaves Jesus' words unattested.

6.4.73 *Luke 23:50, 53*

42.11.6 οδ (74)—Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ ὀνόματι Ἰωσήφ, καθελὼν τὸ σῶμα ἐνετύλιξε σινδόνι [V M omit σινδόνι] καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐν μνήματι λαξευτῷ. | 42.11.17 Σχ. οδ (74)—Καὶ [V M omit καί] ἰδού, ἀνὴρ ὀνόματι Ἰωσήφ, καθελὼν τὸ σῶμα ἐνετύλιξε σινδόνι [V^{corr} inserted σινδόνι in margin] καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐν μνήματι λαξευτῷ. | 44.3.7—… ὅτε ἐθάπτετο τὸ αὐτοῦ σῶμα κατηξιοῦτο Ἰωσὴφ ὁ ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας ἐντυλίξαι αὐτὸ ἐν σινδόνι καὶ ἀποθέσθαι ἐν μνήματι.… | 64.67.17—… τὸ διὰ τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ κεκηδευμένον ἐν σινδόνι καὶ ἐν μνήματι καινῷ τεθὲν ἀνέστη, πάντως ὅτι οὐκ ἀρνήσῃ. | 77.8.2—… τὸ δὲ σῶμα εἰλίξας Ἰωσὴφ σινδόνι απέθετο … | 77.28.1—… σινδὼν γὰρ εἰλήσας τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ οὐ περιεγένετο ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀκραιφνοῦς καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ μεγίστης δυνάμεως.

These verses are also attested by Tertullian and possibly in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. For v. 50, Tertullian only alluded to the fact that Joseph was the individual caring for the body, whereas Epiphanius offers a fuller phrase. The second listing of the scholion does not read the opening καί, and it may have been added to the first listing under the influence of the canonical text. Though the conjunction is almost universally present in the manuscripts, it may simply be unattested for Marcion's Gospel. The rest of the phrase is unproblematic.

For v. 53, Epiphanius quotes more of the verse, though it is still obvious that he has abbreviated his reference. Once again the two listings reveal a difference concerning the presence or absence of a word, in this case σινδόνι, where only M originally contained the word and then only in the second listing. Here also, Epiphanius may not have originally included the term, though it is attested by Tertullian. Furthermore, it is probable that the skip from v. 50 to v. 53 led to the clarifying τὸ σῶμα, and it is not certain that it was present in Marcion's text instead of the otherwise attested pronoun.[242] In addition, the omission of the pronouns with the ensuing verbs may again be due to Epiphanius's shortened reference. At the same time, that Epiphanius did have Marcion's Gospel in view, at least to a certain extent, may be supported by the actual verbs that he uses to describe the actions. Elsewhere when he speaks of "wrapping" the body he uses the verb ἑλίσσω or εἰλέω, whereas here he writes ἐνετύλιξε. Similarly, in other instances when he references the "placing" of the body in the tomb he utilizes various forms of ἀποτίθημι or τίθημι, whereas here he writes ἔθηκεν. Finally, Epiphanius concludes the citation with a brief description of where the body was laid: ἐν μνήματι λαξευτῷ.

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242 Harnack, *Marcion*, 237* followed Epiphanius in his reconstruction. His comment in the apparatus, "τὸ σῶμα mit D (add. τ. Ἰησοῦ) > αὐτό, desen [*sic*] Stellung vor oder nach (ἐνετύλιξε) schwankend" is a rather convulted indication of just how different D's reading is from the one attested by Epiphanius.

6.4.74 *Luke 23:56*

42.11.6 οε (75)—Καὶ ὑποστρέψασαι αἱ γυναῖκες [V M omit αἱ γυναῖκες] ἡσύχασαν τὸ σάββατον κατὰ τὸν νόμον. | 42.11.17 Σχ. οε (75)—Καὶ ὑποστρέψασαι αἱ γυναῖκες ἡσύχασαν τὸ σάββατον κατὰ τὸν νόμον. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. οε (75)—Πόθεν ὑπέστρεψαν αἱ γυναῖκες; διὰ τί δὲ καὶ τὸ ἡσύχασαν γέγραπται, ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα δείξῃ ἡ γραφὴ τὴν αὐτῶν μαρτυρίαν, ἐλέγχουσάν σου τὴν ἄνοιαν, ὦ Μαρκίων; ἰδοὺ γὰρ καὶ γυναῖκες μαρτυροῦσι καὶ ἀπόστολοι καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ ἄγγελοι καὶ Ἰωσήφ, ὁ ψηλαφητὸν ὄντως σῶμα καθελὼν καὶ ἐνειλήσας. | 44.3.8—ἅμα δὲ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες εἶχον ἰδεῖν ποῦ κατελείφθη τὰ λείψανα, ἵνα αὐτὰ τιμήσωσι διὰ μύρων καὶ ἀρωμάτων, ὡς τὸ πρῶτον. | 56.2.7—καὶ μαρτυρεῖ μὲν Ἰωσὴφ ὁ ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας, μαρτυροῦσι καὶ αἱ φέρουσαι μύρα εἰς τὸ μνῆμα καὶ ἡ τῶν ἑκατὸν λιτρῶν τῆς ἀλόης ὁλκή, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν δόκησις οὐδὲ φαντασία.

The reference to Luke 23:56 once again evidences Epiphanius offering an abbreviated citation.[243] The opening καί is, according to IGNTP, attested in other versions; however, it is difficult to ascertain whether Epiphanius is here accurately reflecting Marcion's text.[244] The first scholion does not attest αἱ γυναῖκες, and the subject of the verb was likely added for clarity in the second scholion. Epiphanius then references the final element of the verse, writing an otherwise unattested word order ἡσύχασαν τὸ σάββατον followed by the otherwise unattested κατὰ τὸν νόμον. The other interactions with this verse or its parallels by Epiphanius do not offer any insight; yet, it is difficult to attribute either of these readings to Marcion with any degree of certainty.[245]

6.4.75 *Luke 24:4–7*

Anchor. 34.6—…ὅτι μέλλει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοσθαι καὶ σταυρωθῆναι καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστῆναι… | 42.11.6 ος (76)—Εἶπαν οἱ ἐν ἐσθῆτι λαμπρᾷ· τί ζητεῖτε [V^corr^ added τε above the line] τὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν; ἠγέρθη, μνήσθητε ὅσα ἐλάλησεν ἔτι ὢν μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν, [V M omit μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν] ὅτι δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παθεῖν καὶ παραδοθῆναι. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ος (76)—Εἶπαν οἱ ἐν ἐσθῆτι λαμπρᾷ· τί ζητεῖτε τὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν; ἠγέρθη, μνήσθητε ὅσα ἐλάλησεν ἔτι ὢν μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν [V^corr^ inserted μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν in margin], ὅτι δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παθεῖν [V M read πολλὰ παθεῖν] καὶ παραδοθῆναι. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ος (76)—Οὐδὲ οὗτοί σε

243 Chapter 5, n. 420 indicates the reason why, *contra* Harnack, I see only Epiphanius attesting this verse. For this reason, I also view ἡτοίμασαν ἀρώματα καὶ μύρα (reconstructed by Harnack) as unattested in this verse.

244 Curiously, Harnack, *Marcion*, 237* reconstructed the opening without either καί or δέ.

245 In response to Harnack's comment concerning κατὰ τὸν νόμον "wahrscheinlich absichtliche Korrektur, um ein Mißverständnis zu verhüten" (*Marcion*, 237*), Tsutsui queries "Was für ein Mißverständnis?" ("Evangelium," 126).

πείθουσιν οἱ ἅγιοι ἄγγελοι, ὦ Μαρκίων, ὁμολογοῦντες μὲν αὐτὸν τὸ τριήμερον μεταξὺ νεκρῶν γεγενῆσθαι, ζῶντα δὲ λοιπὸν καὶ οὐκέτι νεκρόν, … λέγουσι γὰρ αὐταῖς· ἀνέστη, οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε. τὸ δὲ ἀνέστη τί ἐστιν, εἰ μὴ ὅτι καὶ ἐκοιμήθη; σαφέστερον γὰρ αὐτὸ διηγοῦνται μνήσθητε γάρ, φησίν, ὅτι ἔτι περιὼν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν ὑμῖν, ὅτι δεῖ παθεῖν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. | 56.2.8–9—μαρτυροῦσι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι ταῖς γυναιξὶ πεφηνότες ὅτι ἀνέστη, οὐχ ἔστιν ὧδε· τί ζητεῖτε τὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν; καὶ οὐκ εἶπαν ὅτι οὐκ ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλὰ ἀνέστη, … | 62.7.6—… ἀνέστη γὰρ Χριστός ὥς φησιν ἡ γραφή· … | 69.59.4—… πῶς διηγεῖται ὁ ἄγγελος φάσκων ταῖς περὶ Μαρίαν τί ζητεῖτε τὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν; ὁρᾷς, ὁ ζῶν ἐν ἰδίᾳ θεότητι καὶ σαρκὶ ἀνέστη, οὐκ ἦν δὲ μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν. καὶ τί φησιν αὐταῖς ἀνέστη, οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε; …

For these verses, though vv. 4, 6–7 are also attested by Tertullian, Epiphanius is the only witness for v. 5. Epiphanius's only reference to v. 4 is the allusion to the men in shining garments at the conclusion of the verse. The rather clearly summary and imprecise nature of Epiphanius's introduction to scholion 76 makes any reconstruction of precise wording tenuous and speculative.[246] The first quoted element is the phrase τί ζητεῖτε τὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν from v. 5, an unproblematic phrase that is nearly uniformly attested in the manuscript tradition.

In v. 6, the verb ἠγέρθη is certainly drawn from Marcion's text as in every other allusion to or citation of this verse, including the elenchus, Epiphanius uses the verb ἀνίστημι (all three synoptic passages utilize ἠγέρθη). Since Epiphanius has obviously abbreviated his reference, it is problematic to assert, as Harnack did, that Marcion did not read οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε, even if the omission is also found in D and numerous OL witnesses.[247] The following three words (μνήσθητε ὅσα ἐλάλησεν) correspond to Tertullian's testimony;[248] however, then the two witnesses diverge. Epiphanius attests the ἔτι ὤν that may have been a simply omission by Tertullian but does not attest the ὑμῖν or ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ found in Tertullian. Here, however, the μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν, assumed to be Epiphanius's reading by Holl and followed by Harnack and Tsutsui,[249] creates challenges.

246 Harnack, *Marcion*, 238*, however, did follow Epiphanius's testimony, though with at least some uncertainty, when he reconstructed ἐν ἐσθῆτι λαμπρᾷ (ἀστραπτούσῃ?) for the conclusion of 24:4.

247 Harnack, *Marcion*, 238*. It is also interesting that whenever Epiphanius quoted the full phrase including "he is not here," he utilized the order found in Mark 16:6, where ἠγέρθη is written first, and not that of Matt 28:6 or Luke 24:6, where ἠγέρθη follows.

248 ὅσα is the reading of D and, according to IGNTP, the Syriac versions and the Persian diatessaron.

249 Harnack, *Marcion*, 237*–38* and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 127. Tsutsui views the reading attested by Epiphanius as the literal reading of later Marcionites, a position that seems rather questionable.

It is originally found only in the second listing of the scholion in M, where it was also added by the corrector of V. It is possible that the omission occurred through homoeoteleuton, though the omission of ὑμῖν could have led to the phrase being added for clarity.[250] It is difficult to draw any firm conclusions, but it should be noted that it is possible to reconstruct the almost universally attested Lukan text from a combination of Tertullian's and Epiphanius's testimony.

For v. 7 there are, once again, differences from Tertullian. ὅτι δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου are found in both witnesses,[251] as is the verb παραδοθῆναι. Epiphanius, however, also writes that it was necessary for the Son of Man to suffer (in the first listing of the scholion) or to suffer many things (in the second listing of the scholion). This wording is found in Matt 16:21//Mark 8:31//Luke 9:22 and is also the wording Epiphanius repeats in the elenchus. Harnack, therefore, correctly noted that Epiphanius is here "unzuverlässig."[252] Finally, both Tertullian and Epiphanius are simply silent concerning the phrase εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων ἁμαρτωλῶν, and to view the unattested element as "wohl keine zufällige Auslassung" is speculative.[253]

6.4.76 *Luke 24:13, 15, 18, 25–26, 30–31*

23.6.5—καὶ ὡς ὁ Λουκᾶς διαβεβαιοῦται αὐτὸν τὸν σωτῆρα μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆναι ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν ὧφθαι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ναθαναὴλ καὶ τὸν Κλεόπαν καὶ τούτους νενουθετηκέναι ἀπὸ τῶν ψαλμῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν προφητῶν ὅτι οὕτως ἔδει παθεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ ἀναστῆναι ἐκ νεκρῶν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. | 42.11.6 οζ (77)—Παρέκοψε τό εἰρημένον πρὸς Κλεόπαν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον, ὅτε συνήντησεν αὐτοῖς, τό ὦ ἀνόητοι καὶ βραδεῖς τοῦ πιστεύειν πᾶσιν [M omits πᾶσιν], οἷς ἐλάλησαν οἱ προφῆται· οὐχὶ ταῦτα ἔδει παθεῖν; καὶ ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐλάλησαν οἱ προφῆται ἐποίησεν [V M omit ἐποίησεν] ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐλάλησα ὑμῖν. ἐλέγχεται δὲ ὅτι ὅτε ἔκλασε τὸν ἄρτον, ἠνεῴχθησαν αὐτῶν [V M omit αὐτῶν] οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν αὐτόν [V M omit αὐτόν]. | 42.11.17 Σχ. οζ (77)—Παρέκοψε τό εἰρημένον πρὸς Κλεόπαν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον, ὅτε συνήντησεν αὐτοῖς, τό ὦ ἀνόητοι καὶ βραδεῖς τοῦ πιστεύειν πᾶσιν οἷς ἐλάλησαν οἱ προφῆται· οὐχὶ ταῦτα ἔδει παθεῖν; καὶ ἀντὶ δὲ [V M omit δέ] τοῦ ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐλάλησαν οἱ προφῆται ἐποίησεν ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐλάλησα ὑμῖν. ἐλέγχεται δὲ ὅτι ὅτε ἔκλασε τὸν ἄρτον, ἠνοίχθησαν αὐτῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν αὐτόν. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. οζ (77)—Πόθεν

250 Cf. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:493, who viewed the phrase as "zur Vervollständigung erfunden."

251 In the discussion of Tertullian's testimony his word order was questioned as unlikely. According to IGNTP only P[75], א*, B, C*, and L attest the reading τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὅτι δεῖ of NA[28].

252 Harnack, *Marcion*, 238*.

253 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 127.

ἡ κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου ἐγένετο; λέγε, ὦ Μαρκίων.... ἐποίησας δέ, ὦ Μαρκίων, ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐ ταῦτά ἐστιν ἃ ἐλάλησαν οἱ προφῆται; οὐ ταῦτά ἐστιν ἃ ἐλάλησα ὑμῖν; εἰ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ἐλάλησα ὑμῖν, πάντῃ ἐγίνωσκον αὐτὸν ἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἐλάλησα ὑμῖν. πῶς οὖν ἐν τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου λέγει ἠνοίχθησαν αὐτῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἄφαντος ἐγένετο; ἔπρεπεν γὰρ αὐτῷ θεῷ ὄντι καὶ μεταβάλλοντι αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα εἰς πνευματικὸν δεικνύναι μὲν αὐτὸ σῶμα ἀληθινόν, ἀφαντοῦσθαι δὲ ὅτε ἐβούλετο, ὅτι πάντα αὐτῷ δυνατά.... οὐχ ὑπολείπεται δέ σοι ἀντιλογία οὐδεμία. ἔκλασε γὰρ τὸν ἄρτον σαφῶς καὶ διέδωκε τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς.

For these verses, Epiphanius is the only witness for vv. 18, 30–31; Tertullian also attests vv. 13, 15 and 25 and the *Adamantius Dialogue* possibly attests vv. 25–26. In the opening comments to the scholion, Epiphanius alludes to Jesus meeting (v. 15) two disciples (v. 13)[254] and indicates that one of them was named Cleopas (v. 18). Though some confirmation of Tertullian's equally brief comments can be found here, only the mention of the proper name adds anything further to our knowledge of Marcion's text, assuming that these introductory words were actually drawn from Marcion's Gospel and are not simply Epiphanius's own words. Epiphanius's use of παρέκοψε initially gives the impression that the following statement was omitted in Marcion's Gospel; however, the ensuing clarification reveals that what Epiphanius actually attested is the reading ὦ ἀνόητοι καὶ βραδεῖς τοῦ πιστεύειν πᾶσιν οἷς ἐλάλησα ὑμῖν· οὐχὶ ταῦτα ἔδει παθεῖν; for vv. 25–26. When compared with the Testimony of Tertullian, the only differences up to οἷς are what appear to be simple omissions of τῇ καρδίᾳ after βραδεῖς and ἐπί before πᾶσιν. Though Epiphanius and Tertullian agree that Marcion's Gospel did not contain the reading of canonical Luke (οἷς ἐλάλησαν οἱ προφῆται), they disagree on whether Marcion's text read οἷς ἐλάλησα ὑμῖν (Epiphanius)[255] or οἷς ἐλάλησεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς (Tertullian). Up until Zahn, it was often argued that the reading in Epiphanius was due to an error on his part.[256] Zahn, however, and then Harnack and Tsutsui, viewed this reading as a later Marcionite one, a possibility that cannot be discounted.[257] The final element cited by Epiphanius (from the beginning of v. 26) is unproblematic.[258]

254 Williams's translation of πρὸς Κλεόπαν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον as "to Cleopas and the other disciples" wrongly renders the singular τὸν ἄλλον as a plural and thus would imply that more than two individuals were addressed by Jesus' words (*The Panarion*, 313).

255 In the elenchus Epiphanius offered a free adaptation of this reading.

256 Cf. Hahn, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, 217; Ritschl, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, 127n1; Hilgenfeld, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, 439n2; and Volckmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, 46.

257 Cf. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:494; Harnack, *Marcion*, 238*–39*; and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 128.

258 In 23.6.5 Epiphanius offered a slightly different wording and conflated v. 26 with 24:7. The reading here appears to follow the text more closely. It is not clear to me why Lieu contends

Epiphanius concludes scholion 77 with a reference to vv. 30–31. Without a doubt, he simply alludes to elements in v. 30 and then provides an imprecise "citation" of v. 31. Here, first of all, there are once again differences in the manuscript traditions of the first and second listing of the scholion. The omission of the pronouns in the first listing could possibly have arisen through copying errors;[259] however, it is more likely that they were added for reason of clarity in the second listing.[260] The only wording that actually could be considered to be reflecting Marcion's text is οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν.[261]

6.4.77 *Luke 24:38–39*

Ancor. 91.6—… ἴδετέ με, ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι. πνεῦμα γὰρ ὀστέα καὶ σάρκα οὐκ ἔχει, καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα. | *Pan*. De incarnatione 3.4—μετὰ γὰρ τὸ εἰσελθεῖν (John 20:19) ἔδειξε χεῖφας καὶ πόδας καὶ πλευρὰν νενυγμένην, ὀστέα τε καὶ νεῦφα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ὡς μὴ εἶναι φαντασίαν τὸ ὁρώμενον· | 42.11.6 οη (78)—Τί τεταραγμένοι ἐστέ; ἴδετε τὰς χεῖράς μου [V M omit μου] καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου [V M omit μου], ὅτι πνεῦμα ὀστᾶ οὐκ ἔχει, καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα. | 42.11.17 Σχ. οη (78)—Τί τεταραγμένοι ἐστέ; ἴδετε τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου, ὅτι πνεῦμα ὀστᾶ οὐκ ἔχει, καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. οη (78)—… νῦν δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος ὡμολόγησε καὶ οὐ περιῇρε τὰ ῥητὰ ταῦτα, … σαφῶς τοῦ σωτῆρος διδάξαντος <ὅτι> καὶ μετὰ ἀνάστασιν ὀστᾶ καὶ σάρκα ἔχει, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐμαρτύρησε λέγων ὡς ἐμὲ ὁρᾶτε ἔχοντα. | 64.64.7—… ἴδετε ὅτι πνεῦμα σάρκα καὶ ὀστᾶ οὐκ ἔχει, ὡς ὁρατέ με ἔχοντα. | 69.67.3—καίπερ μετὰ τὸ εἰσελθεῖν δεικνύων ὀστέα καὶ σάρκα, τύπον λόγχης καὶ τύπον ἥλων, ψηλαφώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Θωμᾶ, ὁρώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν μαθητῶν, … | 77.9.5—… ἴδετε τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου καὶ τοὺς τύπους τῶν ἥλων, ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι αὐτός. ψηλαφήσατε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι πνεῦμα σάρκα καὶ ὀστέα οὐκ ἔχει, καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα. καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ὑπέδειξεν αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας.

In Epiphanius's final scholion he interacts with Luke 24:38–39, two verses that are also attested by Tertullian and possibly the *Adamantius Dialogue*. The brief citation of the question τί τεταραγμένοι ἐστέ from v. 38 corresponds to Tertullian's testimony and is unproblematic. V. 39, however, presents several challenges. First, yet again, the first and second listing of the scholion differ

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"Epiphanius's report is ambiguous" and I would hesitate to follow her conclusion "v. 27 and perhaps v. 26 may have been absent" ("Marcion and the New Testament," 413).

259 No other manuscripts attest their omission.

260 The variant spellings of the aorist passive of ἀνοίγω (apart from a passage in Severin of Gabala, according to IGNTP, the use of this verb is a singular reading) in the two listings of the scholion are insignificant.

261 It appears that Epiphanius himself expanded the reference in the elenchus to include a reference to Christ vanishing in order to continue his refutation.

with the first listing omitting both possessive pronouns.[262] It is difficult to posit a mechanical error for the omissions, and the second listing may reflect a clarifying expansion and harmonization with the most common canonical text, a reading that Epiphanius himself attests in 77.9.5.[263] Second, Epiphanius skips directly from the opening element in v. 39 to the final element. Thus, though in Tertullian ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε is unattested, in Epiphanius ὅτι εἰμι αὐτος· ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε is unattested. Just as the omission in Tertullian may have been due to his own hand, the omission here could also be due to Epiphanius's abbreviated reference. It is slightly problematic therefore, to make a statement contending that "both witnesses agree that Marcion's text omits the invitation to touch Jesus and see" or that Epiphanius's version of Marcion's Gospel definitely did not have the phrase ὅτι εἰμι αὐτος.[264] The element is simply unattested, as is much of vv. 38–39. Third, though Epiphanius does not mention "flesh" in the scholion, the term is present in the elenchus. Furthermore, Epiphanius also makes reference only to "bones" in *Pan*. De incarnatione 3.4.[265] Once again, though a possible correspondence with Tertullian means that σάρξ may have been omitted in Marcion's Gospel, overlapping simple omissions cannot be ruled out entirely. Despite these difficulties, that the final phrase (καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα) arose from Marcion's text is potentially confirmed by Epiphanius slipping into an otherwise essentially unattested wording ὡς ἐμὲ ὁρᾶτε ἔχοντα in the elenchus, which he also uses in 64.64.7.[266]

262 The variant spellings for the accusative plural of ὀστέον are insignificant.

263 As was the case for Tertullian's attestation (cf. chapter 4, n. 456), Carter again too quickly concludes "Epiphanius's version has Jesus refer to his hand and his feet here, duplicating the possessive pronoun" ("Marcion's Christology," 556).

264 Carter, "Marcion's Christology," 556. Part of the problem impacting Carter's conclusions may be found in the rather curious conviction expressed on the previous page: "Tertullian's approach thus lacks the accuracy that Epiphanius brings to his record of Marcion's text" (ibid., 555). On the one hand, such a statement simply betrays a certain lack of familiarity with the sources, and on the other hand, even if one were convinced that Epiphanius brings "accuracy" to his attestation, no reference to "omissions" occur in either the scholion or the elenchus here. Based simply on the attestation of Tertullian and Epiphanius greater nuance is required concerning the reading of Luke 24:39 in Marcion's text.

265 Though in context Epiphanius had just referred to John 20:19, there is no mention of either "bones" or "flesh" in John 20:20. The point is that when Epiphanius imports elements from the Lukan account, he only mentions the bones.

266 In *Ancor*. 91.6 and *Pan*. 77.9.5, however, Epiphanius also wrote the Lukan phrase.

CHAPTER 7

The *Adamantius Dialogue* as a Source

The previous three chapters have considered the testimony of the two most important sources for Marcion's Gospel, Tertullian and Epiphanius. As already noted in chapter 3, the third major source for this text is the *Adamantius Dialogue*. In the ensuing chapter a variety of issues related to this text are first considered, followed by a discussion of the verses relevant for the reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel found in the *Adamantius Dialogue*.

7.1 Advances in Understanding the *Adamantius Dialogue*

The so-called *Adamantius Dialogue* (Περὶ τῆς εἰς θεὸν ὀρθῆς πίστεως or *De recta in deum fide*)[1] is a five-part dialogue between the "orthodox" Adamantius and several opponents (the first two, Megethius and Marcus, are Marcionites),[2] with the debate adjudicated by the "impartial" pagan Eutropius, who, unsurprisingly, declares Adamantius the winner of each individual debate and at the conclusion of the text declares Adamantius the champion. In his final speech, Eutropius affirms that all those who have turned away from the *ecclesia catholica* have turned away from the truth.[3] Many of the most relevant issues related to this text are helpfully discussed in the recent monograph by Kenji Tsutsui. In this work he provides an outstanding introduction to the history of research,

1 Though the original title of this document is unknown, the text appears to have been handed down initially as a writing of Origen (Adamantius). Pretty mentions three Greek manuscripts of the text (D, E, and G) with the title "A Dialogue of Origin against the Marcionites" and notes that the Latin translation by Rufinus, whether by his own hand or a later copyist, is introduced by *Incipiunt libri Adamantii Origenis adversus haereticos numero quinque translati Rufino presbytero et missi Paulo* (*Adamantius*, 1–2). Cf. also Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 197.

2 In Books 3–5 the opponents are a Bardesanite and Valentinians. For a brief overview of the opponents in the dialogue, cf. Pretty (trans.), *Adamantius*, 6–8.

3 Though this conclusion is readily predictable, throughout the entire course of the dialogue Eutropius reveals himself to be anything but an impartial observer. As Pretty observed, "time and again the adjudicator seems to be partial to the Catholic debater" (*Adamantius*, 56n87). Even the text itself recognizes this point as, in the very first debate, Adamantius's opponent Megethius scornfully comments to Eutropius ὡς φαίνεται, οὐ δικαστὴς εἶ, ἀλλ᾽ ἀντίδικος (*Adam.* 30,13 [1.13]).

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sources, structure, and evaluation of the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Several of the most important conclusions found therein, along with those found in Schmid's work, will be highlighted below.[4]

For the critical text of the *Adamantius Dialogue*, when considering all five books contained in this work, one must still rely on the 1901 edition by W.H. van de Sande Bakhuyzen.[5] For the text of books one and two, however, Tsutsui has offered a new edition of the text.[6] For the Latin translation by Rufinus, a complete new critical edition has been provided by Vinzenz Buchheit.[7] Recent commentaries providing helpful discussion of the text, or parts thereof, can be found in English (Pretty) and German (Tsutsui).[8]

When considering the *Adamantius Dialogue* as a source for Marcion's Gospel, two issues are particularly important. First, the question of the relative value of the Greek and Latin textual tradition is vital. With C.P. Caspari's discovery of the Latin translation of the dialogue in the Bibliothek zu Schlettstadt in 1876 and its publication in 1883,[9] the differences between it and the previously known Greek text led to discussion concerning the original form, date, and wording of the text. Caspari argued that the Latin translation demonstrated that the extant Greek text had become disordered, with part of book 2 having been shifted to book 5, and also that the original form of the Greek text could be found behind the Latin translation. A corollary of this view was that the original version of the dialogue should be dated to the beginning and not to the end of the fourth century C.E.[10] Zahn took up Caspari's views and provided a significantly more in-depth consideration of the issue, ultimately

4 Cf. Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 1–109 and Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 197–236.

5 Reference to this work was made in chapter 3, n. 15.

6 Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 295–345. Though not providing a detailed proof that the Greek manuscript B (Codex Venetus Marcianus gr. 496 [soll. 843]) is the archetype for all the other extant Greek manuscripts of the dialogue, Tsutsui did provide a few helpful thoughts concerning this position that is "längst bekannt und heute von niemandem ernsthaft angezweifelt" (*Auseinandersetzung*, 24, cf. 15, 23–26). Citations of the Greek text of the *Adamantius Dialogue* are taken from the Tsutsui edition for books one and two and the Bakhuyzen edition for books three through five.

7 Vinzenz Buchheit, *Tyranni Rufini librorum Adamantii Origenis Adversus haereticos interpretatio* (STA 1; Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1966). Citations of the Latin text of the *Adamantius Dialogue* are taken from this edition.

8 Cf. Pretty (trans.), *Adamantius*, 35–192 and Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 111–294.

9 Reference to this work was made in chapter 3, n. 15. Tsutsui incorrectly lists the title as "Kirchengeschichtliche Anecdota," both in his footnote reference and the bibliography (*Auseinandersetzung*, 2n5, 359).

10 Cf. Caspari, *Kirchenhistorische Anecdota*, iv.

concluding that the Latin text more faithfully preserves an original text that was written ca. 310 C.E. and that the Greek text had undergone a revision between 330 and 337 C.E.[11] Zahn retained this view in his discussion of the *Adamantius Dialogue* as a source for Marcion's Gospel.[12] Over the ensuing decades, though some individual elements of Zahn's analysis were questioned, the basic conviction concerning the relationship between the Greek and Latin versions of the dialogue remained essentially unchanged.[13] This view, however, was turned on its head by Buchheit with an article published in 1958.[14] In it, he convincingly argued that it is not the Greek text that has undergone a revision, but rather that Rufinus is responsible for the changes. Buchheit argued that Rufinus, desiring to provide further support for Origen's orthodoxy in the argument with Jerome concerning this point, took advantage of the tradition concerning the authorship of the dialogue by Origen and undertook the attempt "den Dialog in die Zeit der Verfolgungen, eben in die Zeit des Origenes, zurückzudatieren."[15] Thus, the dialogue does not belong in the age of the persecutions by the Empire, but to the post-Nicene age, and the Greek textual tradition must be taken far more seriously than the Latin.[16] Buchheit's view quickly persuaded the majority of scholars.[17] Subsequent to Buchheit, as Tsutsui has

11 Cf. Theodor Zahn, "Die Dialoge des 'Adamantius' mit den Gnostikern," *ZKG* 9 (1888): 193–239.

12 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:419–26.

13 Cf. the overview in Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 8–13.

14 Vinzenz Buchheit, "Rufinus von Aquileja als Fälscher des Adamantiosdialogs," *ByzZ* 51 (1958): 314–28. Buchheit offered the same thoughts in slight edited form in the introduction to his edition of Rufinus's text (*Tyranni Rufini*, XXXV–XXXXVIII).

15 Buchheit, "Rufinus als Fälscher," 326. Cf. also the brief comment by Bart D. Ehrman, "Rufinus reworked the dialogue by altering the places that showed it was written after Origen's day in order to use it to vindicate Origen's orthodoxy" (*Forgery and Counterforgery: The Use of Literary Deceit in Early Christian Polemics* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 49).

16 This is not to say, however, that Rufinus's Latin text is irrelevant or worthless. As Tsutsui observed, "Es steht fest, daß Rufinus ein besseres griechisches *Exemplar* vor sich hatte als wir heute, was allein schon aus Zeitgründen naheliegt [emphasis added]" (*Auseinandersetzung*, 26). This is in part evidenced through the absence of the displaced section of text, as already mentioned above. The problem remains, however, that Rufinus took great liberties with the text that he had, as well as with its translation. The Latin text, therefore, must be used with great caution, particularly concerning precise wording or textual reconstruction questions.

17 An exception is found in Timothy D. Barnes, "Methodius, Maximus, and Valentinus," *JTS* 30 (1979): 47–55 who argued that the dialogue was written by Maximus (also the "guess" of Pretty [trans.], *Adamantius*, 18–20) and "long before A.D. 300, probably close to the

pointed out, "die jüngste Phase der Untersuchung zum Adamantiosdialog hat sich aus der Beschäftigung mit dem Bibeltext Markions entwickelt."[18] This fact creates the transition to the second major issue involved in considering the *Adamantius Dialogue* as a source for Marcion's Gospel.

Given the priority of the Greek textual tradition of the dialogue over the Latin, the obvious question still remains concerning the sources utilized by the *Adamantius Dialogue*, along with the related question of the extent to which biblical citations in the text reflect the text of Marcion's Gospel. Concerning the sources for the *Adamantius Dialogue*, as noted below, the text at some points clearly claims to be citing verses from Marcion's Scriptures, including his Gospel. Zahn stated,

> Marcions Evangelium und Apostolikum versichert Adamantius wiederholt zu kennen, in der Hand zu haben und daraus vorzulesen. Er könnte ebenso gut die Antithesen vor sich gehabt haben.[19]

Harnack, however, questioned these views, contending

> Die Mitteilung vieler Antithesen Marcions, ohne daß doch jemals das Werk der Antithesen selbst genannt wird, macht es gewiß, daß er dieses Werk aus eigener Wissenschaft überhaupt nicht gekannt, ja wie es scheint, von seiner Existenz gar nichts gewußt hat.... seine Unkenntnis des Werks der Antithesen [wirft] ein schlimmes Licht auf seine Kenntnis der Marcionitischen Werke überhaupt.[20]

middle of the third century" (Barnes, "Methodius," 53). This view has been effectively refuted by Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 203–5 and Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 47. Moll also makes reference to Barnes rejecting Buchheit's view, though precedes it with the comment "this [Buchheit's] insight has been accepted by many scholars since, ... with the exception of Robert Pretty, who, in his English translation of the Dialogue ... did not even mention this important article" (*Arch-Heretic*, 53n36). Moll is technically correct, however, he does not relate that Pretty's translation and commentary, which appeared posthumously in 1997, was actually completed in the early 1960s as a doctoral dissertation (Pretty [trans.], *Adamantius*, XII, XX). Though Buchheit's work did appear just prior to Pretty's work and should therefore perhaps have been considered in it, a project completed in the early 1960s as opposed to the late 1990s does provide some context for the work reflecting an earlier stage in scholarship on this text.

18 Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 19.

19 Zahn, "Die Dialoge," 234.

20 Harnack, *Marcion*, 59*.

Schmid approaches the issue from a slightly different angle. Given the later dating for the dialogue and the significant amount of material in books three through five that is nearly verbatim or actually verbatim with Methodius's περὶ τοῦ αὐτεξουσίου (*De autexusio*) and περὶ ἀναστάσεως (*De resurrectione*), Schmid sees an "umfängliche Abhängigkeit des Verfassers von Methodius' Schriften."[21] He then argues by analogy:

> Dieser Umstand wirft nun aber auch ein bezeichendes Licht auf den Quellenwert der Schrift insgesamt, denn es steht zu vermuten, daß der Verfasser auch für den ersten Teil des Dial., in dem sich ja die Diskussion mit den Marcioniten findet, eine durch andere Quellen vermittelte Kenntnis der marcionistischen Argumente und Bibelstellen hatte. Ist diese Annahme richtig, dann hatte der Verfasser trotz gegenteiliger Behauptungen vermutlich *keine* marcionitische Bibel in Händen.[22]

Tsutsui provided several text internal arguments for seeing source material used in books one and two of the *Adamantius Dialogue* and concludes that the author used one source for both books. This one source, though having been modified and expanded in the early third century, ultimately dates to "die Zeit von Irenäus und Tertullianus, spätestens von Origenes."[23] There has, thus, been a clear shift away from seeing the *Adamantius Dialogue* as directly interacting with Marcion's biblical texts and towards the view that he is solely dependent on (an) anti-Marcionite source(s). Though I am skeptical that the precise identification or even the number of sources can definitively be identified,[24] the question of greater interest and relevance here concerns the extent to which

21 Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 207. For a comprehensive discussion of the *Adamantius Dialogue*'s use of Methodius as a source, cf. Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 44–65.

22 Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 207.

23 Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 91–92.

24 Cf. also the helpful and somewhat critical thoughts in Sebastian Moll, review of Kenji Tsutsui, *Die Auseinandersetzung mit den Markioniten im Adamantios-Dialog. Ein Kommentar zu den Büchern I–II*, *ZAC* 14 (2010): 451–53, esp. 452. On the issue of the sources used by the *Adamantius Dialogue* in books one and two, Moll, in my estimation rightly, concludes "Ob der Verfasser des Dialogs bei seinem schriftstellerischen Wirken aber nun aus einer oder mehreren Quellen geschöpft hat, ist heute nicht mehr auszumachen" (ibid., 452). Problematic in a completely different sense was Zahn's view that the citations in book 1 of the dialogue, apart from a reference to Luke 8:30, "keinen Anspruch darauf haben, aus Mrc.'s Bibel herzustamment" whereas "[es sich] sehr anders verhält mit dem 2. Buch" (*Geschichte*, 2:422). The attestation in these two books simply does not allow for

biblical citations in the *Adamantius Dialogue*, regardless of their source or sources, reflect Marcion's Gospel. This question is best addressed through specific considerations under the following headings and sub-headings.

7.2 The *Adamantius Dialogue*'s Testimony Concerning Marcion's Gospel

Before considering actual citations in the *Adamantius Dialogue* it is important to note the insights provided by recent scholarship on this text concerning its usefulness as a source for Marcion's Gospel. It must be admitted that the general trend is not encouraging in terms of this text as a source for the actual readings found in Marcion's Scriptures. First, there are the observations of those who have worked on critical editions of the text. In his introduction to the Latin critical edition, Buchheit drew attention to "ein bisher ungeklärtes, aber für die Herstellung und Beurteilung der Markion-Bible sehr wichtiges Problem: Welche Glaubwürdigkeit verdient Rufin als Übersetzer der Bibelzitate in unserem Dialog?"[25] In order to answer this question, Buchheit considered the citations of Genesis, Ephesians, and Romans in the dialogue.[26] The results of his survey are that

> Ruf. kürzt nicht nur oder erweitert, läßt nicht nur Zitate aus oder ergänzt solche. Er übersetzt im heutigen Sinne überhaupt nicht. Er paßt sich zwar manchmal, keineswegs regelmäßig, ungefähr dem griech. Text an,

general, or perhaps even simplistic, classification in terms of the reliability of their being derived from Marcion's Scriptures.

25 Buchheit, *Tyranni Rufini*, XII.

26 These books were chosen because of the availability of data concerning Latin readings from *Vetus Latina* volumes or the preparation thereof. His analysis of citations drawn from these three books is found in Buchheit, *Tyranni Rufini*, XIV–XXVII. In his earlier article, after highlighting multiple problems with the manner in which Rufinus translated the dialogue in general, Buchheit specifically pointed out "Selbst beim Übersetzten der Schriftzitate ist Rufin nicht anders verfahren" and provided the summary analysis: "Von den 178 im griechischen Text verwendeten Zitaten aus dem NT sind von Rufin 42 stark erweitert, 7 erheblich gekürzt, 40 leicht verändert, 5 durch Paraphrase wiedergeben, 18 ausgelassen und nur 66 wörtlich übertragen, bzw. aus bereits vorhandenen Übersetzungen übernommen worden. Von diesen 66 Zitaten sind aber 41 von so geringem Text, daß ihre wörtliche Übertragung selbstverständlich ist" ("Rufinus als Fälscher," 326.).

> doch so, daß er einen lat. Text einfügt, den er auch sonst verwendet hat, oder der seiner Zeit geläufig war.[27]

As it relates to the question of reconstructing Marcion's text, therefore, "scheidet Ruf. von vornherein für die Rekonstruktion der Markionbibel aus."[28] In his above-mentioned work containing a new edition of the Greek text of the first two books of the dialogue, Tsutsui writes that he is under the impression that the views and exegesis attributed to the Marcionites in the *Adamantius Dialogue* are "echt" in the sense that they can be traced back to the original underlying source. At the same time, however, he is quick to add "Der Adamantiosdialog ist allerdings kein zuverlässiger Zeuge für den Text der Bibel Marcions. Der Umgang mit dem Bibel text ist sehr frei."[29]

A second avenue for insight into the question surrounding the *Adamantius Dialogue* as a source for Marcionite readings is through the work that has been done on Marcion's Pauline texts. Here, Clabeaux, with specific reference to the citation of 1 Cor 15:29–42 in book 5 of the dialogue,[30] argues

> The disagreement between the Latin and Greek versions of *Dial. Adam.* in this citation serves as a stern warning to those who would accept uncritically the testimony of Adamantius. The text of the *Dialogue* is so unsettled that conclusions about Marcionite variants which are based on this evidence alone are unsound.[31]

Schmid, for his part, refers to a "desaströse Quellenkenntnis, die der Dial. spiegelt."[32] After examining 34 Pauline citations,[33] Schmid summarizes that

27 Buchheit, *Tyranni Rufini*, XXVIII–XXIX.

28 Ibid. After considering further citations purportedly from Marcion's text of Galatians, Ephesians (*sic*), and Romans, Buchheit reiterated, "Ruf. hat bei der Übersetzung des Dialogs keine lat. Bibel Markions verwendet. Er scheidet daher als Zeuge für die Rekonstruktion dieser Bibel aus" (ibid., XXXV).

29 Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 92.

30 Cf. Clabeaux, *Lost Edition*, 58–59. Here Clabeaux notes that there are 13 variants from the Nestle(-Aland) text in the Greek, all of which are singular readings. The Latin reflects only three of these variants and also extends the citation through v. 44a instead of ending at 42a.

31 Clabeaux, *Lost Edition*, 58–59.

32 Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 209.

33 Cf. Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 210–35.

> der Vergleich der Dial.-Zitate mit den Zeugnissen von Tertullian und Epiphanius [zeigt], daß die Pauluszitate des Dial. aufs Ganze gesehen eine relativ große Ferne zum marcionitischen Text aufweisen.[34]

Furthermore, apart from the comparison with Tertullian and Epiphanius, he was not able to find any other positive criteria for distinguishing between Marcionite and non-Marcionite readings in the *Adamantius Dialogue*; discovered multiple readings evidencing omissions, rearranging, and combining multiple passages; saw indications that in general the precise wording was irrelevant with some indication that the author, whether consciously or unconsciously, shaped some verses in a Marcionite direction; and noted that these phenomena, with only a few exceptions, are found throughout the dialogue.[35] Schmid's final statement is

> Alles in allem kann der Dial. als selbständige Quelle für den marcionitischen Text m.E. nicht methodisch kontrolliert ausgewertet werden und ist daher für diesen Zweck auszuscheiden (Ausnahme: sicher etablierbare Übereinstimmungen mit Tertullian oder Epiphanius).[36]

It is abundantly clear that on the basis of the examinations undertaken by these four scholars, the *Adamantius Dialogue* must be viewed rather skeptically concerning its value as a source for Marcion's Gospel. Nevertheless, the issue, on the one hand, cannot be settled simply through an argument by analogy and, on the other hand, the testimony of the *Adamantius Dialogue* must in any case be compared with that of the other sources. For this reason, attention must now be given to the specific issue of the *Adamantius Dialogue*'s attestation of Marcion's Gospel.

7.2.1 *References to "Gospel(s)" in the* Adamantius Dialogue

A difficulty merely on the terminological level is that the text of the *Adamantius Dialogue* includes a variety of referents for the term εὐαγγέλιον. For example, the plural "Gospels" is used in contexts where the multiple Gospels used by Adamantius and his church are contested by the Marcionite Megethius (cf. *Adam.* 8,23.25.33 [1.5]; 10,34 [1.6]; 14,2 [1.7]).[37] When a single "Gospel" is mentioned, at times it is explicitly identified. For instance, in response to

34 Ibid., 236.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

37 Cf. also Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 128.

Adamantius citing a passage from John to make a point, where Megethius protests that this is not written ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρω εὐαγγελιῳ (*Adam.* 36,17 [1.17]). Adamantius then offers a quotation from Luke noting that the point in contention can also be established with a passage κατὰ σέ (*Adam.* 36,21 [1.17]). Here, clearly, the "Gospel" in question is Marcion's Gospel.[38] In *Adam.* 200,21–22 (5.14), Adamantius states that since Megethius is present he will read from "the Gospel" accepted by the Marcionites. There are also clear instances where "the Gospel" is Matthew, as in the reference to the fulfillment of Zech 9:9 in Matt 21:7 (*Adam.* 48,21 [1.25]) or John, as when Adamantius petitions Eutropius to request the Gospel to be read leading to a reading of John 13:34. At the same time, however, there are passages that are less clear as when Adamantius refers to a citation from Luke 11:11–13//Matt 7:9–11 as ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίω (*Adam.* 110,3–6 [2.20]). Though, as discussed below, this may indicate an intention to cite from Marcion's Gospel, certainty is not possible. In sum, Tsutsui rightly notes the terminological ambiguity with the observation,

> Der Singular τὸ εὐαγγέλιον kann sowohl das 'eine' Evangelium Markions wie auch das Evangelium im allgemein üblichen Sinne entweder der 'frohen Botschaft' oder der Schrift, die diese beinhaltet, bedeuten.[39]

This ambiguity often results in some level of uncertainty concerning whether or not the text is claiming to offer a reading from Marcion's Gospel.

7.2.2 *Statistical Analysis of the* **Adamantius Dialogue***'s Testimony*

By my count there are 75 verses in the *Adamantius Dialogue* that need to be considered as possibly witnessing Marcion's Gospel,[40] with most, but not all, of these verses being found in contexts where the debate is explicitly taking place with Marcionites. In the ensuing analysis these verses are discussed and

38 Exchanges also take place concerning the *Apostolikon*. Adamantius and Megethius have an interaction in which Megethius indicates that he does not believe in Adamantius's φάλσῳ ἀποστολικῷ to which Adamantius replies προένεγκε τὸ ἀποστολικόν σου, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα περικεκομμένον ἐστί (*Adam.* 10,19–21 [1.5]). In book 2 Adamantius and Markus have a discussion concerning the "legitimate" scriptural basis for arguments from the Pauline letter collection. Adamantius asks Markus τῷ ἀποστόλω πειθῃ; to which Markus replies τῷ ἐμῷ ἀποστολικῷ πείθομαι. Adamantius then states ἔχω τὸ ἀποστολικόν σου καὶ ἀναγινώσκω (*Adam.* 66,8–10 [2.5]).

39 Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 128–29.

40 The difficulty of ascertaining whether a citation arose from Marcion's Gospel was noted above and the challenges of evaluating a citation of a synoptic passage were already noted by Harnack, *Marcion*, 181*.

considered specifically in terms of their value in the endeavor to reconstruct the text and readings of Marcion's Gospel.

7.3 The *Adamantius Dialogue*'s Citations and Citation Habits

Harnack's skepticism concerning the *Adamantius Dialogue*'s knowledge of the actual Marcionite biblical text, along with his skepticism of other elements in Zahn's view of the dialogue, were already noted above. Concerning Marcion's Gospel in particular, Harnack noted,

> Daß sein [the *Dialogue*'s] Zeugnis in der Regel von geringerem Belang ist als das des Tert. und Epiphanius, gilt auch hier [concerning Marcion's Gospel], da er nicht aus M. selbst, sondern aus Gegenschriften geschöpft hat; auch bleibt es an mehreren Stellen unsicher, ob sie überhaupt aus M.s Evang. stammen.... Daß der Grundtext und die lateinische Übersetzung Rufins öfters erheblich auseinandergehen, erhöht noch die Schwierigkeiten der Verwertung.[41]

At points he expressed a similar sentiment in the apparatus to the reconstructed text as in, e.g., his comments on Luke 9:18–21: "Im allgemeinen muß man sich aber auch erinnern, daß dei Zitate im Dial. nicht dieselbe Sicherheit bieten wie die bei Tert. und auch bei Epiphan."[42] At the same time, however, there is some evidence that a particularly critical assessment of the dialogue did not carry over into Harnack's actual use of the text in his reconstruction as evidenced by his tending to include, rather liberally, data from the Dialogue in his reconstruction.[43] The inconsistency concerning the use of Rufinus's Latin text of the *Adamantius Dialogue* was also observed by Buchheit who, after citing Harnack's observations concerning the necessity of carefully considering whether or not a citation in the *Adamantius Dialogue* is drawn from the Marcionite bible or not, observed,

> Das Erstaunliche ist nun, daß Harnack trotz dieser methodisch guten Ausgangsbasis bei der Rekonstruktion der Markionbibel sich der

41 Harnack, *Marcion*, 181*.

42 Ibid., 201*.

43 To take simply one example, Harnack reconstructed Luke 24:37 based on the citation by Adamantius in *Adam.* 198,17–18 (5.12) in a discussion with Marinus (identified as a follower of Bardesanes). Adamantius simply gives no indication that he is using Marcion's text here.

> Übersetzung Rufins in einer so großzügigen Weise bediente, daß ernsteste Bendenken an seiner Methode auftreten.[44]

In addition, Tsutsui's statement concerning the immense freedom that the *Adamantius Dialogue* takes when referring to biblical passages was already cited above and Clabeaux makes essentially the same observation: "Another severe drawback of *Dial. Adam*. is a general tendency for looseness in New Testament citations."[45] This freedom or looseness is demonstrated in a number of passages to which Tsutsui makes reference,[46] and can also be seen at several points in the discussion below.[47]

Finally, it is important to point out that all of the problematic elements observed by Schmid in his study of Marcion's *Apostolikon* involving omissions, rearrangement of verse elements, amalgamating elements from multiple verses, and at times revealing general disinterest in the precise wording of "quotations" can also be found in the citations involving Gospel texts. An additional challenge here, however, is that the tendency towards or harmonizing influence of Matthean readings is also readily apparent. Indeed, Tsutsui points out, "Daß die Markioniten häufiger aus dem Matthäusevangelium zitieren als aus dem Lukasevangelium, spricht ebenfalls gegen die Zuverlässigkeit des Dialogs."[48] Regardless of whether the inclination to Matthean readings is due to the author of the *Adamantius Dialogue* or involved harmonizations that had already taken place in his source,[49] the end result is that the citations in the *Adamantius Dialogue* are often some distance removed from the wording of Marcion's Gospel. Lieu's statement already quoted in regards to Epiphanius can be repeated here as it relates to this problem in the *Adamantius Dialogue*:

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44 Buchheit, *Tyranni Rufini*, XIII.

45 Clabeaux, *Lost Edition*, 58. Even Zahn, though placing significant confidence in the longer citations in book two of the *Adamantius Dialogue*, recognized that shorter passages may have been cited by memory and that the possibility must be kept in mind that "der Verfasser der Dialoge … manchmal seine Erinnerung an den katholischen Test auf die Citate auch des 2. Buchs hat einwirken lassen" (*Geschichte*, 2:425).

46 Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 92, 92n28 refers the reader to the following examples: *Adam*. 38,13–15 (1.18); 48,10–28 (1.25); 22,6 (1.10); 24,2 (1.10); 26,28 (1.12); 28, 6–8.8–10.22.30 (1.12–13); 32,24–26 (1.16); 38,10–12 (1.18); 40,5.7–10.27 (1.20–21); 44,18–19 (1.23); 50,20–21 (1.26); 66,31–32 (2.5); 94,6 (2.18); 102,6–11 (2.19).

47 Cf., as one of several examples, 6.4.2 below.

48 Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 92.

49 The latter position is embraced by Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 92 who refers to "a 'Matthäisierung' der Grund-Quellenschrift … die im Laufe der Überlieferungs- und Überarbeitungsgeschichte stattgefunden haben dürfte."

> There is a marked tendency in patristic citation for Matthew to influence quotations of Luke (or Mark), and this is more generally evident in both Epiphanius and *Adamantius*.[50]

In my view, therefore, Schmid's view concerning the *Adamantius Dialogue* as a source for readings in Marcion's Pauline letter collection holds true for the *Adamantius Dialogue* as a source for readings in Marcion's Gospel, i.e., the *Adamantius Dialogue* can only function as a secured source for Marcion's Gospel in conjunction with the evidence from other sources. In other instances readings can be assigned only the possibility, or at most a slight probability, of reflecting Marcion's Gospel.

7.4 The *Adamantius Dialogue* as a Source

In the ensuing analysis of the testimony of the *Adamantius Dialogue*, as has been the case in chapters 4–6, other sources for passages are mentioned at relevant points. Comparison is also made with the testimony of Tertullian and Epiphanius as analyzed in the foregoing chapters.

7.4.1 *Luke 3:1; 4:31*

64,14–15 (2.3)[51]—[Mark.] Καθὼς περιέχει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὅτι ἐπι Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, ἐπι τῶν χρόνων Πιλάτου. | *Sicut scriptum est in evangelio, anno quinto decimo Tiberii Caesaris, temporibus Pilati.* | 98,2–3 (2.18)—[Ad.] … καὶ πότε ἐπηγγείλατο ὁ μηδέποτε φανεὶς πρὸ τῶν Τιβερίου Καίσαρος χρόνων; … | … *Et quando promisit, qui nunquam apparvit ante tempora Tiberii Caesaris*? … | 102,22–23 (2.19)—[Ad.] … οὔτε ἄγνωστος ἦν, οὔτε τότε πρῶτον, ὥς φασιν, ἐπὶ Τιβερίου κατελθὼν ἐφάνη ἐν Καφαρναούμ.… | … *neque ignotus est, neque, ut dicunt, temporibus Tiberii primo manifestatus est in Cafarnaiim*.…

Elements of Luke 3:1 are also attested by Tertullian, Epiphanius, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Origen, and (Pseudo-)Ephrem and of 4:31 by Tertullian, Irenaeus, Origen, Hippolytus, and possibly an anonymous Syriac manuscript. For 3:1, in response to the query by Adamantius concerning when Christ descended to save humanity, Markus responded with a reference to the statement in "the Gospel" ἐπι Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, ἐπι τῶν χρόνων Πιλάτου. The statement confirms

50 Lieu, "Marcion and the Synoptic Problem," 737.

51 For the references to the *Adamantius Dialogue*, *Adam.* is not repeated in front of references to the relevant locations in the editions of Bakhuyzen and Caspari (cf. chapter 3, n. 15).

the reference to the rule of Τιβερίου Καίσαρος by Tertullian and Epiphanius, though only Rufinus's Latin also provides the year, an element likely here drawn from the canonical text.[52] Markus also adds a reference to ἐπι τῶν χρόνων Πιλάτου. In 98,2–3 (2.18) Adamantius speaks of the "time" of Tiberius Caesar, revealing that the language including a reference to the χρόνος of a ruler may be due to the author of the dialogue.[53] Finally, in 102,22–23 (2.19), and with reference to a Marcionite claim (ὥς φασιν), Adamantius once again refers to Christ coming down and appearing under Tiberius in Capernaum. With this statement, the *Adamantius Dialogue* seems to confirm Tertullian's order (3:1 followed by 4:31) and also attests the verb κατῆλθεν and the location Καφαρναοὺμ found in Tertullian for v. 31. In addition, the ἐφάνη that Tertullian attested as a verb used "at another place" also appears in this context in the *Adamantius Dialogue*.

7.4.2 *Luke 5:36, 38*

90,5–9 (2.16)—[Mark.] [follows citation of John 13:34] … λέγει γὰρ πάλιν ὁ σωτήρ βάλλουσιν οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς νέους καὶ ἀμφότεροι συντηροῦνται. … πάλιν γὰρ λέγει ὁ σωτήρ οὐδεὶς ἐπιβάλλει ἐπίβλημα ῥάκους ἀγνάφου ἱματίῳ παλαιῷ. … | … *Dicit enim salvator quia Si mittatur vinum novum in utres novos, utraque conservabuntur. … Et iterum: Nemo assuit assumentum panni rudis ad vestimentum vetus.* … | 90,22–23 (2.16)—[Mark.] … οὐδεὶς γάρ, φησίν, ἐπιβάλλει ἀπὸ ῥάκους ἀγνάφου ἐπὶ ἱματίῳ παλαιῷ. | … *Nemo enim, inquit, assuit pannum rudem ad vestimentum vetus.*

The parable found in 5:36–38 is also attested in Tertullian, Epiphanius, Philastrius, and Ephrem. In the *Adamantius Dialogue*, the comments by Markus in which the first citations of verses from this parable are found is rather curiously introduced with a citation from John 13:34, which immediately places the fidelity with which Markus is presenting texts from Marcion's Scripture in question.[54] At the same time, however, the parable that follows clearly factored prominently in Marcion's text and thought.[55] The order of the

52 *Contra* Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:422n4, 455 who, not surprisingly in the light of his esteem for the translation by Rufinus, saw greater precision in the Latin text.

53 It is worth noting that the reconstructions of Zahn, Harnack, and Tsutsui do not mention this passage in the *Adamantius Dialogue*.

54 Concerning the use of this verse, Tsutsui observes, "Eine häretisch-polemische Interpretation von John 13,34 ist sonst m.W. weder bei Markioniten noch bei anderen Sekten belegt" (*Auseinandersetzung*, 256)

55 Harnack referred to the parable as one of the "vier Haupstellen für Marcions Lehre" (*Marcion*, 261*).

elements as presented here is once again "wine" and then "patch," reflecting the order already seen in Tertullian and Epiphanius. Yet, the references are clearly related to the Matthean wording in Matt 9:16–17, and the parallel to the elements from Matt 9:17 cited here (βάλλουσιν οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς νέους καὶ ἀμφότεροι συντηροῦνται) is not found in Luke 5:37 (attested in Tertullian and Epiphanius), but rather in 5:38. Positing this reading for Marcion's Gospel would be tenuous. Furthermore, Markus twice refers to Luke 5:36, again drawing heavily on the Matthean wording (9:16). The differences between these two "citations" are a clear indication of the imprecise nature of the references in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Though both of these references also contain the phrase ἐπίβλημα ῥάκους ἀγνάφου likely attested by Tertullian and Epiphanius, it is difficult to see corroborating evidence in the *Adamantius Dialogue* as the citations here are essentially reproducing Matthean wording.

7.4.3 *Luke 6:8*

36,14 (1.17)—[Meg.] … ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς καὶ τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ᾔδειν. | … *Christus autem etiam cogitationes hominum noverat.*

In an antithesis introduced with a reference to Gen 3:9, Megethius makes reference to Christ knowing the thoughts of men. Tsutsui notes that the wording here is closest to Luke 6:8; however, also rightly observes that there are several other instances where a similar sentiment can be found (cf., e.g., Luke 5:22; 9:47).[56] Neither Zahn nor Harnack make reference to this passage in the *Adamantius Dialogue* in their discussions of 6:8,[57] and Tsutsui, in his reconstruction, explicitly indicated that the verse was "unattested." In any case, its attestation is clearly uncertain.

7.4.4 *Luke 6:27–28*

26,19–21 (1.12)—[Meg.] … ὁ δὲ κύριος ἡμῶν, ἀγαθὸς ὤν, λέγει ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ εὔχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς. | … *Noster autem bonus dominus dicit: Diligite inimicos vestros, et orate pro eis persecuntur vos.* | 30,28 (1.14)—[Ad.] … ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν … | … *Diligite inimicos vestros* … | 88,26 (2.15)—[Ad.] … ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, ὑπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος λεγόμενον οὐκ ἔστι ξένον … | … *Diligite inimicos vestros, nec hoc novum est*, …

Luke 6:27–28 is also attested by Tertullian. For these verses, Megethius once again brings them up in an antithesis. The citation is drawn from Matt 5:44 (cf. εὔχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς), though both Luke 6:27 and Matt 5:44 contain the phrase ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν. This latter element is also the only element repeated by Adamantius at two later points in the dialogue. It is not

56 Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 178.

57 Cf. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:460 and Harnack, *Marcion*, 190*.

surprising that this pithy statement appears verbatim in all three instances. The offering of prayer for those who persecute you (Matt 5:44) contradicts Tertullian's attestation of the Lukan prayer for those who abuse you. The Matthean reading here should be rejected for Marcion's text.[58]

7.4.5 *Luke 6:29*

32,4–6 (1.15)—[Meg.] … ὁ δὲ κύριος, ἀγαθὸς ὤν, λέγει ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ἐάν τίς σε ῥαπίσῃ εἰς τὴν σιαγόνα, παράθες αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην. | … *Dominus autem, qui bonus est, dicit in evangelio: Si quis te percusserit in dexteram maxillam, praebe ei et alteram.* | 38,2–3 (1.18)—[Meg.] … ὁ δὲ ἀγαθὸς κύριος λέγει ἐάν τίς σου ἄρῃ τὸ ἱμάτιον, πρόσθες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα; | … *bonus autem dominus dicit: Si tibi quis aufert tunicam, da ei et pallium?* | 38,8 (1.18) [Ad.] … ἐάν τίς σου ἄρῃ τὸ ἱμάτιον … | *Si quis sustulerit tibi vestimentum …*

Luke 6:29 is also attested by Tertullian. In the *Adamantius Dialogue*, v. 29a and v. 29b are attested in two antitheses. In the first of these, Megethius cites Luke 6:29a, though heavily influenced by Matt 5:39. This influence is even more apparent in the Latin where Rufinus added *dexteram* to the citation, essentially simply quoting the Matthean text. In the final element of 6:29a, an element to which Tertullian alluded, the *Adamantius Dialogue*'s use of παράθες is unattested for either Luke or Matthew and likely is due to the author of the dialogue.[59] Having already seen the influence of Matthew in only the few texts from the *Adamantius Dialogue* considered thus far, and given the general inaccuracy of citations in the *Adamantius Dialogue*, significant hesitation concerning the accuracy of the *Adamantius Dialogue*'s reading is called for and Harnack's reconstruction ἐάν τίς σε ῥαπίσῃ εἰς τὴν σιαγόνα, παράθες (πρόσθες?) αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην,[60] following the wording here, should be questioned.

The attestation of Luke 6:29b is closer to the Lukan version in the Greek text of the *Adamantius Dialogue* with its use of the verb αἴρω and the order ἱμάτιον/χιτών. Only the verb προστίθημι, used neither in Matthew nor in Luke, tends more towards the sense of Matt 5:40 (ἄφες αὐτω).[61] Rufinus, however, is once again much closer to the Matthean version. Not only does he have the Matthean

58 Harnack, *Marcion*, 193* simply noted that the reading here is "nach Matth." and ignored it for his reconstruction. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:461 referred to the citations listed here as "nicht marcionitisch."

59 No other witnesses for this reading are listed in IGNTP for Luke or in Tischendorf and von Soden for Matthew.

60 Harnack, *Marcion*, 193*. Concerning the suggested reading πρόσθες, cf. the comments in the discussion of Tertullian in chapter 4, n. 98.

61 Concerning the wording here, Pretty, after noting the reference to Luke 6:29 and Matt 5:40, stated "Not an exact quotation, however" (*Adamantius*, 61n116).

order (*tunica/pallium*), the use of *auffere* reflects the reading in k at Matt 5:40 and the use of *dare* is closer to the Matthean sentiment (the OL utilizes either *dimittere* or *remittere*). Further indicating the imprecision of Rufinus as unreliable is his variant translation of the same Greek wording only a few lines later in the speech by Adamantius. Yet, because Tertullian also attested the Matthean order of the coat and cloak, Harnack believed that "der Rufintext vorzuziehen [ist]."[62] As discussed in chapter 4.4.14, however, Tertullian's testimony may have been influenced by his own citation habits and the Matthean inclination of Rufinus serves to place his variation from the Greek text under significant doubt concerning its attestation of Marcion's Gospel. It is extremely difficult to envision a methodologically controlled manner in which Rufinus can be seen as supporting Tertullian. In sum, it is rather significant to note that without the clearly Matthean readings in the *Adamantius Dialogue* there is far less reason to see "einen aus Luk. und Matth. gemischten Text" here, even if such harmonization remains possible.[63]

7.4.6 *Luke 6:38*

32,16–18 (1.15)—[Ad.] … ἄκουε τοῦ εὐαγγελίου λέγοντος ᾧ μετρεῖτε μέτρῳ ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν. … | … *audi et in evangelio quid dicit: Qua mensura metieritis, eadem remetietur vobis*. … | 66,32–33 (2.5)—[Ad.] … ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν, … | … *Qua mensura mensi fueritis, eadem remetietur vobis*, …

The final words of Luke 6:38, also attested by Tertullian, are cited in two locations in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. As rightly noted by Tsutsui, since the comments immediately following the citation in 32,17 (1.15) refer to a clear citation of Matt 10:33 as being found in "the same Gospel," the implication is that this citation is taken from Matt 7:2 and not Luke 6:38.[64] Interestingly, the Lukan ἀντιμετρηθήσεται (though this verb is also attested in some manuscripts of Matthew, including N, Θ, and *f*[13]) is found here as is the same otherwise unattested word order seen in Tertullian (ᾧ μετρεῖτε μέτρῳ). It is unlikely, however, that the *Adamantius Dialogue* is here confirming Tertullian's word order, even if the reverse order is found in 66,32–33 (2.5).[65]

62 Harnack, *Marcion*, 193*. The same view is expressed by Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 84.

63 Harnack, *Marcion*, 193*.

64 Cf. Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 172.

65 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:462 only viewed the citation in book 2 to be relevant, per his usual practice (cf. n. 24 above).

7.4.7 *Luke 6:43*

56,14–16 (1.28)—[Meg.] Καθὼς λέγει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον οὐ δύναται δένδρον σαπρὸν καρποὺς καλοὺς ἐνεγκεῖν, οὐδὲ δένδρον καλὸν καρποὺς κακοὺς ἐνέγκαι, … | *Sicut in evangelio dicit: Non potest arbor mala bonos fructus facere, neque arbor bona malos fructus facere.* … | 58,11–13 (1.28)—[Meg.] … οὐ δύναται δένδρον σαπρὸν καρποὺς καλοὺς προενεγκεῖν,[66] οὐδὲ δένδρον καλὸν καρποὺς σαπροὺς προενέγκαι.[67] | … *Non potest arbor mala bonos fructus affere, neque arbor bona malos fructus afferre.* | 58,15–16 (1.28)—[Ad.] … καὶ εἰ περὶ φύσεων ἔλεγεν, οὐκ ἂν καρποὺς ὠνόμασεν· … | … *Si enim de natura dixisset, non utique fructus nominasset* …

This verse is also attested by Tertullian, Hippolytus, Origen, Pseudo-Tertullian, and Philastrius. The two references to this verse by Megethius are quite clearly to the parallel Matt 7:18,[68] though with the ordering of the elements in an otherwise unattested order "rotten tree" and then "good tree." In addition, the two citations differ in the verbs used to express the "bearing" of good or bad fruit (with the latter reference also having variant readings in the manuscripts of the *Adamantius Dialogue*) as well as different adjectives for the bad/ rotten fruit (καρποὺς κακούς/ καρποὺς σαπρούς). Significantly, neither the variant word order or the Matthean plural καρπούς are attested by Tertullian.[69] Though Harnack recognized that the *Adamantius Dialogue* is the only witness for this order, he nevertheless contended that this reversed order was found in Marcion's Gospel since "die … Umstellung für M. verständlich [ist], weil ihm … der schlechte Baum das Gesetz, resp. der Weltschöpfer ist."[70] Tsutsui questioned this view on the basis of the unanimous attestation of the other sources,[71] to which I would add that it is somewhat precarious to base one's argument for Marcion's reading on a supposed theological reordering of the elements. It seems more likely that the *Adamantius Dialogue*, as is so often the case, simply contains an inaccuracy.[72] In addition, both Zahn and Harnack's contention that Tertullian and the *Adamantius Dialogue* agree concerning the use of the verb προφέρω (προσφέρω) not only ignores the variation within the *Adamantius Dialogue*, but also assumes that the Greek behind Tertullian's

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66 The corrector of B and Bakhuyzen read προενεγκεῖν. B* reads προσενεγκεῖν.

67 Bakhuyzen reads προενέγκαι. B reads προσενέγκαι.

68 Cf. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:463, who viewed the two citations here as irrelevant "weil dem 1. Buch angehörig" but also added that in both instances Matt 7:18 is cited.

69 The plural of "fruit" is also used in the comment by Adamantius in response to Megethius.

70 Harnack, *Marcion*, 195*.

71 Cf. Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 85 and chapter 8.8.

72 Tsutsui offered the possible, but by no means necessary, suggestion: "Adamantius hat möglicherweise einen von Marcions Schülern revidierten Text angegeben" (ibid.).

Latin is readily apparent. Both of these positions are problematic.[73] At this point, even without taking the additional sources into account, the uncertainty surrounding the evidence in both Tertullian and the *Adamantius Dialogue* already begins to reveal why Tsutsui referred to "diesem im Wortlaut nicht mehr genau festzustellenden Vers."[74]

7.4.8 *Luke 6:45*

58,20–24 (1.28)—[Ad.] . . . ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θησαυροῦ προφέρει ἀγαθά, καὶ ὁ πονηρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ θησαυροῦ προφέρει πονηρά. ἐκ τοῦ περισσεύματος τῆς καρδίας τὸ στόμα λαλεῖ. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς καρδίας ἐξέρχονται διαλογισμοὶ πονηροί. . . . | . . . *Bonus homo de bono thesauro profert bona, et malus homo de malo thesauro profert mala. Ex abundantia enim cordis os loquitur. De corde enim procedunt cogitationes malae. . . .*

This verse is attested by Tertullian and Origen. The citation here is similar to the situation in Luke 6:38, in that Adamantius begins his statement with a reference to a demonstration of his point from "the Gospel" followed by a citation from Matthew (Matt 7:15). The following citations from Matt 12:35, 34; and 15:19 thus reveal their Matthean origin both through the context and their wording. Worth noting, however, is that the order of the elements cited with the wording from Matt 12:35, 34 is that found in Luke 6:45 and that the Lukan προφέρει is used.[75] Harnack is ultimately correct in his conclusion concerning the reconstruction of Marcion's text: "Dial. I, 28 gehört nicht hierher, da der Spruch hier nach Matth. zitiert ist (nur προφέρει stammt aus Luk.)."[76] At the same time, this statement reveals some of the methodological difficulty in Harnack's approach to and use of the *Adamantius Dialogue* in that he made no such comment concerning the citation by Adamantius of Luke 6:38 where an even more explicit reference to the Matthean origin of the verse is made.

7.4.9 *Luke 7:19*

50,12–14 (1.26)— . . . [Meg.] ἀκούσας [John] γὰρ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἔπεμψε τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγων σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ἢ ἕτερον προσδοκῶμεν; . . . | *Cum audisset in carcere positus opera Christi, mittens duos ex discipulis suis ad eum dicens: Tu es qui venturus es, an alium expectamus?* | 50, 15–16 (1.26)—[Ad.] Εἰ περὶ Χριστοῦ ἐπυνθάνετο Ἰωάννης, ἔλεξεν σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός·

73 Cf. the comments in chapter 4.4.20.

74 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 85.

75 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:463, not surprisingly, does not view the citation here as relevant.

76 Harnack, *Marcion*, 195*.

φάσκει γάρ σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ἢ ἕτερον προσδοκῶμεν; … | *Si de Christo interrogaret Iohannes, dixisset utique: Tu es Christus? Nunc autem dicit: Tu es qui venturus es?*

The question posed by the disciples of John the Baptist in Luke 7:19 is attested by Tertullian. In the *Adamantius Dialogue*, Megethius once again argues with a citation essentially drawn from Matthew (Matt 11:2–3),[77] and Adamantius repeats elements in their Matthean form (cf. ἕτερον).[78] With regard to Marcion's Gospel, Zahn simply noted "cf. Dl. 819" without further comment;[79] however, Harnack offered the observation "In Dial. I, 26 ist v. 19 nach Matth. Zitiert."[80] It is presumably for this reason that Harnack rightly followed the wording of Tertullian and reconstructed only the final element of Luke 7:19.

7.4.10 *Luke 7:27*

98,11–13 (2.18)—[Ad.] … οὗτος ἐστι περὶ οὗ γέγραπται· ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ὅς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδόν σου ἔμπροσθέν σου. | … *Hic, inquit, de quo scriptum est: Ecce mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam, qui praeparabit viam tuam ante te.*

This verse is also attested by Tertullian and Epiphanius. In the *Adamantius Dialogue* the citation of Luke 7:27 is found within a long speech by Adamantius in which he is apparently intending to refute Marcion on the basis of his own text, in particular from the *Apostolikon*. After several quotations from Paul's letters, he cites the words spoken by "the Savior" concerning John in support of the Law and Prophets having announced Christ. The citation does not contain ἐγώ, as found in the parallel Matt 11:10, thus supporting the citation of Epiphanius. For this reason, it is likely that Tertullian was being influenced by Matt 11:10 or LXX Mal 3:1 in his reference to the verse. In the verse opening, on the other hand, the *Adamantius Dialogue* reads οὗτος whereas Epiphanius reads αὐτός. Though both Zahn and Harnack reconstructed the latter reading,[81] as noted in chapter 6.4.13, the otherwise unattested word may simply be due to imprecision on the part of Epiphanius. For the remainder of the wording cited by Epiphanius, who breaks off his citation after πρὸ προσώπου σου, the

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77 Rufinus presumably added *duos* from the variant reading of Matthew known to him.

78 ἕτερον instead of ἄλλον is the only difference between the question in Matt 11:3 and Luke 7:19. It is not surprising that several manuscripts (including א, B, L, W, among others) attest the Matthean reading; however, given that the citation in the *Adamantius Dialogue* is obviously from Matt 11:2–3, it is curious, and misleading, that IGNTP lists only this variant as "Marcion ap Adam" in its apparatus.

79 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:463.

80 Harnack, *Marcion*, 196*

81 Cf. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:464 and Harnack, *Marcion*, 197*.

Adamantius Dialogue and Epiphanius offer the same text. The *Adamantius Dialogue* also confirms Tertullian's wording ὅς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδόν σου, which was already seen to be likely for Marcion's text due to Tertullian's citation habit. Finally, the *Adamantius Dialogue* attests the final ἔμπροσθέν σου, which is unattested by Tertullian. Though Harnack reconstructed the final element based upon the *Adamantius Dialogue* he also stated "Ob M. ἔμπροσθέν σου gelesen hat, ist fraglich."[82] Whether there is a simple omission in Tertullian or a conforming of the reading to the canonical text in the *Adamantius Dialogue* cannot be definitively determined.

7.4.11 *Luke 8:30*

36,19–22 (1.17)—[Ad.] … ὁ Χριστὸς[83] παρὰ τοῦ αρχιδαίμονος λέγων· τί σοί ἐστὶν ὄνομα; ὁ δέ φησίν εἶπε· Λεγεών. ἴσως οὖν κατὰ σὲ ἠγνόει καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπυνθάνετο. | … *quomodo interrogat Iesus daemonem: Quod tibi nomen est? Et ille respondit: Legio. Utique secundum te nesciebat et propterea interrogabat.*

Tertullian provided a brief attestation to Luke 8:30 with a reference to the multitude of demons calling themselves λεγεών. The citation by Adamantius in the *Adamantius Dialogue* is considerably longer and is followed by a statement indicating that the verse is found in Marcion's text. Zahn took the claim to be citing from Marcion's Bible at face value and therefore identified the citation as "echt."[84] Harnack reconstructed the verse following the *Adamantius Dialogue*'s citation, though he added an actually unattested introduction ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγων (presumably loosely based upon Rufinus's Latin translation). Harnack also viewed Marcion's Gospel as definitely reading ἐστιν ὄνομα; however, it is not certain that this was the case (cf. also Rufinus's *nomen est* and the reverse order in several manuscripts including P^{75}, ℵ, B, and D).

7.4.12 *Luke 9:1–2*

82,2–5 (2.12)—[Ad.] Ἀναγινώσκω ἐκ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου· συγκαλεσάμενος δὲ τοὺς δώδεκα, ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς δύναμιν καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ νόσους θεραπεύειν, καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς κηρύσσειν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἰᾶσθαι. … | *Legam de evangelio: Convocans autem Iesus duodecim discipulos, dedit eis virtutem super omnia daemonia et languores curare, et misit eos praedicare regnum dei et curare.* …

The *Adamantius Dialogue* is the only witness for v. 1; however, Tertullian also attests v. 2. The citation of Luke 9:1–2 is introduced with a reference to

82 Harnack, *Marcion*, 196*.
83 B reads θεός, which Bakhuyzen emended to Χριστός.
84 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:465.

Adamantius reading from "the Gospel," likely intended to be a reference to Marcion's Gospel.[85] Harnack reconstructed this passage according to the Greek text of the *Adamantius Dialogue*, though also including ὁ Ἰησοῦς based on Rufinus's text.[86] This *Iesus*, however, should be viewed as due to Rufinus's own hand, either clarifying the referent or following a reading known to him that is also attested in a few majuscules, Syriac witnesses, and the OL manuscript c. The *Adamantius Dialogue* confirms Tertullian's reference to Jesus having sent the disciples κηρύσσειν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. The lack of Matthean influence seen so often elsewhere may support the view that here the *Adamantius Dialogue* is accurately reflecting his source and thus may be closer to the reading of Marcion's Gospel than in other instances.[87]

7.4.13 *Luke 9:3*

22,5–9 (1.10)—[Meg.] . . . ὁ δὲ κύριος ἡμῶν ὁ ἀγαθός, ἀποστέλλων τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην, λέγει μήτε ὑποδήματα ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν ὑμῶν, μήτε πήραν, <μήτε ῥάβδον,>[88] μήτε δύο χιτῶνας, μήτε χαλκὸν ἐν ταῖς ζώναις ὑμῶν. . . . | . . . *Dominus autem noster, qui bonae naturae est, mittens discipulos suos in orbem terrarum, dicit: Neque calciamentum in pedibus vestris sit, neque pera, neque virga, neque duas tunicas habeatis, neque aes in zonis vestris. . . .*

Luke 9:3 is alluded to by Tertullian. Megethius makes reference to the verse, though also clearly harmonized to Matt 10:9–10//Mark 6:8–9 (cf. also Luke 10:4). Tsutsui has helpfully noted that, on the one hand, the repetition of μήτε may point to Luke 9:3 as providing the syntactical basis for the reference, even if this is not certain. On the other hand, however, he points out that these elements are found together, even if in a different order, only in the Matthean and Markan passages. Thus, even if this antithesis were drawing from Marcion's

85 Shortly before this comment by Adamantius, Markus relates that his party does not accept anything beyond "the Gospel and the Apostle" (*Adam.* 80,28 [2.12]).

86 Harnack, *Marcion*, 200*. Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 90 includes ὁ Ἰησοῦς in the Greek citation of the *Adamantius Dialogue* without any indication that the external subject is only found in the Latin text.

87 Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 241–42 views this section of the dialogue as connected with *Adam.* 8,23–10,33 (1.5) in the source.

88 Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 155 argues that this textual emendation is justified on the basis of the OT reference in the antithesis making reference to a ῥάβδος, Rufinus reading *neque virga*, and the omission in the Greek readily explainable on the basis of homoeoarcton.

Gospel, due to the uncertain text basis of this "citation" no reconstruction can be based upon or even derived from it.[89]

7.4.14 *Luke 9:6*

82,5–7 (2.12)—[Ad.] ... καὶ ὑποβὰς μετ᾿ ὀλίγον λέγει ἐξερχόμενοι δὲ διήρχοντο κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κώμας εὐαγγελιζόμενοι καὶ θεραπεύοντες πανταχοῦ. ... | ... *Et post pauca iterum dicit: Cum autem exissent, egrediebantur per civitates et vicos, evangelizantes et curantes ubique. ...*

The *Adamantius Dialogue* is the only witness for this verse and the reference to it is found in the continuation of the statement cited above under Luke 9:1–2. Here Harnack once again followed the *Adamantius Dialogue*'s wording verbatim in reconstructing Marcion's text, and thus also viewed Marcion as reading πόλεις καὶ κώμας.[90] The elements, in this and the reversed order, are also found in some OL and Sahidic witnesses and may have been found in the *Adamantius Dialogue*'s source. It is far more difficult, however, to determine whether Marcion's Gospel also contained this reading since there are no other sources to corroborate the *Adamantius Dialogue*'s testimony.

7.4.15 *Luke 9:16*

108,23–25 (2.20)—[Ad.] ... ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ γεγραμμένον ἀναγνῶσιν ὅτι ὁ κύριος ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐχαριστεῖ, ...[91] | ... *Sed et quod dixit: Dominus respiciens in coelum gratias egit, ...*

Luke 9:16 is attested in Epiphanius, and is here cited towards the conclusion of a long speech by Adamantius. Though the citation is once again found in a series of passages possibly collected in order to refute Marcion on the basis of his own Scriptures and corresponds to a certain extent with Epiphanius,[92] it is not clear that the *Adamantius Dialogue* is here reflecting Marcion's text. Even if the text or its source was drawing on Marcion's Gospel, it is apparent that Marcion's readings are not reflected throughout. The opening ὁ κύριος is clearly a specification of the subject by Adamantius, and the εὐχαριστεῖ is unat-

89 Though Harnack in general tended to include a maximum of source references in his reconstruction of Marcion's text, or at the very least make reference to potential attestation of a verse, here he did not note this passage in the *Adamantius Dialogue* in his apparatus (cf. Harnack, *Marcion*, 200*). It is also not referenced by either Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:465 or Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 90.

90 Cf. Harnack, *Marcion*, 200*.

91 The second half of the sentence in the Greek text continues a reference to Luke 22:17, 19// Matt 26:26–27 discussed below.

92 Cf. the table in Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 267–68.

tested for Luke 9:16 and the parallels in Matt 14:19 and Mark 6:41. Epiphanius attests the expected εὐλόγησεν, and Zahn had already noted concerning the *Adamantius Dialogue* "das Citat gibt sich nicht als wörtlich genaues."[93] In addition, Tsutsui makes the important observation that in the immediately following reference to Luke 22:17, 19, where the verb εὐχαριστέω is used, the dialogue employs εὐλογέω. Though the latter reading is also attested for Matt 26:26, Tsutsui notes that in the reference here to Luke 9:16 and Luke 22:17, 19 "die Verben εὐλογεῖν und εὐχαριστεῖν regelrecht vertauscht [sind]" and adds "was jedoch bei einem freien Zitat unerheblich ist."[94] For this reason, it appears that this reading is due to imprecision in the *Adamantius Dialogue* and that there is no reason to label εὐχαριστεῖ as a "spätere LA" as is done by Harnack in his reconstruction.[95] Finally, it should also be noted that though Harnack began the reconstruction of this verse with τοὺς πέντε ἄρτους κ. τ. δύο ἰχθύας placed in parentheses,[96] this element is not attested by any source.

7.4.16 *Luke 9:18–20*

14,9 (1.7)—[Ad.] Λέγει οὖν ὁ Χριστὸς ὅτι υἱος ἀνθρώπου εἰμί.... | *Quid ergo est, quod dicit Christus, quia filius hominis sit?...* | 84,1–5 (2.13)—[Mark.] Ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ λέγει ὁ Χριστός τίνα με λέγουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου; λέγουσιν οἱ μαθηταί· Ἰωάννην τὸν βαπτιστήν, ἄλλοι δὲ Ἠλίαν, ἄλλοι δὲ ὅτι προφήτης τις τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀνέστη. εἶπε δὲ αὐτοῖς· ὑμεῖς δὲ τίνα; ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Πέτρος εἶπε· τὸν Χριστόν. | *In evangelio dicit Christus: Quem me dicunt esse homines, filium hominis? Dicunt ei discipuli: Alii Iohannem baptistam, alii Heliam, alii, quia propheta aliquis antiquus surrexit. Dixit autem ad eos: Vos vero, quem me esse dicitis? Respondens Petrus dixit: Tu es Christus.*

Luke 9:20 is also attested by Tertullian, but the *Adamantius Dialogue* is the only witness for vv. 18–19. Beginning with v. 20 first, so that a point of comparison for the reference in the *Adamantius Dialogue* can be established, Tertullian only alludes to the question posed by Jesus and to the fact that Peter responded. The precise wording for the reconstruction remains uncertain.[97] Tertullian does, however, cite Peter's response as *Tu es Christus*, which is also the reading of Rufinus's Latin, but not of the Greek. Harnack stated that the question of which reading was originally the reading of the

93 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:466.

94 Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 287.

95 Harnack, *Marcion*, 200*.

96 Ibid.

97 The Greek and Latin text of the *Adamantius Dialogue* also differ in offering ὑμεῖς δὲ τίνα; and *Vos vero, quem me esse dicitis?*, respectively.

Adamantius Dialogue is “nicht sicher zu entscheiden.”[98] For Marcion’s text, at least, on the basis of Tertullian’s testimony, slight preference is to be given to the wording σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός. Complicating the situation, however, is the observation made in chapter 5.37 that it is not impossible for Tertullian, despite repeating this phrasing three times, to have been influenced by the synoptic parallels or for a similar influence to have occurred for Rufinus.[99] It is worth noting, however, that neither Tertullian nor the *Adamantius Dialogue* contain a reference to the Christ being “the Son of the living God” (Matt 16:16) or “of God” (Luke 9:20). Though it is methodologically questionable to draw firm conclusions, it is possibile that the response followed the wording of Mark 8:29.[100]

Significant questions also surround the reconstruction of vv. 18–19. For v. 18, Tsutsui observes that the reference to the Son of Man may have arisen from the parallel Matt 16:13.[101] The influence from the Matthean parallel, at least at this point, may be supported by the very loose citation in 14,9 (1.7) of a conflated reference to Matt 16:13//Mark 8:27//Luke 9:18. Rufinus appeared to understand the reference as coming from these passages. Alternatively, however, the Greek text could be referring to any number of instances where Jesus referred to himself as the Son of Man (e.g., Luke 5:24).[102] At the same time, it should be noted that the entire wording, and not simply the reference to the Son of Man, appears to have been drawn from Matt 16:16.[103]

In v. 19, the Greek and Latin text once more show variation. The reference to one of the prophets of old who has risen again reveals that Luke 9:19 is certainly influencing the citation. It is possible that the *Adamantius Dialogue*’s source is here reflecting elements of Marcion’s text. Yet, once again, certainty is not possible. Harnack’s reconstruction of the verse opening with an otherwise

98 Ibid., 201*.

99 The word order ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Πέτρος εἶπε is that of Matt 16:16 (also found in most Lukan manuscripts, but not P^{75}, א, B, C, and several others), and may have led Rufinus to slip into the Matthean wording.

100 Harnack, *Marcion*, 201* viewed Marcion of already having a text harmonized to Matthew/Mark, whereas Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 91–92 viewed the omission as a deliberate Marcionite alteration. Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 91 also referred to the Greek text as “wohl einen von den Schülern Marcions zurückkorrigierten Text,” which is not necessarily the case. Zahn is overly certain in his statement, “von αποκριθεις an ist offenbar Mr. 8, 29 substituirt” (*Geschichte*, 2:466).

101 Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 244.

102 Both options are mentioned by Pretty (trans.), *Adamantius*, 44.

103 The opening ἐπηρώτησεν in Harnack’s reconstruction (*Marcion*, 201*) is not attested in any source.

unattested λέγουσιν (αὐτῷ) οἱ μαθηταί is thus rather speculative.[104] This wording is far more likely to be alluding simply to the content of the text.

One final observation to be made here is that though Harnack's reconstruction for these three verses followed *Adam.* in general and also specifically inclined towards the wording of Rufinus's Latin,[105] he also felt compelled to include the following statement, already cited above, in his apparatus:

> Im allgemeinen muß man sich aber auch hier erinnern, daß die Zitate im Dial. nicht dieselbe Sicherheit bieten wie die bei Tert. und auch bei Epiphan.[106]

Whether, however, this actually means that Harnack viewed his reconstruction here, or at other points where he followed the wording of *Adam.*, as less secure is not readily apparent.

7.4.17 *Luke 9:22*

180,7–9 (5.4) [Ad.] . . . εἰ γὰρ τῷ δοκεῖν σχήματι ἀνθρώπου ἐφαίνετο, τίς χρεία τοῦ λέγειν ἑαυτὸν υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου; ἐχρῆν γὰρ ἁπλῶς λέγειν· δεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον πολλὰ παθεῖν. . . . | . . . *Nam si videbatur tantummodo esse homo, ut quid se filium hominis diceret et non magis hominem? Nunc autem dicit quia Oportet filium hominis multum pati. . . .* | 198,1–4 (5.12)—[Ad.] . . . δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πολλὰ παθεῖν καὶ ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ ἀρχιερέων καὶ γραμματέων καὶ σταυρωθῆναι καὶ μεθ᾽ ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἀναστῆναι. . . . | . . . *Necesse est filium hominis multa pati et reprobari a presbyteris et pontificibus et scribis et crucifigi et tertia die resurgere. . . .*

This verse is attested by Tertullian and Epiphanius. In the *Adamantius Dialogue*, this is the first instance of the present study considering a verse that is attested in book 5 of the dialogue, a fact which creates even more challenges in evaluating the reference as a source for readings in Marcion's Gospel. As Lieu has noted in her comments concerning another verse cited in book 5 of the *Adamantius Dialogue*, Luke 23:46 (discussed below), "this part of the *Dialogue* is less secure evidence for the Marcionite Gospel."[107] In book 5, one extended

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104 Such phrasing is unattested for Matthew, Mark, or Luke.

105 Harnack stated that "Rufin in dem ganzen Zitat der zuverlässigere Zeuge zu sein [scheint]" (*Marcion*, 201*).

106 Ibid.

107 Lieu, "Marcion and the New Testament," 413. This is certainly part of the reason for not including the reference to Luke 18:27 in this part of the dialogue in the reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel. Cf. chapter 3, n. 76.

citation from Luke 18 is explicitly introduced as being read from Marcion's Gospel (discussed below), and a series of citations from Paul's letters is introduced as being read from Marcion's *Apostolikon* (*Adam.* 222,10–12 [5.22]). Concerning the citations from the *Apostolikon*, Zahn was convinced they were drawn from Marcion's text, a position shared by Harnack.[108] Clabeaux and Schmid, however, disagreed with this view.[109] Tsutsui, for his part, believes that a collection of citations from Marcion's Pauline letters may well be found here. At the same time, Tsutsui also states,

> Das angebliche Fehlen der eindeutigen Übereinstimmung des Wortlauts mit den übrigen, angeblich zuverlässigen Zeugnissen über die Lesart der markionitishcen Bibel bedeutet schon allein angesichts der bereits erwähnten Freiheit bzw. Unzuverlässigkeit im Umgang mit Bibelzitaten im Adamantiosdialog gar nichts.[110]

On this view, even if the texts were collected from Marcion's Scriptures, their wording in the *Adamantius Dialogue* is, once again, potentially rather different from Marcion's readings.

The citation of Luke 9:22 occurs several sections prior to Adamantius's statement that he will read from Marcion's Gospel. As noted in the table in chapter 3.2.1, Zahn did not view the verse as being drawn from Marcion's Gospel, Harnack noted Zahn's rejection without expressing an opinion of his own, and Tsutsui, in his reconstruction, seems to view the verse as attesting Marcion's Gospel.[111] It is, in fact, very difficult to evaluate the *Adamantius Dialogue*'s testimony here. The opening words are the same as those in Tertullian and Epiphanius.[112] The order of those rejecting Jesus follows the canonical order, which is different from the almost singular order in Tertullian. Finally, though the *Adamantius Dialogue*, with Tertullian and Epiphanius, attests the element μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας (though note the variant Greek word order), σταυρωθῆναι is unique among the sources here,[113] and the reading ἀναστῆναι disagrees with

108 Cf. Zahn, "Die Dialoge," 426 and Harnack, *Marcion*, 62*.

109 Cf. Clabeaux, *Lost Edition*, 61–65 and Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 208.

110 Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 94.

111 Cf. chapter 3, n. 41.

112 Though Rufinus's Latin reflects the Greek in *Adam.* 198,1–4 (5.12), the citation in *Adam.* 180,7–9 (5.4) once again reveals the apparent liberty that Rufinus took in his translation.

113 Cf. chapter 4, n. 166. It appears that the *Adamantius Dialogue* is conflating an element from Luke 24:7 with Luke 9:22.

Epiphanius, while not necessarily agreeing with Tertullian.[114] Harnack's inclination towards the former with a parenthetical comment in his reconstruction, "(σταυρωθῆναι: ist wahrscheinlicher)" and acceptance of the later in his reconstruction should both be viewed with skepticism.

7.4.18 *Luke 10:22*

42,30–44, 2 (1.23)—[Meg.] … ὁ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πατὴρ ἄγνωστός ἐστιν, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπεφήνατο περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰπών οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, οὐδὲ τὸν υἱόν τις γινώσκει εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ. … | … *Christi autem pater nulli cognitus est, sicut ipse Christus pronuntiat, de se dicens: Nemo novit Patrem nisi solus filius, neque filium quis novit nisi pater. …* | 44,14.22–23 (1.23)—[Ad.] … οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ … οὐδεὶς οἶδε τὸν υἱὸν … | … *Nemo novit filium nisi pater … Nemo novit filium …* | 44,29 (1.23)—[Eutr.] … οὐδεὶς οἶδε τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ … | … *Nemo novit filium, nisi pater, …*

Luke 10:22 is also attested by Tertullian, Eznik, and possibly Irenaeus. In the *Adamantius Dialogue* the citation of part of the verse by Megethius is once again found within an antithesis. When compared with the testimony of Tertullian, the *Adamantius Dialogue* attests less of the verse and has elements that both correspond to and differ from Tertullian. First of all, the *Adamantius Dialogue* attests the same inversion of "father" and "son" found in Tertullian. Here it is interesting that though Adamantius and Eutropius do not repeat the entire citation, that which they do restate corresponds syntactically to the first half of the phrase, but with the "son" and the "father" attested in their Matthean/Lukan order. Megethius's order may therefore reflect the order found in the *Adamantius Dialogue*'s source and the order of Marcion's Gospel.[115] In addition, however, the reference here is closer to Matt 11:27 than it is to Luke 10:22, whereas Tertullian attests a text close to the latter. The inclination to Matthean phrasing in the *Adamantius Dialogue* is once again apparent. In addition, the *Adamantius Dialogue* has the curious combination of ἔγνω and γινώσκει in the Megethius citation, γινώσκει and οἶδε in the Adamantius citation, and only οἶδε in the Eutropius citation.[116] Tertullian attests γινώσκει, which may be the reading in Marcion's text as ἔγνω (and then οἶδε) could have arisen from

114 Cf. the discussion in chapters 4.4.30 and 6.4.20.

115 This point may also, at least to a certain extent, refute Zahn's certainty that the correspondence in order between the *Adamantius Dialogue* and Tertullian is "zufällig und bedeutet nichts" (*Geschichte*, 2:470). Zahn's perspective is, of course, shaped by his conviction that essentially no attestation of Marcion's texts is found in book 1 of the *Adamantius Dialogue*.

116 Rufinus, however, reads *novit* throughout.

variant traditions in the reading of Matt 11:27.[117] Ultimately, however, Zahn is likely correct in his observation: "Ob Mrc. γινώσκει oder ἔγνω geschrieben, ist nicht mit *völliger* Sicherheit zu bestimmen [emphasis added]."[118]

7.4.19 *Luke 11:11–13*

110,1–6 (2.20)—[Ad.] ... λέγοντος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· ἐάν τινα φησίν ἐξ ὑμῶν αἰτήσῃ ὁ υἱός αὐτοῦ ἄρτον, μὴ λίθον ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ; ἢ ἐὰν αἰτήσῃ ἰχθύν, μὴ ὄφιν ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ; ἢ καὶ αἰτήσῃ ᾠόν, μὴ ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ σκορπίον; εἰ οὖν ὑμεῖς, πονηροὶ ὄντες, οἴδατε δόματα ἀγαθὰ διδόναι τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν.... | ... *dicentis in evangelio: Quem ex vobis petit filius suus panem, numquid lapidem dabit illi?*[119] *aut ovum si petierit, numquid dabit ei scorpionem? Si ergo vos, cum sitis mali, nostis bona data dare filiis vestris....*

These three verses are also attested by Tertullian and Epiphanius. With Adamantius's reference to providing a saying found "in the Gospel," he may be indicating the intention to offer a text from Marcion's Gospel even if, once again, one can detect Matthean influence. An immediate problem is that unlike Tertullian and Epiphanius, the *Adamantius Dialogue* begins the series of questions with one involving bread and a stone. Though both Zahn and Harnack viewed this element as present in Marcion's text,[120] the *Adamantius Dialogue* alone cannot secure the reading, a reading which has in any case become less likely with the discovery of P^{45} and P^{75}.[121] Even prior to this question, however, the opening ἐάν ... αἰτήσῃ, found in later manuscripts of Matt 7:9, also differs from Epiphanius and seems unlikely for Marcion's Gospel, even as the *Adamantius Dialogue* confirms the readings τινα and ἐξ ὑμῶν. The ensuing question in v. 12 agrees with the syntax of later readings in Luke 11:12 (cf. the syntax in Matt 7:10), though it is the uniquely Lukan element involving an egg and a scorpion that is attested. Thus, despite obvious Matthean influence, there is at least some reflection of Luke here.[122] Tertullian and Epiphanius confirm the general content of the verse; however, the precise wording remains largely

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117 Von Soden lists both variants for Matt 11:27, but neither for Luke 10:22.

118 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:470.

119 Concerning the omission of the question involving a fish and a serpent, Pretty observed that though it is not in Rufinus "the mention of fish further down seems to imply that it stood in the original just as it stands in the present Greek text" (*Adamantius*, 106n133). Cf. also Bakhuyzen (ed.), *Dialog*, 111.

120 Cf. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:473 and Harnack, *Marcion*, 208*. Harnack's reconstruction essentially followed the *Adamantius Dialogue*'s text for Marcion's text of Luke 11:11–13.

121 Cf. also chapter 6, n. 149.

122 On the basis of the presence of this element, Tsutsui asserts: "Diesem freien Zitat liegt Lk 11,11–13 zugrunde" (*Auseinandersetzung*, 288).

opaque. In Luke 11:13, which corresponds in many instances with the wording of Matt 7:11, the *Adamantius Dialogue* shares several readings with Epiphanius. One should, however, be extremely wary of positing the Matthean ὄντες, attested only in the *Adamantius Dialogue*, for Marcion's Gospel and also note that the *Adamantius Dialogue* is the only witness for διδόναι τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν. Once again, significant uncertainty surrounding the citation of these verses in the *Adamantius Dialogue* results in only minimal insight for Marcion's Gospel.

7.4.20 *Luke 11:52 (42? or 46?)*

68,3 (2.5)—[Ad.] … οὐαὶ ὑμῖν γραμματεῖς … | … *Vae vobis, scribae et Pharisaei?* …

This verse is attested by Tertullian. Concerning the reference in the *Adamantius Dialogue*, Zahn commented, "fraglich ist, ob das jedenfalls ungenaue Citat Dl. 824 … auf v. 46 oder 52 sich bezieht."[123] In his apparatus, Harnack stated, "zu v. 42 oder 52 s. Dial. II, 5."[124] Clearly, the reference in Luke, if indeed a Lukan reference was at some point in view, is not obvious. In any case, however, it is apparent that the citation is following Matthean wording (cf. Matt 23:13, 15, 23, 25, 27, 29), in both the Greek and Latin reading,[125] which, at least for v. 52, contradicts the testimony of Tertullian. Ultimately, therefore, this reference is of no value in reconstructing Marcion's text.

7.4.21 *Luke 12:9*

32,19–21 (1.15)—[Ad.] … ἐν τῷ λέξαι ὅς ἄν με ἀρνήσηται ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀρνήσομαι κἀγὼ αὐτὸν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς. … | … *Quicunque me negaverit coram hominibus, et ego negabo eum coram patre meo, qui est in coelis.* … | 66,33–35 (2.5)—[Ad.] … ὅς ἄν ἀρνήσηται με ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀρνήσομαι κἀγὼ αὐτὸν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. … | … *Qui negaverit me coram hominibus et ego negabo eum coram patre meo, qui in coelis est,* …

Luke 12:9 is also attested by Tertullian. The two citations in the *Adamantius Dialogue* occur in the same context as the references to the Matthean parallel to Luke 6:38 discussed above. Here, as there, the citations are clearly rendering Matt 10:33 against the testimony of Tertullian, who follows Luke 12:9. Once

123 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:474.

124 Harnack, *Marcion*, 210*.

125 The influence of Matthew is even more obvious in Rufinus's translation.

again, the *Adamantius Dialogue* offers no insight here for the reconstruction of Marcion's text.[126]

7.4.22 *Luke 12:46*

24,8–12 (1.10)—[Ad.] . . . οὕτως γὰρ λέγει [the Gospel] ὅτι ἥξει ὁ κύριος τοῦ κακοῦ δούλου ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ οὐ γινώσκει καὶ ἐν ὥρᾳ ᾗ οὐ προσδοκᾷ καὶ διχοτομήσει αὐτὸν καὶ θήσει τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων. . . . | . . . *Denique it dicit quia: Veniet dominus servi illius in die, qua nescit, et hora, qua non sperat, et dividit eum ac partem eius cum infidelibus ponit. . . .*

Luke 12:46 is also attested by Tertullian and Epiphanius. Somewhat curiously, neither Zahn, Harnack, nor Tsutsui make any reference to this passage in the *Adamantius Dialogue*.[127] Though one is always confronted with the challenge of whether Marcion's Gospel is in view in the *Adamantius Dialogue*, the reference to "the Gospel" saying these words at least makes an intended utilization of Marcion's Gospel possible.[128] Though the citation is very close to the canonical text and to the testimony of both Tertullian and Epiphanius at relevant points, the singular reading describing the slave as κακός, as well as the inversion of the verbs προσδοκάω and γινώσκω, should not be viewed as relevant for reconstructing Marcion's Gospel.

7.4.23 *Luke 12:47–48*

112,10–12 (2.21)—[Ad.] . . . ὁ γὰρ δοῦλος φησίν ὁ γνοὺς καὶ μὴ ποιήσας δαρήσεται πολλά, ὁ δὲ μὴ γνούς, ποιήσας[129] δὲ ἄξια πληγῶν, δαρήσεται ὀλίγα. . . . | Not in Rufinus's Latin translation.

Luke 12:47–48 is also attested by Tertullian. In the *Adamantius Dialogue* it is only the Greek text that contains the citation, as the final three and a half sentences of Adamantius's speech here are not found in Rufinus's Latin. Both Bakhuyzen and Pretty mention the possibility, and indeed likelihood, of

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126 Neither Harnack or Zahn made reference to the passage in *Adam.* 32,20–21 (1.15). Concerning the citation in *Adam.* 66,33–35 (2.5), Harnack simply observed "Dial. II, 5 ist Matth. 10, 33 wiedergeben" (*Marcion*, 212*); whereas Zahn concluded, "Dl. 824 . . . gibt wörtlich Mt. 10,33, kann also nichts beweisen" (*Geschichte*, 2:474).

127 IGNTP, however, does reference the passage.

128 The context is the discussion following Megethius's antithesis that the Creator God told the Israelites to plunder the Egyptians, whereas Jesus, when sending out his disciples, told them not to take shoes, tunics, etc. Adamantius takes the discussion in the direction of "just war theory" and the question of legitimate retaliation or the killing of evil men. He supports such actions with this citation of Luke 12:46.

129 This is the reading of B^{corr} and Bakhuyzen. B* reads μὴ ποιήσας.

Rufinus having abbreviated the passage.[130] Both verses are abbreviated with v. 47 essentially being summarized and only the first sentence of v. 48 being cited. Though Harnack simply reproduced the *Adamantius Dialogue*'s text in his reconstruction, in his apparatus he noted that the omission of τὸ θέλημα τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ is a "wahrscheinlich willkürliche Verkürzung," presumably by the author of the *Adamantius Dialogue*.[131] Tertullian's allusions unfortunately allow for the confirmation of only very few readings and thus, though it is clear that the verses are attested for Marcion's Gospel, little insight into precise wording can be gained.

7.4.24 *Luke 12:49, 51*

66,35–68,2 (2.5)—[Ad.] ... οὐκ ἦλθον φησίν βαλεῖν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν καὶ οὐκ ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνη, ἀλλα πῦρ ... | ... *Non veni, inquit, mittere pacem sed gladium, et: Ignem veni mittere super terram, ...*

These two verses are also attested by Tertullian. Adamantius introduces the series of references of which these citations are a part as being τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡ φωνή. Both Zahn and Harnack noted the citations, which makes it somewhat unexpected that Tsutsui offered no explanation for not having included the reference in his reconstruction.[132] Zahn had already noted, "Dl. 824 scheint ungenaue Vermischung von Mt. 10,34 u. Lc. 12,49.51."[133] Interestingly, however, for 12:49, which is cited second, it is Rufinus's Latin, varying from the Greek text, which is essentially confirmed by Tertullian. The only difference is the preposition used in the phrase *super terram*.[134] Of course, it is possible that Rufinus elected to offer the Lukan phrasing instead of the harmonized Greek reading; however, it is also possible that here he better reflected the original reading and it is the Greek text that has suffered corruption. The first citation agrees with Matt 10:34 verbatim and even if the *Adamantius Dialogue*'s source at some point reflected Marcion's reading for Luke 12:51, it has been completely lost here. Tertullian's testimony clearly reveals that Marcion's text did not contain the reading of Matt 10:34. Though Harnack did express some

130 Bakhuyzen stated "Wahrscheinlich hat Ruf. hier, wie an vielen anderen Stellen gekürzt" (*Dialog*, 112) and Pretty expressed a similar, though slightly more guarded sentiment, concerning the passage: "Its authenticity is not established, but it contributes to the argument, and the practice of Rufinus to abbreviate must not be overlooked. This may be one of many places where he has done this" (*Adamantius*, 108n142).

131 Harnack, *Marcion*, 216*.

132 Cf. Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 106–7.

133 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:476.

134 On the reading *super terram* versus Tertullian's *in terram*, cf. chapter 5, n. 236.

reservation about the *Adamantius Dialogue*'s testimony, he apparently allocated too much significance to it in his statement, "M.s Text war bereits durch Matth. 10, 34 beeinflußt (wenn auch μάχαιραν zu Unrecht vom Dialog ihm zugeschrieben wird)."[135]

7.4.25 *Luke 13:27*

28,10–11 (1.12)—[Ad.] … λέγει δ᾽ ἐν τῷ γράμματι τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἀναχωρεῖτε ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ, οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν. … | … *Et rursus in evangelio invenimus scriptum, domino Christo dicente: Discedite a me, operarii iniquitatis, in tenebras exteriores! ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium, et quamplurima his similia. …* | 28,18 (1.12) [Eutr] … ἀναχωρεῖτε ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ; … | … *Discedite a me operarii iniquitatis!* … | 44,15–16 (1.23)—[Ad.] … ἀναχωρεῖτε ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ, οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν, οὐδέποτε ἔγνων ὑμᾶς, … | … *Discedite a me, qui operamini iniquitatem, quoniam non novi vos. …* | 44,30 (1.23)—[Eutr.] … οὐδέποτε ἔγνων ὑμᾶς. | … *non novi vos.*

Luke 13:27 is attested by Tertullian. In book 1 of the *Adamantius Dialogue*, Adamantius and Eutropius twice cite the verse with the wording of the parallel in Matt 7:23.[136] As was the case for Luke 12:46 above, neither Zahn, Harnack, nor Tsutsui mention these passages in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Though it is again the case that no insight into Marcion's Gospel can be gained, Adamantius's reference to "the Gospel writing" in the context of his argument with Megethius at least makes an intended reference to something in Marcion's Gospel possible.[137]

7.4.26 *Luke 16:13*

56,11–12 (1.28)—[Meg.] … οὐδεὶς δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν· … | … *Nemo potest servire duobus dominis. …* | 56,20–23 (1.28)—[Ad.] … οὐδεὶς φησίν δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν· ἢ γὰρ τὸν ἕνα μισήσει καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀγαπήσει, ἢ ἑνὸς ἀνθέξεται καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου καταφρονήσει. οὐ δύνασθε θεῷ δουλεύειν καὶ μαμωνᾷ. | … *Nemo potest, inquit, duobus dominis servire; aut enim unum odio habebit et*

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135 Harnack, *Marcion*, 216*.

136 Worth noting is that the verb ἀναχωρέω, attested in Θ, f^{13}, and other later manuscripts for Matt 7:23, is used in the citations. In addition, Rufinus adds further Matthean passages to the reference in *Adam.* 28,10–11 (1.12), and in the citation *Adam.* 44,15–16 (1.23) the order of the elements in Matt 7:23 is reversed.

137 Tsutsui notes that for several reasons the second citation does not fit particularly well into its present context nor make particularly good sense there. He concludes, "Es handelt sich daher wahrscheinlich um einen fremden und ungeschickten Einschub in eine zusammenhängende Argumentation, für den der Dialogverfasser verantwortlich sein wird" (Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 190). The precise source for the insertion, however, is unclear.

alterum amabit, aut, unum patietur et alterum contemned. Non potestis Deo servire et mamonae.

This verse is also attested by Tertullian. Concerning the references in the *Adamantius Dialogue*, it is not surprising that Zahn, due to the passage's location in book 1, stated that it "schon des Orts wegen nicht in Betracht [kommt]."[138] Harnack more cautiously observed that it is "nicht sicher" whether the passage should be considered.[139] Tsutsui, however, simply lists the reference without further comment.[140] In any case, Megethius cites part of the verse, once again with the wording from the Matthean parallel as evidenced by the absence of the Lukan οἰκέτης. In the discussion of Tertullian's testimony it was already noted that his own omission of οἰκέτης may have been influenced by the Matthean version and for this reason, the testimony of the *Adamantius Dialogue* does not aid us further in the reconstruction. Adamantius then berates Megethius for having cited only part of the verse before citing Matt 6:24 verbatim in its entirety. Given that the exchange in its extant form is clearly based on the Matthean passage, once again the *Adamantius Dialogue* cannot offer insight for Marcion's Gospel and only Tertullian's testimony is ultimately relevant.

7.4.27 *Luke 16:19–31*

76,16–78,6 (2.10)—[Ad.] . . . ἄνθρωπός τις ἦν πλούσιος καὶ ἐνεδιδύσκετο πορφύραν καὶ βύσσον, εὐφραινόμενος καθ᾽ ἡμέραν λαμπρῶς. πτωχὸς δέ τις ὀνόματι Λάζαρος ἐβέβλητο εἰς τὸν πυλῶνα ἡλκωμένος καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν χορτασθῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν πιπτόντων ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης τοῦ πλουσίου· ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ κύνες ἐρχόμενοι ἔλειχον τὰ τραύματα αὐτοῦ. ἐγένετο ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πτωχὸν καὶ ἀπενεχθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων εἰς τὸν κόλπον Ἀβραάμ. ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ ὁ πλούσιος καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ. ἐπάρας οὖν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ, ὑπάρχων ἐν βασάνοις, ὁρᾷ Ἀβραὰμ ἀπὸ μακρόθεν καὶ Λάζαρον ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸς φωνήσας εἶπεν· πάτερ Ἀβραάμ, ἐλέησόν με καὶ πέμψον Λάζαρον, ἵνα βάψῃ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ δακτύλου ὕδατος καὶ καταψύξῃ τὴν γλῶσσάν μου, ὅτι ὀδυνῶμαι ἐν τῇ φλογὶ ταύτῃ. Ἀβραάμ δὲ εἶπεν· τέκνον, μνήσθητι ὅτι ἀπέλαβες σὺ τὰ ἀγαθά ἐν τῇ ζωῇ σου καὶ Λάζαρος ὁμοίως τὰ κακά. νῦν δὲ ὧδε[141] παρακαλεῖται, σὺ δὲ ὀδυνᾶσαι. καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τούτοις μεταξὺ ὑμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν χάσμα μέγα ἐστήρικται, ὅπως οἱ ἐνταῦθα διαβῆναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς μὴ δύνωνται, μηδὲ ἐκεῖθεν ὧδε διαπερῶσιν. ἐρωτῶ οὖν σε, πάτερ, ἵνα πέμψῃς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ πατρός μου· ἔχω γὰρ ἐκεῖ πέντε ἀδελφούς· ὅπως διαμαρτύρηται αὐτοῖς μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔλθωσιν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν τόπον τῆς

138 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:479.

139 Harnack, *Marcion*, 220*.

140 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 111.

141 Tsutsui follows the original reading in B and the reading supported by Koetschau. B^{corr}, Bakhuyzen, and Rufinus attest ὅδε.

βασάνου. λέγει αὐτῷ ἔχουσι Μωσέα καὶ τοὺς προφήτας, ἀκουσάτωσαν αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· οὐχί, πάτερ, ἀλλ᾽ ἐάν τις ἐκ νεκρῶν πορευθῇ πρὸς αὐτούς, μετανοήσουσιν. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· εἰ Μωϋσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν οὐκ ἤκουσαν, οὐδ᾽ ἄν τις ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀπέλθῃ ἀκούσουσιν αὐτοῦ. | …*Homo quidam erat dives, indutus purpura et bysso et in epulis cotidie laetabatur. Pauper autem quidam nomine Lazarus iacebat ad ianuam eius ulceribus repletus, desiderans saturari de micis, quae cadebant de mensa divitis: sed et canes venientes lingebant ulcera eius. Factum est autem, ut moreretur mendicus, et ablatus <est> ab angelis in sinum Abrahae. Mortuus est autem et dives est sepultus est in infernum. Elevans autem oculos suos, cum esset in tormentis, vidit Abraham de longe et Lazarum in sinu eius. Et ipse exclamans dixit: Pater Abraham, miserere mei et mitte Lazarum, ut intinguat summum digiti sui in aqua, ut refrigeret linguam meam, quia crucior in hac flamma. Abraham autem dixit: Fili, recordare quia recepisti bona in vita tua et Lazarus similiter mala: nunc autem hic requiescit, tu vero cruciaris. Et in his omnibus inter vos et nos chaos magnum confirmatum est, ut hi, qui hic sunt, ad vos venire non possunt, neque, qui ibi sunt, huc transire. Rogo ergo te, inquit, pater, ut mittas eum in domum patris mei—habeo enim quinque fratres—ut denuntiet eis, ne et ipsi veniant in hunc locum tormentorum. Dicit ei: Habent Moysen et prophetas, audient eos. At ille dixit: Non, pater, sed si quis a mortuis perrexerit ad illos, tunc poenitebunt. At ille dixit: si Moysen et prophetas non audierunt, neque, si aliquis a mortuis perrexerit, audient eum.*

This passage is by far the longest citation of a Gospel text in the *Adamantius Dialogue* and it is not entirely clear, even within the dialogue itself, whether the reading of this passage by Adamantius is intended to be viewed as a reading of Marcion's Gospel though apparent points of contact between the *Adamantius Dialogue* and other sources point in this direction. Of these verses, vv. 22–23, 26, and 29 are attested by Tertullian and vv. 19–20, 22, 24–25, 29, and 31 by Epiphanius. For v. 19, Epiphanius only alludes to the rich man. The *Adamantius Dialogue*'s citation, with D, X, OL manuscripts, and several other witnesses, does not include δέ in the verse opening but otherwise attests the text of canonical Luke. In v. 20, Epiphanius again makes only a minimal reference to the poor Lazarus. In the first half of the verse the *Adamantius Dialogue* reads as NA[28]; however, the dialogue then attests εἷς with P, Γ, a few other manuscripts and church fathers. The omission of αὐτοῦ is only found in the Greek text of the *Adamantius Dialogue*.[142] and the dialogue offers the TR spelling of the perfect passive participle. The extent to which Marcion's readings are reflected here is uncertain. The *Adamantius Dialogue* is the only

142 IGNTP lists only Augustine and Hilary also attesting the omission of the possessive pronoun.

witness to v. 21, and once again there are variations between the Greek and Latin text. Rufinus omits the opening καί and inserts τῶν ψιχίων, likely under the influence of Matt 15:17, though it is also found in numerous manuscripts of Luke. Once again the *Adamantius Dialogue* reads as NA[28] until the end of the verse, where ἔλειχον is read with D, numerous OL manuscripts, and a few other witnesses and τραύματα is, according to IGNTP, found only here among Greek witnesses, though possible attested in OL and Vulgate manuscripts.

V. 22 is the first verse in this passage attested by both Tertullian and Epiphanius. Apart from Tertullian's allusion to ὁ πτωχός, these two sources refer only to Lazarus's presence in Abraham's bosom (Tertullian) or his having been carried by the angels to Abraham's bosom (Epiphanius). Thus, for much of the verse, the *Adamantius Dialogue* is the only witness to specific wording. Curiously, though Harnack essentially followed the *Adamantius Dialogue*'s wording for most of vv. 19–31, he here, without any other source attesting the reading, reconstructed the opening of the verse as ἐγένετο δὲ ἀποθανεῖν.[143] Whether Marcion's text contained the conjunction or not is unclear. Differently from Epiphanius, the *Adamantius Dialogue* does not include definite articles before ἀγγέλων and Ἀβραάμ. The first reading is singular, while the latter is also found in many other manuscripts including P[75vid], ℵ, A, B, and D. Once again, Harnack's reconstruction is confusing in that he follows the *Adamantius Dialogue* in the former unattested reading, but Epiphanius in the latter. The remainder of the verse is unproblematic. In v. 23, the *Adamantius Dialogue* does not attest the opening conjunction, thus reading ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ as linked to the burying at the conclusion of v. 22. This reading is also found in ℵ*, numerous OL witnesses, and several church fathers. Tertullian, unfortunately, does not reveal the syntax involving this element. The ensuing οὖν in the Greek text is elsewhere unattested, and Rufinus reads *autem* with several OL witnesses.[144] The only significant reading is found in Tertullian's confirmation of the singular τῷ κόλπῳ.[145]

Vv. 24 and 25 are both also attested by Epiphanius, though, as noted in chapter 6.4.47, the former verse is found only in an elenchus. Epiphanius's wording (attesting πέμψον to γλῶσσάν), is essentially verbatim to that of the *Adamantius Dialogue*. The only difference is that the Greek *Adamantius Dialogue* omits αὐτοῦ after δακτύλου (it is present in the Latin text),[146] which is an

143 IGNTP lists several other witnesses omitting the conjunction.

144 Harnack, *Marcion*, 221* included οὖν in his reconstruction without comment. Rufinus's *vidit* may also be attesting a different tense than the present ὁρᾷ.

145 Cf. chapter 5.69 and n. 297 there.

146 Rufinus also attests a few additional minor variations in the phrase *in aqua, ut refrigeret*.

otherwise unattested omission. The verse reads in agreement with canonical Luke nearly throughout; however, given the presence of the verse in an elenchus of Epiphanius and the usual uncertainty surround the precise wording in the *Adamantius Dialogue* no more than the mere probability for the reading of Marcion's text can be posited. In v. 25, Epiphanius attests only νῦν δὲ ὧδε παρακαλεῖται, and the challenges surrounding the reading ὧδε were already noted above and in the previous chapter.[147] In the *Adamantius Dialogue* the word order Ἀβραάμ δὲ εἶπεν is, according to IGNTP, attested only here; ἀπέλαβες σύ is read with the majority text; and σου is not present after τὰ ἀγαθά, along with most OL manuscripts and a few other witnesses. It is unclear whether any of these readings are reflecting Marcion's Gospel.

V. 26 is alluded to by Tertullian, and he directly attests only χάσμα μέγα. In the *Adamantius Dialogue*, Rufinus attests ἐν in the verse opening as opposed to the Greek text's ἐπί. The order ὑμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν is attested in only a few other witnesses. The reading ὅπως οἱ ἐνταῦθα διαβῆναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς μὴ δύνωνται is striking. Both Zahn and Harnack posited a tendentious, Marcionite change,[148] which is possible, especially given Tertullian's explanation of Marcion's interpretation of this passage.[149] At the same time, however, certainty is impossible. Finally, the *Adamantius Dialogue*, with P^{75}, א*, B, D, and a few other witnesses, does not read οἱ before ἐκεῖθεν and reads ὧδε with D, numerous OL manuscripts, and several patristic witnesses.

Vv. 27 and 28 are both attested only in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Zahn already noted that variants here are "meist in [*sic*] Dl. selbst nicht sicher überliefert und zugleich nichtssagend."[150] In v. 27, the omission of εἶπε δέ in the Greek text[151] is, according to IGNTP, elsewhere attested only in *l*1579* and τὴν οἰκίαν is a singular reading. In v. 28, ἐκεῖ, again found only in the Greek text, is a nearly singular reading.[152] Both μή and τοῦτον τὸν τόπον are readings shared with D, the latter also attested by many OL manuscripts and several church fathers. As has been the case throughout, these attested readings have no more than a mere probability of having been found in Marcion's Gospel.

V. 29 is once again also attested by Tertullian and Epiphanius. Both of these sources attest the direct speech, with only the *Adamantius Dialogue* attesting

147 Cf. n. 141 above, and chapter 6.4.47 and n. 181 there.

148 Cf. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:480 and Harnack, *Marcion*, 222*.

149 The absence of ἔνθεν is also attested in D, W, c, d, e, and Chrysostom.

150 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:480.

151 The Latin has *inquit*.

152 IGNTP lists only the Armenian version, one Georgian manuscript, and Augustine as attesting this reading.

the introductory formula. The opening λέγει αὐτῷ is the reading of the TR,[153] and the absence of Ἀβραάμ is here also attested in e, an Ethiopic manuscript, and Hillary. Harnack's comment that the omission of Abraham here (and in v. 30) is "nicht zufällig" is a bit strange in the light of Abraham appearing in vv. 22 and 24. Simple omission on the part of the *Adamantius Dialogue* are quite possible. The reading of the remainder of the verse is verbatim with Epiphanius and largely confirmed by Tertullian (apart from the ἐκεῖ in his attestation, and the inversion in the order of the final two words, likely due to his own hand).

The *Adamantius Dialogue* is the only witness for v. 30. The omission of Abraham was already mentioned above. The reading ἐκ νεκρῶν is also attested by D, F, most OL manuscripts, along with several other witnesses.[154] The remainder of the verse reads as canonical Luke,[155] though the reconstruction of Marcion's text must remain tentative.

The conclusion of the final v. 31 is also attested by Epiphanius. A number of minor variants are found in the *Adamantius Dialogue*'s citation. According to IGNTP, ὁ δὲ εἶπεν is a singular reading[156] and ἤκουσαν has very minimal attestation. The final phrase has points of contact with readings in "Western" witnesses, though ἀκούσουσιν αὐτοῦ is elsewhere attested only in r¹ and syᶜ. Both Zahn and Harnack draw attention to the sense of Epiphanius's reference agreeing with the *Adamantius Dialogue*'s attested text;[157] yet, the precise reading remains uncertain.

7.4.28 *Luke 17:1*

88,4–5 (2.15)—[Ad.] … οὐαὶ ἐκείνῳ δι' οὗ τὸ σκάνδαλον ἔρχεται; … | … *Vae sit illi homini, per quem scandalum venit?* …

Luke 17:1 is also attested by Tertullian, though unfortunately his phrasing offers minimal insight into the wording of the verse. Though Zahn contended, "auf die ziemlich freie Anspielung Dl. 830 … ist nicht viel zu gründen,"[158] Harnack's reconstruction takes up most of the *Adamantius Dialogue*'s

153 Harnack has made some type of error when he stated that this reading instead of λέγει δέ was "mit geringeren Zeugen" (*Marcion*, 222*).

154 Rufinus, however, reads *a mortuis*.

155 Rufinus reads *tunc poenitebunt* at the conclusion of the verse.

156 Harnack stated "fast allein" without mentioning any witnesses (*Marcion*, 222*).

157 Cf. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:480 and Harnack, *Marcion*, 222*.

158 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:481.

wording.[159] The problem, however, is that once again the reference by Adamantius follows the Matthean parallel in Matt 18:7, made even more explicit in Rufinus's Latin. It is therefore quite precarious to follow Harnack's view that Marcion's Gospel was "dem Matth. näher" since the *Adamantius Dialogue* so often simply offers Matthew's reading.[160]

7.4.29 *Luke 18:16*

32,26–27 (1.16)—[Meg.] ὁ δὲ ἀγαθὸς κύριος ἄφετε φησίν τὰ παιδία ἔρχεσθαι πρός με· τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν | *Bonus autem dominus dicit: Sinite pueros venire ad me; talium enim est regnum coelorum.*

The *Adamantius Dialogue* is the only witness for this verse. Luke 18:16 is cited by Megethius in an antithesis over and against the prophet of the creator God who told a bear to devour the children who met him (cf. 2 Kgs 2:23). It is to be expected that Zahn believed the verse to be unattested "denn Dl. 814 gehört nicht hieher [*sic*]."[161] Harnack went to the other extreme, contending that Luke 18:16 is here attested "wörtlich in einer Marcionitischen Antithese."[162] It is worth noting that though the passage reads "kingdom of heaven" as in Matt 19:14, a reading also found in a few manuscripts of Luke, ἔρχεσθαι πρός με is the wording of Luke 18:16. The Lukan passage, therefore, may very well lie behind this citation. At the same time, however, Tertullian referred to an antithesis involving the Elisha passage set against Matt 18:3–4, and not Luke 18:16 (*Marc.* 4.23.4)[163] making the source of the antithesis here somewhat uncertain. This reference, once again, cannot offer anything more than a possibility for a reconstruction of Marcion's text.

7.4.30 *Luke 18:18–22*

2,18–19 (1.1)—[Meg.] ... οὐδεις ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς, ὁ πατὴρ. | ... *Nemo bonus, nisi unus deus pater.* | 92,24–32 (2.17)—[Ad.] ... προσελθόντος αὐτῷ τινος· Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσας φησίν ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω; εἶπε δὲ Ἰησοῦς· τί με λέγεις

159 Harnack, *Marcion*, 222* reconstructed ... σκάνδαλα ... οὐαὶ ἐκείνῳ δι᾽ οὗ (τὸ σκάνδαλον) ἔρχεται.

160 Part of the problem here is that Harnack offered a modern, critical text of Matthew in his apparatus, namely πλὴν οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, δι᾽ οὗ τὸ σκάνδαλον ἔρχεται instead of the reading found in the TR, B, K, N, and many other manuscripts: πλὴν οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ, δι᾽ οὗ τὸ σκάνδαλον ἔρχεται. Had he done so it perhaps would have been more apparent that in the *Adamantius Dialogue* even the Greek text is following Matthew, though with the omission of τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ.

161 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:483.

162 Harnack, *Marcion*, 225*.

163 Cf. also the comments of Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 172.

ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ θεός· ὁ δὲ ἔφη· τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας· μὴ φονεύσῃς, μὴ μοιχεύσῃς, μὴ κλέψῃς, μηδὲ ψευδομαρτυρήσῃς, τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου. και, φησίν, ταῦτα πάντα ἐφύλαξα ἐκ νεότητος. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ἰησους εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἕν σοι λείπει· πάντα ὅσα ἔχεις πώλησον καὶ δὸς πτωχοῖς, καὶ ἕξεις θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ. | *... cum accessisset ad eum quidam, dicens ei: Magister bone, quid faciens vitam aeternam consequar? Ait ei Iesus: Quid me dicis bonum? Nemo bonus, nisi unus deus. Et adiecit dicens: Mandata nosti: Non occides, non adulterabis, non furaberis, non falsum testimonium dices, honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam. At ille ait: Haec omnia servavi a inventute mea. Respondens vero Iesus dicit ei: Unum tibi restat. Vade, omnia, quae habes, vende et da pauperibus, et habebis thesaurum in coelo*. | 94.2–3 (2.17)—[Eutr.] ... ἓν ἔτι σοι λείπει, ἵνα κομίσῃ θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ; | *... Adhuc unum tibi restat, ut thesaurum integrum adipiscaris in coelo*.

All of Luke 18:18–22 is attested by Tertullian, with vv. 18–20 also attested by Epiphanius and v. 19 additionally attested by Origen and Hippolytus. In 92,24–32 (2.17), Adamantius appeals to what the Savior said in "the Gospel," making an appeal to Marcion's text possible. After a generic introduction to the passage,[164] the first citation offers Luke 18:18 verbatim and in precisely the same manner as attested by Tertullian and Epiphanius. Not only is the citation confirmed through the other witnesses, it is significant in the light of the usual inclination towards the Matthean wording that the *Adamantius Dialogue* here attests the phrasing of Luke. For v. 19, after once again offering a loose paraphrase of the introduction to the direct speech, Adamantius again offers the Lukan text verbatim. As such, it attests a text along the lines of the reading witnessed by Tertullian, which, as noted in the discussion of this passage in chapter 6.4.51, differs from the reading attested by Epiphanius. At the same time, however, the citation of v. 19 by Megethius in the Greek text of 2,18–19 (1.1) attests ὁ πατήρ, which Epiphanius indicated Marcion had added after ὁ θεὸς. Rufinus's Latin translation reads *deus pater*, attesting the same reading as Epiphanius.

For v. 20, the Greek text of the *Adamantius Dialogue* attests a change of speaker with the phrase ὁ δὲ ἔφη (cf. the ὁ δὲ εἶπεν in 18:21 of canonical Luke). It seems, therefore, that the reference by Adamantius makes explicit what is left implicit in Epiphanius, namely that the questioner began speaking one

164 As also noted in the discussion concerning Epiphanius's testimony (cf. chapter 6.4.51), I view these introductions as due to the respective author's own hand. I therefore find Zahn's statement "αρχων fehlte nach allen Zeugen" (*Geschichte*, 2:483) problematic. Though it is theoretically possible that Marcion's Gospel, like several OL manuscripts, did not read ἄρχων, only allusions, not precise attestations, are available for the opening words in Marcion's text.

verse earlier in Marcion's text than in canonical Luke. Yet, a curiosity is that the reading οἶδας, and not οἶδα, is found here in the *Adamantius Dialogue.* Lieu rightly observes,

> In *Adamantius* this attribution [of the phrase involving the verb οἶδα to the questioner] is made explicit although it appears inconsistent with the retention of the second person, 'you know', of the manuscript tradition, hence provoking an emendation by earlier editors.[165]

The emendation she mentions is found in Bakhuyzen's text, where he appealed to Zahn's comments on the passage.[166] Zahn argued that Rufinus was not able to decipher the passage as found in the Greek text, and therefore altered the introduction to v. 20 to *et adiecit dicens* and moved the change of subject to v. 21 (with *at ille ait*). Zahn's conclusion was:

> In der That ist der schon von Rufin vorgefundene Text des Dl. sinnlos, aber nur weil er einen alten kleinen Schreibfehler (οιδας statt οιδα) enthält. Ep. gibt die Aufklärung.[167]

Tsutsui, however, disagreed with the view that the passage as it stands is "sinnlos" stating,

> Es wirkt zwar befremdend, daß der Mann Jesus fragt, ob dieser die Anordnungen kennt; aber sprachlich sowie sachlich ist das durchaus möglich ('Du kennst ja die Anordnungen, . . . Und all dies habe ich befolgt . . . ').[168]

He also rightly raises the methodological question of whether Epiphanius's testimony can be used as an argument for the reading in the *Adamantius Dialogue*.[169] Thus, it appears that the *Adamantius Dialogue* attests a reading found in neither Tertullian nor Epiphanius.[170] The commands, however, correspond verbatim with Tertullian's testimony, including the order μὴ φονεύσῃς,

165 Lieu, "Marcion and the Synoptic Problem," 736.
166 Cf. Bakhuyzen (ed.), *Dialog*, 92.
167 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:484.
168 Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 263.
169 Ibid.
170 Given variation such as this, Harnack was certainly correct to note in his apparatus that "das, was M. selbst aufgenommen hat, hier unsicher ist" (*Marcion*, 226*).

μὴ μοιχεύσῃς found in Matt 19:18 and Exod 20:13–14/Deut 5:17–18 in the HB. In addition, since this entire passage has been influenced by Matthew to a far lesser extent than most other passages in the *Adamantius Dialogue*, it may here be reflecting Marcion's text. Though it was argued that the omission of (a) possessive pronoun(s) at the conclusion of the verse in Tertullian was likely a simple omission on his part, at least as far as the first possessive pronoun is concerned, one cannot use the testimony of the *Adamantius Dialogue* to determine definitively that both pronouns were present.

Tertullian's allusion does not offer the precise wording of v. 21, though it could have read as attested in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Certainty, however, is not possible even if it is highly likely that the introductory words were not the otherwise unattested *καί φησιν*, as reconstructed by Harnack.[171] For v. 22, only the *Adamantius Dialogue* attests the opening words, which, as opposed to the other instances in this reference, agrees with the Lukan wording fairly closely. It is possible that this wording is reflecting the *Adamantius Dialogue*'s source and Marcion's Gospel. The direct speech is also attested by Tertullian, and the *Adamantius Dialogue* attests the same omission of ἔτι found there. In addition, in the later citation by Eutropius (*Adam*. 94.2–3 [2.17]), the adverb is present, lending further credence to its absence in Marcion's Gospel.[172] As already noted in the discussion of Tertullian's testimony, Harnack curiously broke off his reconstruction here as Tertullian and the *Adamantius Dialogue* attest the remainder of the verse, apart from the concluding words found only in Tertullian, verbatim. It is thus possible that Marcion's Gospel read δός and very likely that it read ἐν οὐρανῷ.[173]

7.4.31 *Luke 18:35–38, 40–43a*

200,21–30 (5.14)—[Ad.] Ἐπειδὴ πάρεισιν οἱ περὶ Μεγέθιον, οἱ τοῦ δόγματος Μαρκίωνος, ἐκ τοῦ αὐτῶν εὐαγγελίου ἀναγινώσκω· ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἰεριχώ, καί τις τυφλὸς ἐπαιτῶν ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν. ἀκούσας δὲ ὄχλου διαπορευομένου ἐπυνθάνετο τί ἂν εἴη τοῦτο. ἀπηγγέλη δὲ αὐτῷ ὅτι Ἰησοῦς παρέρχεται,

171 Harnack, *Marcion*, 226* where the reconstruction is followed by "[oder ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· ταῦτα]."

172 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 116 observes that a conflation or corruption due to Mark's reading (Mark 10:21) is unlikely. Slightly more speculative, but nevertheless plausible, is his contention that the adverb was omitted by Marcion, "um die falsche Interpretationsmöglichkeit zu beseitigen: als ob das Dekaloggebot eine essentielle, integrale Vorstufe zur Erlösung sei. Es steht keineswegs auf derselben Ebene wie das darauffolgende, von Jesus selbst stammende Gebot" (ibid.). Rufinus's Latin also omits the adverb, though his *vade* seems to have arisen from Mark.

173 The less precise citation by Eutropius in *Adam*. 94,2–3 (2.17) may also indicate a closer correspondence to the source and Marcion's Gospel in the wording as spoken by Adamantius.

καὶ ἐβόησε λέγων· Ἰησοῦ υἱέ Δαυΐδ, ἐλέησόν με. σταθεὶς δὲ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀχθῆναι. ἐγγίσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτόν· τί σοι θέλεις ποιήσω; ὁ δὲ εἶπε· κύριε, ἵνα ἀναβλέψω. καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ἀνάβλεψον· ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέ σε. καὶ παραχρῆμα ἀνέβλεψεν. | *Verum quoniam adhuc <ad>est et Megethius, Marcionis dogma defendens, de ipsorum evangelio lego: Factum est autem, cum appropinquarent Ierícho, et ecce quidam caecus mendicans sedebat secus viam. Audiens autem turbas praeterire, interrogabat, quid hoc esset. Dictum est autem ei, quia Iesus transit. Et exclamavit dicens: Iesu, fili David, misere mei! Restitit autem Iesus et iussit eum adduci ad se. Cum autem venisset, interrogavit eum dicens: Quid tibi vis faciam? At ille dixit: Domine, ut videam. Et respondens Iesus dixit: Vide! Fides tua te salvum fecit. Et statim vidit.* | 202,4.8–9 (5.14)—[Eutr.] ... ἀνάβλεψον, ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέ σε. ... υἱέ Δαυΐδ, ἐλέησόν με. ... κύριε, ἵνα ἀναβλέψω. | ... *Vide! Fides tua te salvum fecit ... Miserere mei, fili David! ... Domine, ut videam ...*

Of these verses, Luke 18:35, 37–38, and 42–43 are attested by Tertullian and Luke 18:35, 38, and 42–43 are attested by Epiphanius. As already mentioned above in the discussion of Luke 9:22, these verses are introduced by Adamantius as being read from Marcion's Gospel. For this reason, though found in the more problematic book 5, the citation has generally been viewed as arising out of Marcion's Gospel.[174] As was the case for Luke 18:18–22, it is worth noting that the citation here is following the Lukan version and not the Matthean or Markan parallel (cf. Matt 20:29–34 and Mark 10:46–52). For v. 35, Tertullian's allusion to a τυφλός confirms only a bare minimum of the content of the verse, namely one of the characters involved. Epiphanius attests the same opening ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν αὐτόν,[175] though as already noted in the discussion in chapter 6.4.53, his τῇ Ἰεριχώ is rather questionable for Marcion's text. The remainder of the verse is attested only in the *Adamantius Dialogue* and two readings must be discussed. First, the καί in καί τις τυφλός is, according to IGNTP, otherwise attested only in three OL manuscripts (c, ff², and l), Origen, and sy^p. The Palestinian Syriac is the only witness attesting Rufinus's καὶ ἰδού. Zahn argued that the Latin reflects a reading "offenbar ursprünglicher, denn wozu sonst τις vorangestellt?"[176] Though Harnack reconstructed "καί ('ecce')," in his apparatus he rightly recognized that this reading is "nach Matth. 20, 30."[177] For this reason, even if Rufinus's reading is more original for the text of the *Adamantius Dialogue* the likelihood of Matthean influence renders the supposition that it was Marcion's reading highly tenuous. The reading

174 Cf., e.g., Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:426 (here erroneously referring to the citation being found in book 4), 485; Harnack, *Marcion*, 226*–27*; and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 117–18.

175 Rufinus's plural is likely due to the influence of Matt 20:29//Mark 10:46.

176 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:485.

177 Harnack, *Marcion*, 226*–27*.

ἐπαιτῶν ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν, however, is also attested in D, d, and e rendering at least a slight possibility that this reading was in Marcion's text.

For v. 36, the *Adamantius Dialogue* is the only witness, making insight into Marcion's Gospel difficult. Most of the verse, however, is fairly uniformly attested in the manuscript tradition with only the ἄν posing a challenge.[178] There are many manuscripts, including D, which read the particle, and it is not beyond the realm of possibility that it was present in Marcion's text. V. 37 is another instance where Tertullian offers only an allusion to Jesus παρέρχεται. Though Harnack reconstructed with the *Adamantius Dialogue*'s aorist passive ἀπηγγέλθη,[179] this otherwise unattested reading may not be reflecting Marcion's text. The remaining attested elements are unproblematic, though it is important to note that ὁ Ναζωραῖος is not attested. Harnack and Tsutsui explicitly label this a tendentious omission on the part of Marcion,[180] and though it may not have been in Marcion's text, for methodological reasons I cannot follow Zahn's certainty that the verse was "jedenfalls ohne ο Ναζωραιος, was Tr. nicht unberüht gelassen hätte."[181]

V. 38 is attested by both Tertullian and Epiphanius. After the unproblematic opening words as attested in the *Adamantius Dialogue* all three sources attest Ἰησοῦ υἱέ Δαυΐδ, ἐλέησόν με.[182] Vv. 40–41 are once again attested only in the *Adamantius Dialogue*.[183] Both verses attest slight differences in the Greek and Latin versions, and even Zahn recognized the secondary nature of Rufinus's text.[184] Whether, however, Marcion's text contained omissions is unclear.[185]

178 Rufinus, along with many OL manuscripts, attests the wording *quid hoc esset*; but, one should not assume that a variant Greek word order necessarily lies behind the Latin.

179 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:485 wrote the form ἀπηγγέλη.

180 Cf. Harnack, *Marcion*, 227* and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 117.

181 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:485.

182 Eutropius also refers to this verse in his response to Adamantius's statement.

183 Both Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:485 and Harnack, *Marcion*, 227* view the omission of v. 39 in the *Adamantius Dialogue* as due to a mechanical error caused by ἐλέησόν με at the conclusion of both vv. 38 and 39 (cf. also above chapter 5, n. 331). Such an error is, of course, possible; however, the words ἐλέησόν με are not attested for v. 39 in the only source referencing the verse (Tertullian).

184 Zahn wrote, "Dl. lat. ergänzt den griech. Text, in welchem ο Ιησους und προς αυτον fehlt, setzt aber am Schluß ein sonst unbezeugtes *dicens* zu" (*Geschichte*, 2:485). Harnack also noted the otherwise unattested *dicens*, but added "also zu konservieren" (*Marcion*, 227*). Why the fact that the reading is otherwise unattested is viewed as support for Rufinus's accuracy is unclear to me. Eutropius offers a verbatim citation of the final words of v. 41 in his response.

185 According to IGNTP, the omission of ὁ Ἰησοῦς is elsewhere only attested in A, whereas the omission of πρὸς αὐτόν is found in numerous manuscripts including D and several OL manuscripts.

Though the Greek text offers otherwise essentially unproblematic readings, the fact that the *Adamantius Dialogue* is the only witness again makes confidence concerning Marcion's wording difficult to attain.

The final two verses of this pericope are also attested by Tertullian and Epiphanius. For v. 42, both of these other witnesses cite only the final element of the direct speech, with Epiphanius also alluding to ἀνάβλεψον. All three sources thus attest ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε. The words introducing Jesus' response, however, are found here in an otherwise unattested form.[186] Though Harnack reconstructed Marcion's text following the *Adamantius Dialogue*,[187] it is highly speculative to posit this reading as definitely that of Marcion's Gospel. The healing narrated in v. 43, and cited in the *Adamantius Dialogue* (καὶ παραχρῆμα ἀνέβλεψεν) is only alluded to by Tertullian and Epiphanius. Tertullian, however, also referenced elements from the conclusion of the verse as he began his discussion of the ensuing pericope.

7.4.32 *Luke 22:17, 19*

108,25–26 (2.20)—[Ad.] λαβὼν δὲ ἄρτον καὶ ποτήριον καὶ εὐλογήσας, … | Not in Rufinus's Latin translation.

Tertullian also attests Luke 22:19. As already noted in the table in chapter 3.2.1 and in the discussion above of Luke 9:16, it is not certain whether the *Adamantius Dialogue* is here attesting Marcion's text.[188] As also noted above when Luke 9:16 was considered, the verb εὐλογήσας appears to have arisen out of that verse even as the εὐχαριστεῖ there arose from Luke 22:17, 19. For this reason, Harnack's reconstruction with εὐλογήσας in parentheses is unnecessary.[189] If the *Adamantius Dialogue* is attesting Marcion's text, for v. 17 there is no more than a reference to the ποτήριον. For v. 19, the *Adamantius Dialogue* attests only the λαβὼν ἄρτον, which is also attested by Tertullian. In essence, therefore, the *Adamantius Dialogue* does not provide additional insight even if Marcion's Gospel were to lie behind this reference.

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186 Eutropius's subsequent citation of the verse only includes the direct speech and not the introduction to it. According to IGNTP, the word order εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς is unique to the *Adamantius Dialogue*; ἀποκριθείς is read with D, 157, and numerous OL manuscripts; and αὐτῷ is omitted wit W, Ψ*, 1200, and the Persian Diatessaron.

187 Cf. Harnack, *Marcion*, 227*.

188 The passage is also not attested in Rufinus's Latin translation. Though Pretty usually made reference to such differences, his translation does not note the absence here (cf. *Dialogue*, 106).

189 Harnack, *Marcion*, 233*.

7.4.33 *Luke 23:46, 50, 52–53*

198.8–12 (5.12)—[Ad.] καὶ φωνήσας μεγάλῃ φωνῇ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπε· πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παραθήσομαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου, καὶ ἐξέπνευσε, και [*sic*] ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ ὀνόματι Ἰωσήφ, αἰτησάμενος τὸ σῶμα, ἐνετύλιξεν ἐν σινδόνι καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐν καινῷ μνημείῳ. | *Et exclamans voce magna Iesus ait: Pater, in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum. Et, cum hoc dixisset, exspiravit. Et iterum subiungit: Ecce vir, nomine Ioseph, petiit a Pilato corpus eius et involvens illud in sindone nova, posuit in sepulchre novo*.

As already noted above in the discussion of Luke 9:22, the reference to Luke 23:46 here elicited Lieu's comment concerning book 5 of the *Adamantius Dialogue* containing less secure evidence for Marcion's Gospel. There clearly is even greater uncertainty surrounding whether the *Adamantius Dialogue* is here attesting Marcion's Gospel as there is when dealing with the overtly anti-Marcionite elements of the dialogue.[190] For none of these four verses, however, is the *Adamantius Dialogue* the only source as Tertullian attests all four of them and Epiphanius attests all but v. 52. For the beginning of v. 46 Tertullian attests only that Jesus "cried out to the father" whereas Epiphanius states καὶ φωνήσας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. Both these sources then skip to the end of the verse with Tertullian attesting τοῦτο … εἰπὼν ἐξέπνευσεν and Epiphanius only ἐξέπνευσεν. The *Adamantius Dialogue*, for its part, cites the entire verse. Harnack's reconstruction of the verse is somewhat confusing. He followed the *Adamantius Dialogue* verbatim through τὸ πνεῦμά μου and apparently followed Tertullian for the reconstruction of the conclusion of the verse as τοῦτο δὲ εἰπὼν ἐξέπνευσεν. In his apparatus, Harnack noted that in his view this verse in the *Adamantius Dialogue* followed a passage definitely taken from Marcion's Gospel (Luke 24:25–26, discussed immediately below), then cited the passage from the *Adamantius Dialogue* (noting the two variations in the Latin),[191] and concluded:

> Dieser Text ist originell; denn μεγάλῃ φωνῇ mit D > φ. μ. und καί mit a syr^{cu} > τοῦτο δὲ εἰπών. So haben also spätere Marcioniten gelesen.[192]

First of all, D reads ὁ Ἰησοῦς μεγάλῃ φωνῇ so that there is both agreement and disagreement with the reading in this manuscript. Second, though a and sy^c (and sy^s, according to IGNTP) are the only manuscripts that read only καί, the

190 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:492–93 did not make mention of the passage in the *Adamantius Dialogue* whereas both Harnack, *Marcion*, 236*–37* and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 126 only noted the reference to v. 46.

191 I.e., the word order *voce magna* and the verb *commendo*.

192 Harnack, *Marcion*, 236*–37*.

vast majority of manuscripts of Luke read καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐξέπνευσε. A simple omission in the majority reading is not out of the question. Third, even if Harnack's connection of these readings to the traditions he cited were correct, it is not clear to me how this is an argument for this being the reading of later Marcionites. Finally, since Harnack accepted the first reading in the *Adamantius Dialogue* but not the second, it remains somewhat opaque what precisely Harnack viewed as the reading of (presumably) "frühere" and "spätere" Marcionites.

Vv. 50, 52–53 are attested in a much more summary fashion in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. For v. 50 Tertullian alludes only to Joseph; Epiphanius cited the opening of the verse. The *Adamantius Dialogue* reads καί in the Greek text, but not in the Latin, thus resulting in the same uncertainty concerning the conjunction already seen in Epiphanius. In v. 52 it appears that Rufinus added *a Pilato* for clarity, and the *Adamantius Dialogue*'s allusion to the verse, even if it is attesting Marcion's Gospel, does not really bring any insight beyond the generally unproblematic elements already attested by Tertullian. The final verse disagrees with Epiphanius in the presence of ἐν before σινδόνι and in the phrase ἐν καινῷ μνημείω.[193] The *novo* attested by Tertullian is also found here; however, influence from Matt 27:60 cannot be ruled out. In sum, though some elements of the verse are essentially unproblematic, several specifics remain uncertain and must remain so in the reconstruction.

7.4.34 *Luke 24:25–26*

198.5–7 (5.12)—[Ad.] ὦ ἀνόητοι καὶ βραδεῖς τῇ καρδιᾳ τοῦ πιστεύειν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ἐλάλησα πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅτι ἔδει ταῦτα παθεῖν τὸν Χριστόν. | *O insensate et tardi corde ad credendum de omnibus, quae locutus sum vobis! Nonne ita scriptum est, pati Christum et sic introire in gloriam suam?*

Luke 24:25–26 is another passage attested only in book 5 of the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Once again, however, the *Adamantius Dialogue* can be compared with other sources as Epiphanius attests both verses and Tertullian attests v. 25. As already noted in the discussion of Epiphanius's testimony, however, Tertullian and Epiphanius do not agree in aspects of their attestation.[194] The *Adamantius Dialogue* agrees with Tertullian in the entire citation, apart from the verb ἐλάλησα instead of Tertullian's ἐλάλησεν. The *Adamantius Dialogue*'s verb, however, is found in Epiphanius, and it may be that these two later sources are attesting a later Marcionite reading.[195] At the very least, the agreement with Epiphanius highlights the likelihood that the *Adamantius Dialogue* is here

193 μνημείω is found in several manuscripts, including D.

194 Cf. chapter 6.4.76.

195 Also noted in chapter 6.4.76.

reflecting a Marcionite text. For v. 26, the Greek of the *Adamantius Dialogue* agrees with Epiphanius in the wording ἔδει ταῦτα παθεῖν, though with an otherwise essentially unattested reversing of the order of ἔδει and ταῦτα.[196] Given the likelihood that the *Adamantius Dialogue* is here attesting a Marcionite text and the essentially unproblematic nature of τὸν Χριστόν, this wording can be taken up with little hesitation in the reconstruction.

7.4.35 *Luke 24:37–39*

198,17–21 (5.12)—[Ad.] ... δοκοῦσιν αὐτὸν φαντασίαν εἶναι· τί τεταραγμένοι ἐστέ; καὶ ἵνα τί διαλογισμοὶ ἀναβαίνουσιν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν; ἴδετε τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι αὐτός, ὅτι πνεῦμα ὀστέα καὶ σάρκα οὐκ ἔχει, καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα. | ... *cum et ipsi putarent eum phantasma esse, dicit: Quid conturbatis estis? et quare cogitationes ascendant in cordibus vestris? Videte manus meas et pedes meos, quia ego sum ipse, et quia spiritus carnem et ossa non habet, sicut me videtis habere.* | 178,4–7 (5.3)—[Ad.] βάλε τὸν δάκτυλόν σου εἰς τοὺς τύπους τῶν ἥλων καὶ τὴν χεῖρά σου εἰς τὴν πλευράν, καὶ μὴ γίνου ἄπιστος ἀλλὰ πιστός. πνεῦμα γὰρ σάρκα καὶ ὀστέα οὐκ ἔχει ὡς ἐμὲ ὁρᾶτε ἔχοντα. | *Mitte manus tuas in fixuras clavorum et in latus meum, et noli esse incredulus sed fidelis et: Spiritus carnem et ossa non habet, sicut me videtis habere.*

The final verses possibly attesting Marcion's Gospel in the *Adamantius Dialogue* are also found in book 5 and face the same questions concerning their value for Marcion's Gospel as the other verses from this book. Tertullian also provides attestation for these verses and Epiphanius attests vv. 38–39. For v. 37, though the *Adamantius Dialogue* could possibly be viewed as supported by Tertullian's *phantasma*, the difficulty surrounding the wording was already discussed in chapter 4.4.97. One simply cannot be absolutely certain of the reading in Marcion's text. v. 38 has only three words attested in Epiphanius, which agree with Tertullian's more extensive citation. The reading in the *Adamantius Dialogue* agrees with much of Tertullian's wording, though differing in the ἵνα τί and the concluding εἰς τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν. The former reading is attested in D, d, L, and *l*253; however, it cannot be posited with certainty for Marcion's text. The reading with εἰς may be supported by Tertullian, though the *Adamantius Dialogue* here reads a singular whereas Tertullian attests a plural. Harnack commented, "ob M. καρδία im Sing. (mit BD itala) oder Plur. gelesen hat, ist fraglich."[197]

196 Both Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:494 and Harnack, *Marcion*, 239*, in my estimation rightly, referred to Rufinus's Latin translation here as "willkürlich."

197 Harnack, *Marcion*, 239*. Despite this observation, Harnack reconstructed the text following the wording in the *Adamantius Dialogue*.

As already noted in the discussion of Tertullian and Epiphanius, v. 39 presents several challenges. In the *Adamantius Dialogue* parts of this verse are quoted in two speeches by Adamantius. The opening of the verse is attested only in the first instance, where several aspects correspond with the testimony of Tertullian and Epiphanius, even as the *Adamantius Dialogue* attests both possessive pronouns in their canonical location. Given the variation between the sources, the precise reading here is unclear. With Tertullian, the *Adamantius Dialogue* attests the phrase ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι αὐτός, though once again the precise word order in Marcion's text cannot be reconstructed with certainty. More significantly, the *Adamantius Dialogue* does not attest the phrase ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε, a phrase also not attested by Tertullian and Epiphanius. Though the discussion of the latter two sources revealed that some caution and nuance is necessary, the phrase may not have been present. On the other hand, the *Adamantius Dialogue* does attest σάρκα, which was not attested in Tertullian and Epiphanius. Worth noting, however, is the variation in the wording between the two citations of this part of the verse and between the Greek and the Latin.[198] Zahn, Harnack, and Tsutsui all make references to the omission of both ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε and σάρκα καί.[199] Certainly, this conviction is related to the theological assumption that Marcion's Docetic Christology could not allow for these statements to be present in the text.[200] It is important to emphasize, however, that if the theological consideration is removed, there is slightly greater uncertainty concerning the supposed omissions.[201] The elements may not have been present in Marcion's Gospel, but appropriate nuance should be expressed. The final phrase in the verse is attested in two different

198 Zahn contended "Das an sich geringere Zeugnis des Dl. für σαρκος bedeutet umsoweniger, als der griech. und lat. Text in Bezug auf Stellung und Numerus uneins sind" (*Geschichte*, 2:495). Carter, "Marcion's Christology," 554–55 refers to the presence of "flesh," which supports the argument that Adamantius wishes to make, as resulting in the unlikelihood that the *Adamantius Dialogue* is providing accurate attestation of readings in Marcion's Gospel.

199 Cf. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:495; Harnack, *Marcion*, 239*; and Tsutsui, "Evangelium, 130.

200 Cf., e.g., the discussion of Marcion's "theologisch-hermeneutischen Ansatz" in these verses in Markus Vinzent, "Der Schluß des Lukasevangeliums bei Marcion," in May, Greschat, and Meiser (eds.), *Marcion und seine kirchengeschichtliche Wirkung: Marcion and His Impact on Church History*, 84–86 (citation from p. 81).

201 Both Zahn and Harnack may have been influenced in their views by an erroneous understanding of the reading in D. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:495 stated that "die größere Auslassung" (i.e., ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε) was also found in D and Harnack, *Marcion*, 239* asserted that με καὶ ἴδετε was missing in this manuscript. In reality, however, only the pronoun με is not attested in D.

forms in the *Adamantius Dialogue*, once again revealing the inconsistency with which the wording of biblical passages are found in this source. As discussed in the previous chapters, Tertullian and Epiphanius also exhibit variation here so that though it is quite clear that the element appeared in Marcion's text, the precise wording remains somewhat opaque. Given the relative consistency in the manuscript tradition and variation possibly attributable to the sources for Marcion's Gospel, Marcion's text may have read καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα.

CHAPTER 8

Additional Sources

Having considered the testimony of Tertullian, Epiphanius, and the *Adamantius Dialogue*, in this final chapter of source analysis, the remaining, additional sources for Marcion's Gospel are considered. As already noted earlier in this work, these sources, though necessary to consider, in almost no instance provide significant, further insight into Marcion's text.[1] In fact, of the verses attested by these sources only Luke 24:42–43 (attested by Eznik) are not found in other sources.[2] For this reason, the following discussion does not provide extensive analysis of the citation habits of Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Hippolytus, Pseudo-Tertullian, (Pseudo-)Ephrem, Jerome, Philastrius, and Eznik, but rather considers their attestation of Marcion's Gospel predominantly in comparison with the primary witnesses for this text. In nearly every instance, these sources provide further confirmation of a tradition affirming a certain passage in Marcion's text without being able to provide further insight into the wording of Marcion's Gospel.[3] It should also be noted that the Syriac or Armenian texts of (Pseudo-)Ephrem and Eznik are provided in modern language translations with reference to the original text reserved only for the very rare instances where such reference is necessary and significant.

8.1 Luke 1:1–2:52

Origen *Ex libro Origenis in Epistolam ad Titum*—*quique* [including Marcion] *neque de virgine natum fatentur, sed triginta annorum virum eum apparuisse in Judaea*.[4] | Hippolytus, *Haer*. 7.31.5— … Μαρκίων τὴν γένεσιν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν

1 Harnack's observation to this effect was cited at the outset of chapter 3.

2 If, however, one evaluates the texts attested in (Pseudo-)Ephrem differently (cf. chapter 3, n. 18), additional otherwise unattested verses would be found in these sources.

3 Beduhn rightly notes, "All of these 'other sources' involve reporting the quotation and interpretation of specific biblical verses by Marcionites, and in this way suggest that the particular verse was found in the Marcionite New Testament.… Although we cannot put much stock in the exact wording of a verse in such a report, we can reasonably concludes in most cases the presence of the particular verse in some form in the Marcionite New Testament" (*First New Testament*, 45).

4 The text of *Ex libro Origenis in Epistolam ad Titum* is that of the Lommatzsch edition (cf. chapter 3, n. 23).

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παντάπασ(ιν) παρῃτήσατο, ...[5] | Jerome, *Jo. hier.* 34—*Numquid iuxta Marcionem dicere possumus quod et nativitas eius in phantasmate fuerit, quia contra naturam qui tenebatur elapsus est?* [preceded by comments referring to the events of Luke 4:29–30].[6]

In addition to the testimony of Tertullian and Epiphanius, these brief comments by Origen, Hippolytus, and Jerome confirm that the opening two chapters of Luke were not present in Marcion's Gospel.

8.2 Luke 3:1

Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.27.2; 4.6.2—[Jesus] *venientem in Iudaeam temporibus Pontii Pilati praesidis, qui fuit procurator Tiberii Caesaris, ... Si autem Christus tunc inchoavit esse quando et secundum hominem adventum suum egit, et a temporibus Tiberii Caesaris commemoratus est pater providere hominibus, ...*[7] | Origen, *Ex libro Origenis in Epistolam ad Titum—quique* [including Marcion] *neque de virgine natum fatentur, sed triginta annorum virum eum apparuisse in Judaea.* | Hippolytus, *Haer.* 7.31.5–6— ... ἀλλὰ <γάρ φησι> χωρὶς γενέσεως <ἐν>[8] ἔτει πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος κατεληλυθότα αὐτὸν ἄνωθεν, ... διδάσκειν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς. | (Pseudo-)Ephrem, *An Exposition of the Gospel* 1— ... the beginning of the divinity in which they believe appeared at those times, in the years of Pontius Pilate, ...[9]

Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and (Pseudo-)Ephrem add a few further insights to the testimony of this verse provided by Tertullian, Epiphanius, and in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Hippolytus seems to support Tertullian's word order making the reconstruction ἐν ἔτει πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος more likely, though his also including τῆς ἡγεμονίας may reveal that this is simply a reflection of the canonical text. Irenaeus may support the reading ἐπι τῶν χρόνων Πιλάτου attested in the *Adamantius Dialogue*; however, once again a later reference to *temporibus Tiberii Caesaris* raises the same question as in the *Adamantius Dialogue* concerning whether this may be an expression due to Irenaeus's own hand. Both Irenaeus and (Pseudo-)Ephrem referred to Pontius Pilate, whereas the *Adamantius Dialogue* referred only to Pilate; here again

5 The text of *Refutatio omnium haeresium* is that of the Marcovich edition (cf. chapter 3, n. 17).

6 The text of *Adversus Joannem Hierosolymitanum liber* is that of the Feiertag edition (cf. chapter 3, n. 21).

7 The text of *Adversus haereses* is that of the Brox edition (cf. chapter 3, n. 16).

8 The apparatus reads "ἐν addidi ex NT" (*Hippolytus*, 313).

9 The translation is that of Egan (cf. chapter 3, n. 18).

the precise reading remains obscure. Though these passages do not explicitly state that the first two chapters of Luke were missing in Marcion's Gospel, that Luke 1–2 were not present may very well be implied.

8.3 Luke 4:16, 23, 29–30

Ephrem, *Commentary on the Diatessaron* 11.23—Il entra donc à Bethsaïde,[10] chez les Juifs, et l'évangéliste n'indique pas d'autre parole de leur part que: Médecin, guéris-toi toi-même. Et ils le saisirent, et ils sortierent vers le flanc de la montagne. Il n'est guère vraisemblable que leur colère ait été causée par des paroles sur le Dieu juste opposé au Dieu bon. Car si Notre-Seigneur leur avait parlé du créateur, et qu'en retour, ils l'eussent saisi pour le précipiter, pourquoi l'évangéliste ne mentionnerait-il pas de semblables réactions en d'autres endroits?[11] | Jerome, *Jo. hier.* 34— ... *et ante resurrectionem, cum eduxissent eum de Nazareth, ut praecipitarent de supercilio montis, trasivit per medios, id est elapsus est de manibus eorum Numquid iuxta Marcionem dicere possumus quod et nativitas eius in phantasmate fuerit, quia contra naturam qui tenebatur elapsus est?*

Though both Ephrem and Jerome mention the contents of certain verses also attested by Tertullian in their reference to Luke 4:16–30, their comments on Marcion's views and interpretation of these events cannot aid in the precise reconstruction of the wording of his text even as they provide further confirmation of the presence of these verses, and the possible abbreviated recounting of the passage, therein.[12]

8.4 Luke 4:31

Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.27.2—[Jesus] *venientem in Iudaeam* ... | Origen, *Ex libro Origenis in Epistolam ad Titum—quique* [including Marcion] *neque de virgine*

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10 In a note Leloir observed, "Par erreur, l'auteur parle de Bethsaïde au lieu de Nazareth" (*Commentaire de l'évangile concordant*, 208n5). Harnack, however, stated that this was a "Korrektur späterer Marcioniten, die jede Verbindung Jesu mit Nazareth abschneiden wollten" (*Marcion*, 186*). Such a view is possible, though not certain.

11 The translation is that of Leloir (cf. chapter 3, n. 19).

12 On the place and importance of Ephrem as a source for Marcion's theology and biblical interpretation, cf. Barbara Aland, "Marcion: Versuch einer neuen Interpretation," *ZTK* 70 (1973): 423n19.

natum fatentur, sed triginta annorum virum eum apparuisse in Judaea. | Hippolytus, *Haer*. 7.31.5–6— ... διδάσκειν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς.

In conjunction with the insight into Luke 3:1 noted above, these three sources also attest 4:31. Both Irenaeus and Origen refer to Jesus appearing in *Iudaea*, though this likely did not appear in the text here and would also differ from Tertullian's attestation. Hippolytus may provide some confirmation of Tertullian apparently referring to the end of the verse with wording closer to Mark 1:21 than to Luke 4:31.

One final point to make here is that in the discussion of the opening of Marcion's Gospel, Harnack also mentioned a comment found in a 7th century Syriac manuscript preserved in the British Museum (cod. Add. 17215 fol. 30):

> Our Lord was not born from a woman, but stole the domain of the Creator and came down and appeared for the first time between Jerusalem and Jericho, like a human being in form and image and likeness, but without our body.[13]

It is not clear, however, that the reference is to the opening of Marcion's Gospel. Harnack stated "Woher die Kunde stammt, Jesus sei zuerst zwischen Jerusalem und Jericho erschienen, habe ich nicht ermitteln können."[14] Roukema is probably correct in stating

> Most probably this text alludes to the allegory according to which it was essentially Christ who, disguised as the Samaritan, appeared on the way from Jerusalem to Jericho.[15]

Rather problematic, however, is the fact that this parable is elsewhere unattested for Marcion's text. In addition, though Zahn accepted the tradition as authentic,[16] there is some doubt as to whether the fragment actually preserves a statement of Marcion, and therefore should not be invoked, or at the very least invoked with extreme caution, for either the opening of Marcion's Gospel or the parable of the good Samaritan.[17]

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13 The translation is taken from Roukema, "The Good Samaritan," 57.

14 Harnack, *Marcion*, 185*.

15 Roukema, "The Good Samaritan," 58.

16 Zahn, "Ein verkanntes Fragment," 371–77. Cf. also Werner Monselewski, *Der barmherzige Samariter: Eine auslegungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Lukas 10,25–37* (BGBE 5; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1967), 19–21.

17 Cf. Roukema, "The Good Samaritan," 58.

8.5 Luke 5:33–34

(Pseudo-)Ephrem, *An Exposition of the Gospel* 64—You cannot order the bridegroom's companions to fast, as long as the bridegroom shall be with them. | Ephrem, *Hymns Against Heresies*, 47.4—Auch der Fremde ... kannte ... als Bräutigam jeden Tag (Freude und) Ergötzen—während Johannes in Trauer, Entsagung und Fasten (lebte).—Nicht können die Söhne des Brautgemaches fasten. Die Leute des Schöpfers sind Faster,—der Fremde, der nicht existiert, ist ein Schlemmer.[18]

These two verses are also attested by Tertullian. In Ephrem's *Hymn* there is an allusion to John's disciples fasting, followed by a reference to v. 34 with the statement that the "sons" of the bridegroom cannot fast. (Pseudo-)Ephrem also attests this latter verse, though including the reference to the bridegroom being with them. Both references do not offer insight beyond that found in Tertullian, though they do offer additional confirmation of the presence of the passage in Marcion's text.

8.6 Luke 5:36–37

Ephrem *Hymns against Heresies* 44.6–7—Nicht tut man neuen Wein in abgenützte Schläuche. Er gab (neue) Sinne—wie (neue) Gebote, neues Ohr—wie (neues) Gebot. Denn von einem alt gewordnen Ohr—werden neue Melodien nicht vernommen. Darüber muss man staunen, dass er (neue) Gebote gab,—nicht die alten, und dass er (die alten) Glieder gab,—nicht fremde! Die Sinne, die er heilte,—verkünden laut von ihm: Auch wenn neu sind—die Aussprüche, die er tat, ist er (dennoch) nicht der Fremde! | Philastrius, *Diversarum hereseon liber* 45.2—*Quid est, inquit* [Marcion], *quod in evangelio dicente domino scriptum est: Nemo pannum rudem mittet in vestimentum vetus, neque vinum novum in utres veteres, alioquin rumpuntur utres, et effunditur vinum*? ... [Luke 6:43 follows]

This parable is also attested by Tertullian, Epiphanius, and the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Ephrem attests Luke 5:37 in this hymn against Marcion, though citing the text in the form of the Matthean parallel.[19] Philastrius makes reference to both Luke 5:36, 37, though once again in a form strongly influenced by

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18 The translation is that of Beck (cf. chapter 3, n. 27).

19 Beck notes, "*Matth.*, IX, 17 der Text wie Peš u. VS, nut statt des Partizip *bâlyâta* steht der Relativsatz: *da-blay*, wahrscheinlich aus metrischen Gründen" (*Hymnen Contra Haereses*, 156n1).

Matt 9:16–17. As was the case with the testimony found in the *Adamantius Dialogue* it is difficult to evaluate whether *pannum rudem* here is attesting the reading apparently found in Tertullian and Epiphanius or simply following Matthew. Though once again no significant insight can be gained concerning the wording of Marcion's Gospel, these further references to this parable underscore its importance in Marcion's thought noted in the previous chapter.

8.7 Luke 6:20, 24

Eznik, *De deo* 405—The law of the Just One is in opposition to the grace of Jesus … "the latter gives happiness to the poor and woe to the great."[20]

Luke 6:20 is attested by both Tertullian and Epiphanius, with Tertullian also attesting v. 24. Eznik alludes to both verses in the context of a Marcionite antithesis contrasting what Jesus did with a reference to the Just One giving "beatitude to the great (Sir 31:8) and misery to the needy."[21] The reference to blessing for the *aghk'atatc'* (poor) and woe to the *mēcatown* ("rich"; Blanchard and Young translate "great") confirm the unproblematic testimony of Tertullian.

8.8 Luke 6:43

Origen, *Princ.* 2.5.4—[with reference to the Marcionites] *Sed iterum ad scripturae nos revocant verba, proferentes illam suam famosissimam quaestionem. Aiunt namque: Scriptum est quia non potest arbor bona malos fructus facere, neque arbor mala bonos fructus facere; ex fructu enim arbor cognoscitur.*[22] | Hippolytus, *Haer.* 10.19.3—[with reference to the Marcionites] διὸ καὶ ταῖς παραβολαῖς ταῖς εὐαγγελικαῖς χρῶνται, οὕτως λέγοντες· οὐ δύναται δένδρον καλὸν καρποὺς πονηροὺς ποιεῖν καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς, … | Pseudo-Tertullian, *Adversus omnes haereses*, 6.2—*Hic ex occasione qua dictum sit: omnis arbor bona bonos fructas*

20 The translation of *De deo* is that of Blanchard and Young (cf. chapter 3, n. 32). A brief, helpful overview and summary of *De deo* can be found in Robert P. Casey, "The Armenian Marcionites and the Diatessaron," *JBL* 57 (1938): 186–88. For a helpful overview of and comments on Eznik's discussion of Marcion, cf. Wolfgang Hage, "Marcion bei Eznik von Kolb," in May, Greschat, and Meiser (eds.), *Marcion und seine kirchengeschichtliche Wirkung*, 29–37.

21 *De Deo* (trans. and cross-reference Blanchard and Young), 405.

22 The text of *De principiis* is that of the Koetschau edition (cf. chapter 3, n. 33).

facit, mala autem malos, ...[23] | Philastrius, *Diversarum hereseon liber* 45.2—[Luke 5:36 precedes] ... *et iterum: non est arbor bona quae facit malum fructum, neque arbor mala quae faciat bonum fructum.*

This verse is also attested by Tertullian and in the *Adamantius Dialogue*, where the challenges of reconstructing the precise wording of Marcion's text were already discussed. Worth noting is that in each instance here, the source offers the order "good tree" followed by "bad tree" with Tertullian and against the testimony of the *Adamantius Dialogue*. In addition, the influence of the Matthean parallels (Matt 7:17–18; 12:33) are readily apparent, in particular in the varying verbal constructions (e.g., *potest facere*, δύναται ποιεῖν, and *facit*). Nevertheless, none of these sources appear to support the *Adamantius Dialogue*'s (one) use of προφέρω.

8.9 Luke 6:45

Origen, *Princ.* 2.5.4— ... *bonus homo de bono thesauro cordis sui profert bonum, et malus de malo profert malum.*

Origen, along with Tertullian, attests 6:45 for Marcion's Gospel, as the *Adamantius Dialogue* is not referring to Marcion's text. Shortly after Origen's comments invoking the Matthean parallels to Luke 6:43 cited above, Origen refers to Luke 6:45 as evidenced by the use of *cordis* and the second half of the reference.[24] Origen also provides a citation of the passage, as opposed to Tertullian's allusion, even if it is clearly abbreviated. Harnack did not make reference to this passage, and it must be admitted that it is not entirely clear if Origen's refutation here of Marcion's interpretation of certain passages is also attesting the actual reading of Marcion's text.

8.10 Luke 7:22

Eznik, *De deo* 358—"Heal," he [the Good God and Stranger] said, "their lepers, and give life to their dead, and open their blind, and make very great healings as a gift to them, so that the Lord of creatures might see you and be jealous and raise you on a cross."

As noted in chapter 4.4.22, Tertullian's allusion to this verse does not offer any insight into its actual wording and the reference by Eznik provides only

23 The text of *Adversus omnes haereses* is that of the Kroymann edition (cf. chapter 3, n. 34).

24 The reading καρδίας αὐτοῦ is the majority reading, likely influenced by Matt 12:35.

minimal additional information. Though the words supposedly spoken by "the Good God and Stranger" make reference to a few of the specific elements of Luke 7:22, though in a variant order, a reconstruction of the verse beyond the bare mention of these elements is not possible.

8.11 Luke 7:23

Ephrem, *Against Marcion I*, xxxix/86— . . . Blessed is he, if he is not offended in me, . . . Blessed is he if he is not offended in me . . . Blessed is he if he remains steadfast and is not offended in me.[25]

Ephrem cites Luke 7:23 three times in relatively close succession in a discussion concerning the interaction between Jesus and John, with the final reference including a singular reading of remaining steadfast. Though confirming the presence of this verse elsewhere attested by Tertullian and Epiphanius, the passage does not offer insight into the wording beyond Epiphanius's attestation.

8.12 Luke 8:20

Ephrem, *Commentary on the Diatessaron* 11.9—[a citation of Luke 11:27 precedes] Marcion dit: Par ces paroles ils le tentaient, pour savoir s'il était vraiment né. Il en serait de même pour les paroles: Voici que ta mère et les frères te cherchent.

Is his commentary on the Diatessaron, Ephrem refers to the Marcionite interpretation of Luke 8:20 as involving a "temptation" on the part of Jesus, an interpretation also referenced by Tertullian (*Marc.* 4.19.7). Since Ephrem is not providing citations of Marcion's Gospel, he here provides further evidence for the Marcionite interpretation of this verse, but not for its precise wording.

8.13 Luke 9:28, 30–31a, 32, 35

Ephrem, *Against Marcion I* xxxix/87—But concerning Moses and Elijah who were found on the mountain in company with ISU, what do they (*i.e.* the Marcionites) say that they were doing in his presence?; xl/88–89 . . . Or were they with him to say to him (*i.e.* to ISU) . . . ; xli/91—Was it in order to fight that

25 The translation is that of Mitchell, Bevan, and Burkitt (cf. chapter 3, n. 36).

he went up thither? … did he make war against the Maker or … ? … ; xlii/91 And perhaps ISU too shewed them that glory on the mountain in order to incite Moses, etc., … ; xlii/92–93 … against his [the Stranger's] disciples and against him [*who said*], 'This is my Son and my Beloved,' [*for*] He [the Maker] had sent only two against them.; xliii/94–95 Again, the Stranger who proclaimed there, 'This is my Son and my Beloved,' … seeing that the voice came from the heaven of the Maker, who is to tell us that he is not the Son of the Maker, in a case where the voice which came was coming from the heaven of the Maker, especially when the mountain was the mountain of the Maker, and the cloud of Moses, etc. belonged to the Maker, and the prophets likewise who were on the mountain (were the prophets) of the Maker? | Ephrem, *Commentary on the Diatessaron* 14.9—Et s'il est un Dieu étranger, comment Moïse et Élie s'entretenaient-ils avec lui? … Et lorsqu'on a entendu la voix: Celui-ci est mon Fils et mon bien-aimé; ecoutez-le, où donc était le Dieu juste?

In both his work *Against Marcion* and in his *Commentary on the Diatessaron* Ephrem makes reference to Jesus' encounter with Moses and Elijah in Luke 9.[26] Tertullian attests all the verses to which Ephrem refers, and Epiphanius attests vv. 28, 30–31, and 35. Once again, even though Ephrem provides confirmation concerning the presence of certain verses in Marcion's text, specific wording is not accessible through Ephrem's accounts. For instance, though the references in Ephrem's *Commentary on the Diatessaron* are influenced by the wording of Matt 17:3 (/Luke 9:30) and Mark 9:7 (//Luke 9:35),[27] the interaction with Marcionite interpretation of the events narrated in these verses would require their presence in Marcion's Gospel. The precise wording of Luke 9:35 in *Against Marcion* is also not reflecting Marcion's text as the citation here, as Mitchell, Bevan, and Burkitt note, is the reading "as in syr.C, and often elsewhere in Ephraim."[28]

Significantly, though Epiphanius also attests v. 31, Drijvers explicitly appeals to Ephrem's writings to argue against Harnack's view that 9:31 was missing in Marcion's Gospel.[29] As argued above, in my view, Ephrem thus further

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26 *Against Marcion* contains a particularly interesting, extended interaction with a Marcionite interpretation of the encounter involving a battle between the Stranger and the Maker. Cf. H.J.W. Drivers, "Christ as Warrior and Merchant: Aspects of Marcion's Christology," in *Papers Presented to the Tenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1987: Second Century, Tertullian to Nicaea in the West, Clement of Alexandria and Origen, Athanasius* (ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone; StPatr 21; Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 73–85.

27 Also noted as such by Leloir, *Commentaire de l'évangile concordant*, 247n2 and n4, respectively.

28 Mitchell, Bevan, and Burkitt, *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations*, xliin2.

29 Drivers, "Christ as Warrior and Merchant," 76–77, 82.

confirms the presence of that part of the verse attested by both Tertullian and Epiphanius.[30]

8.14 Luke 9:60

Clement of Alexandria, *Strom*. 3.4.25.3—κἂν συγχρήσωνται [heretics, including Marcion] τῇ τοῦ κυρίου φωνῇ λέγοντος τῷ Φιλίππῳ· ἄφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκρούς, σὺ δὲ ἀκολούθει μοι, ...[31]

This verse is also attested by Tertullian. Clement's reference to these words being spoken to Philip is curious as neither Luke, nor the Matthean parallel, mention Philip. It is not likely that this was drawn from Marcion's Gospel.[32] The citation itself has also been influenced by Matt 8:22 as the verb ἀκολουθέω is drawn from there, an influence not found in Tertullian. Up until ἀκολούθει μοι, however, the wording and syntax is that of Luke 9:60 and essentially confirms the wording of Tertullian. The only difference is the word order τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκρούς, which was already seen possibly to be the order in Marcion's Gospel.[33]

8.15 Luke 10:22

Irenaeus, *Haer*. 4.6.1—*Hi* [including Marcionites?] *autem qui peritiores apostolis volunt esse sic describunt: Nemo cognovit patrem nisi filius, nec filium nisi pater, et cui voluerit filius revelare*, ... | Eznik, *De deo* 392—So who was that one who was able to accomplish such great things, if not the Lord of all who said, "Everything was given to me by my Father"?

Luke 10:22 is also attested by Tertullian and in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. It is not entirely certain if Irenaeus is referring to Marcionites or Marcion's text; however, the same inversion of "father" and "son" found in Tertullian and in the *Adamantius Dialogue* is also found here. In addition, Irenaeus's *cognovit* would support the *Adamantius Dialogue*'s reading of a perfect verb rather than Tertullian's present. It is difficult, however, to ascertain how much weight should be given to the verb tense here. Eznik attests only the verse opening,

30 Cf. the discussion in chapters 4.4.35 and 6.4.21.

31 The text of the *Stromata* is that of the Stählin, Früchtel, and Treu edition (cf. chapter 3, n. 43).

32 Harnack was slightly less committal: "Ob sie [the Marcionites] ihn [the saying] an Philippus gerichtet bezeichnet haben, ist nicht sicher" (*Marcion*, 204*).

33 *Contra* Tertullian (cf. chapter 4.4.37).

essentially agreeing with the attestation of Tertullian, though including the possessive pronoun at the end of the phrase (*hawre imme*). Here also it is questionable whether Eznik can provide actual insight concerning the exact text of Marcion's Gospel and so some uncertainty concerning precise readings in this verse remains.

8.16 Luke 11:3

Origen, *Fragment 180*—ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος ἔχουσι τὴν λέξιν οὕτως· Τὸν ἄρτον σου τὸν ἐπιούσιον δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν.[34]

Where Origen and Tertullian overlap in their attestation of this verse, they agree. At the same time, however, though it is possible that τὸν ἄρτον σου lies behind Tertullian's question in *Marc*. 4.26.4, it cannot be reconstructed from Tertullian's reference. In general, given Origen's attention to textual details, including the fact that he drew explicit attention to the two different forms of the prayer found in Matthew and Luke in his own discussion of the Lord's Prayer (*Or*. 18.2),[35] it may very well be the case that he saw this reading in a copy of Marcion's Gospel.

8.17 Luke 11:27

Ephrem, *Commentary on the Diatessaron* 11.9—Bienheureux le sein qui t'a porté et les mamelles qui t'ont allaité. Marcion dit: Par ces paroles ils le tentaient, pour savoir s'il était vraiment né [a citation of Luke 8:20 follows].

Ephrem's reference to Luke 8:20 was noted above. Immediately prior to that reference he referred to Marcion's interpretation of Luke 11:27. Ephrem simply provides further attestation for Marcion's use of part of this verse also referenced by Tertullian.

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34 The text of the fragment is that of the Rauer edition (cf. chapter 3, n. 47). Elements of the following comments are also found in Roth, "Text of the Lord's Prayer," 60.

35 Origen explicitly noted: ἔχουσι δὲ αἱ λέξεις τοῦ μὲν Ματθαίου τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου· ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου· γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον· καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν· καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμὸν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ, τοῦ δὲ Λουκᾶ οὕτως· πάτερ, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου· ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν· καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν, καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀφίεμεν παντὶ τῷ ὀφείλοντι ἡμῖν· καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς πειρασμόν (the text is that of the Paul Koetschau edition *Origenes Werke: Zweiter Band: Buch V–VII Gegen Celsus, Die Schrift vom Gebet* [GCS 3; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1899]).

8.18 Luke 18:19

Origen, *Princ.* 2.5.1, 4—*…nemo bonus praeter unum sit deum patrem…nemo bonus nisi unus deus pater,…* | Hippolytus, *Haer.* 7.31.6—καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς [Jesus] ὁμολογεῖ <λέγων> τί με λέγετε ἀγαθόν; εἷ<ς> ἐστιν ἀγαθός.

This verse is also attested by Tertullian, Epiphanius, and in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Origen twice refers to the verse as used by heretics in an attempt to distinguish the good God and Father of Jesus from the God of the world, rather clearly a reference to Marcion's teaching.[36] The two citations by Origen vary slightly, though in both instances they are closer to the syntax of Tertullian and the *Adamantius Dialogue*. It is also noteworthy that *pater*, as attested in Epiphanius and in the *Adamantius Dialogue*, is also attested here. Hippolytus, on the other hand, attests a singular reading λέγετε (according to IGNTP), apparently influenced by Matt 19:17. It is unlikely that this wording is reflecting Marcion's text even as a fifth attestation to the passage underscores its importance for Marcion.

8.19 Luke 22:15

Eznik, *De deo* 415—And concerning the Pasch he said to his disciples: "I desire strongly to eat this Pasch with you."

The testimony of Tertullian and Epiphanius already revealed a high verbatim agreement concerning the wording of this verse, which is further confirmed by Eznik. The inclusion of the demonstrative pronoun in "this Passover" agrees with Epiphanius. Since the omission by Tertullian may have been due to his own hand the likelihood is slightly higher that it was present in Marcion's Gospel.

8.20 Luke 23:34a

Ephrem, *Commentary on the Diatessaron* 21.3—Et si l'on pretend que c'est le père du dieu étranger qui a amené les ténèbres, on peut objecter qu'elles ne sont pas de son domaine et que, si elles en étaient, il ne les aurait pas amenées,

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36 Lieu refers to the second citation, and though perhaps technically correct in stating that the passage refers "to anonymous heretics who cite the saying of Jesus" ("Marcion and the Synoptic Problem," 736), little speculation is involved in positing that Marcion and his followers are addressed in this section of *De principiis*.

d'abord parce qu'il est bienfaisant et ensuite parce que le Seigneur a dit: Pardonnez-leur, parce qu'ils ne savent pas ce qu'ils font.

Though elements of v. 34 are attested by Tertullian and Epiphanius, v. 34a is only alluded to here. Harnack contended that

> der Vers ist höchst wahrscheinlich von M. hinzugesetzt und eingedrungen in [Harnack lists various manuscripts attesting the reading]. Daß es, obgleich ursprünglich, getilgt worden, ist ganz undenkbar.[37]

It appears that two questionable judgments are presented here. First, as Tsutsui already noted, the suggestion that Marcion inserted this verse is unlikely. He then goes on to suggest that v. 34a was not present in the copies of Marcion's Gospel available to Tertullian and Epiphanius, but that it later found its way into Marcion's text through the influence of other manuscripts containing the element.[38] Second, it is important to note that the element is simply unattested by Tertullian and Epiphanius and that their silence is not evidence for its omission. The, according to Harnack, "unthinkable" omission of v. 34a is not actually attested by any source. It is possible that different copies of Marcion's Gospel contained different readings, but it is also possible that Ephrem's comment here is simply a constructed argument not actually reflecting a reading in Marcion's text. It is perhaps best simply to note the possibility that Ephrem attests v. 34a and that it is unattested by Tertullian and Epiphanius.[39]

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37 Harnack, *Marcion*, 236*.

38 Cf. Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 125–26. For further discussion of v.34a, cf. Joël Delobel, "Luke 23:34a: A Perpetual Text-Critical Crux?" in *Sayings of Jesus: Canonical and Non-Canonical: Essays in Honour of Tjitze Baarda* (ed. William L. Petersen, Johan S. Vos, and Henk J. De Jonge; NovTSup 84; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 25–36 and Eubank, "A Disconcerting Prayer," 521–36.

39 It certainly seems too bold to claim "Marcion's Luke … include[s] the prayer in Luke's Gospel" and to use this claim to contend that therefore a written source for the verse, "if not original to Luke must be at least early second century, prior to Marcion's Luke (ca. 140 C.E.)" (Kim Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000], 120). Haines-Eitzen's view may, of course, ultimately be correct concerning the reading and its source; however, considerable nuance should be present if Marcion's Gospel is to be employed as evidence in the argument. For instance, though Haines-Eitzen also refers to Blackman, *Marcion and His Influence*, 50 as support for the reading in Marcion, on this page Blackman only makes reference to Harnack's view. Blackman himself is more cautious, listing 23:34a as a passage that should be reckoned "with less probability" to "a small class of tendentious alterations by Marcion which crept into the Old Latin tradition at certain points" (*Marcion and His Influence*, 60).

8.21 Luke 23:44–45

Ephrem, *Commentary on the Diatessaron* 21.3—S'il [Jesus] avait été fils du dieu étranger, le soleil n'aurait pas été enténébré lorsque le Seigneur fut élevé sur sa croix, ... | Eznik, *De deo* 358—And the Lord of creatures having become angry, in his anger he rent his robe and the curtain of his temple. And he darkened his son, and he clothed his world in umber.

Both of these verses are attested by Tertullian, and v. 45 by Epiphanius. Ephrem and Eznik interact with Marcionite interpretation of the verses and in so doing provide additional attestation for elements referenced and alluded to by Tertullian and Epiphanius, e.g., the darkness over the land, darkening of the sun, and the tearing of the temple curtain.[40] Casey contended that Eznik, due to the reference to the tearing of "his robe [i.e., the high priest's robe] and the curtain of his temple," is drawing on the Diatessaron.[41] Regardless of whether one finds this view convincing in terms of the use of the Diatessaron, it is unlikely that a reference to a robe being torn was in Marcion's Gospel.

8.22 Luke 24:42–43

Eznik, *De deo* 407— ... So too, those ones will not eat fish now, but there in the resurrection, just as he too after his resurrection ate the fish which he found among the fisherman.

The content of these verses are attested only by Eznik.[42] In the context of a discussing involving the eating of fish by Marcionites, Eznik offers an allusion to ἰχθύος in v. 42 and ἔφαγεν in v. 43. The reference to the fish being "found among the fisherman" is unlikely to reflect any specific reading in Marcion's Gospel.[43]

40 E.g., Casey already noted "Eznik's text *xawarecaw zaregakn* implies the reading ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος in agreement with the Diatessaron and Marcion's Luke" ("Armenian Marcionites," 192n7).

41 Ibid., 192.

42 Zahn argued, "Aus dem Schweigen Tr.'s über wirkliches Essen folgt wohl, daß 42 un. 43 fehlten" (*Geschichte*, 2:495). Apart from the problematic use of an argument from silence, Harnack rejected this view with the question "Aber was soll v. 41 für sich allein bedeuten?" (*Marcion*, 240*) before referring to Eznik's attestation of the verses.

43 Interestingly, such a reference seems to fit the circumstances of John 21:12–13 better than the context of Luke 24.

CHAPTER 9

The Reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel

The preceding chapters four through eight have analyzed every verse from Marcion's Gospel attested by the sources. In these chapters, the attempt was made to present all the relevant issues for gaining insight into Marcion's text, though admittedly the analysis offered in these discussions has not yet been distilled into readily accessible conclusions concerning the text of Marcion's Gospel. It is to this task that I now turn in the present chapter. Of considerable importance is the observation that numerous readings in the verses reconstructed below differ to varying degrees from Harnack's reconstruction, and several verses for which the sources are silent and that Harnack indicated were omitted in Marcion's Gospel are here more appropriately identified as *unattested*.[1] These differences are due to my attempt to present the data found in the tables in chapter two more accurately than has been done previously and thus to reflect Marcion's text more precisely. At the same time, however, this increased accuracy, though important, is not the most significant contribution in the following reconstruction. Rather, since perhaps the most pronounced weaknesses of all previous reconstructions, including Harnack's, is the lack of distinction between various levels of certainty for attested readings, the following reconstruction clearly reveals the attempt to indicate what level of confidence can be assigned to any particular reading for Marcion's text. Therefore, even when the wording of this reconstruction agrees with that of Harnack's, the ability to see an assessment of the relative confidence that one can place in a specific reading seeks to provide significantly more helpful insight into Marcion's Gospel. Though such assessment necessarily involves some level of subjectivity in terms of how one evaluates not only the testimony of a particular source but also the attestation of readings in the NT manuscript tradition, at the very least the more contentions elements of reconstruction should be clear. In order to accomplish the goal of greater clarity and nuance, the following markers have been used in the reconstruction:

1. Text that is set in bold reveals **secure** readings confirmed both by the methodological consideration of citation habit and attestation in the extant manuscript tradition. In addition, when a reading in Marcion's

1 Verses that Harnack indicated were omitted that are in reality unattested include Luke 5:39; 22:43; 24:12; and 24:40.

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text is attested by multiple sources or is the unanimous reading of the extant manuscript tradition, it is generally treated as secure. The highest level of confidence can be ascribed to these readings or only to the words utilized, if the word order is unclear (cf. point 6).

2. Text in bold italics reveals ***very likely*** readings where an author's citation habit provides confirmation of the reading, but either corroboratory evidence from the manuscript tradition is lacking or some uncertainty arises due to a source providing only an adaptation or allusion to the passage.[2] Alternatively, a reading can be ***very likely*** when the manuscript tradition is essentially uniform or a group of witnesses clearly attest a reading, even if an author's citation habits do not provide significant insight into the verse.
3. Text set in regular type reveals probable readings where citation habits, explicit statements in a source, or the manuscript tradition have provided some, but not determinative, evidence for a reading.[3] In addition, some allusions of relatively unproblematic elements in verses are included here. Only slight confidence can be placed in these readings having been those of Marcion's text.
4. Text set in italics reveals *possible* readings that are attested by a source, though ultimately no confidence can be placed in these readings being found in Marcion's text.
5. Italic text set in (parentheses) reveals those instances where a source attests certain elements from verses, but where, despite some allusion to the reading, precise wording is not attested. Some elements that are attested with variant wording in different sources and where a decision between the two is not possible are also placed in parentheses.
6. Text set in {curly brackets} is attested text where the word order for Marcion's text is uncertain. The words set inside these brackets, however, may reflect any of the levels of confidence discussed above. In other

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2 It may also be the case that a source's citation habit tends to confirm a reading other than the one attested by that author. In such cases the negative evidence cannot create a reading evaluated as "secure" and thus will never be more than "very likely."

3 Concerning this latter point, e.g., in chapter 5.51 it was noted that in Luke 12:14 Tertullian's *iudicem* could be rendering either κριτήν or δικαστήν and that the NA[27] apparatus reflects this fact. Given, however, that the former is the reading of both early and varied witnesses such as P^{75}, ℵ, B, and D it seems slightly more likely that this reading was also found in Marcion's text. Thus, I have considered Tertullian's *iudicem* to be "probably" instead of simply "possibly" rendering κριτήν. Consonant with the explanations of these levels of confidence in the main text above, I would argue that the manuscript tradition offers slight confidence instead of no confidence for κριτήν having appeared in Marcion's Gospel.

words, it may be secure, very likely, probable, or possible that certain words appeared in Marcion's text even if their order cannot be determined.

7. Ellipses are used to indicate unattested elements in the verses and comments made on readings within a verse are placed in [brackets].[4]

In the following reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel according to the sources, as has been the case throughout this volume, the chapter and verse numbers follow that of canonical Luke. Following the reference, italicized cross-references to the chapter and section of this monograph where a verse or pericope is discussed are provided within [brackets].

1:1–2:52 [*6.4.1; 8.1*]—Not Present
3:1 [*5.1; 6.4.1; 7.4.1; 8.2*]—***ἐν τῷ*** {**ἔτει πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ**} *τῆς ἡγεμονίας* **Τιβερίου Καίσαρος** ἐπι τῶν χρόνων *Ποντίου* Πιλάτου . . .
3:2–20—Unattested [though indirectly attested as not present][5]
3:21–4:13 [*4.4.2; 6.4.1*]—Not Present
4:14–15—Unattested
4:31 [*5.3; 7.4.1; 8.4*]— . . . ***κατῆλθεν*** [ἐφάνη may have appeared in the *Antitheses*] **εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ** πόλιν τῆς Γαλιλαίας, . . . ***ἦν διδάσκων*** . . . ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ.
4:32 [*4.4.1*]— . . . **ἐξεπλήσσοντο** *δὲ πάντες* **ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι** ἐν **ἐξουσίᾳ ἦν ὁ λόγος αὐτου.**
4:33—Unattested
4:34 [*4.4.2*]— . . . **τί ἡμῖν *καὶ* σοί Ἰησοῦ** [Ναζαρηνέ may not have been present]; **ἦλθες ἀπολέσαι ἡμᾶς; οἶδα** [σε likely present] **τίς εἶ, ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ.**
4:35 [*5.4*]— . . . ***ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς*** . . .
4:16 [*5.2; 8.3*]— . . . Ναζαρέθ . . .
4:17–22—Unattested [and possibly not present]
4:23 [*5.2; 8.3*]— . . . (*ἰατρέ, θεράπευσον σεαυτόν*) . . .
4:24–26—Unattested
[4:27 is found below before 17:14]
4:28—Unattested
4:29 [*5.2; 8.3*]— . . . ἐξέβαλον αὐτόν . . . ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἕως ὀφρύος τοῦ ὄρους . . .

4 Unattested elements within a verse include those elements that may be unattested due to simple omission by a source. Even though there may therefore be grounds for positing that some of those elements were present in Marcion's text, doing so would involve a, in my estimation, precarious "drawing conclusions from silence"; nevertheless, citation habits and the manuscript evidence may occasionally allow a bracketed comment drawing attention to the likely presence or absence of an unattested element.

5 Cf. chapter 3, n. 67.

4:30 [*5.2; 8.3*]— . . . διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν ἐπορεύετο.

4:36–39—Unattested

4:40 [*5.5*]— . . . *τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιτιθεὶς ἐθεράπευεν αὐτούς.*

4:41 [*5.5*]—*ἐξήρχοντο* [δὲ καί likely present] *δαιμόνια . . . κραυγάζοντα . . . σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.* [καί likely present] ἐπιτιμῶν (*οὐκ εἴα αὐτὰ λαλεῖν*) . . .

4:42 [*5.6*]— . . . *ἐπορεύθη εἰς ἔρημον . . . οἱ ὄχλοι . . . κατεῖχον αὐτόν* . . .

4:43 [*5.6*]— . . . {*δεῖ με καὶ ταῖς ἑτέραις πόλεσιν εὐαγγελίσασθαι*} *τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ* . . .

4:44—Unattested

5:1—Unattested

5:2 [*5.7*]— . . . (*οἱ ἁλιεῖς*) . . .

5:4–8—Unattested

5:9 [*5.7*]—θάμβος (*γὰρ περιέσχεν*) αὐτόν . . . ἐπὶ *τῇ ἄγρᾳ τῶν ἰχθύων* . . .

5:10 [*5.7*]— . . . *υἱοὺς Ζεβεδαίου* . . . (*τῷ Σίμωνι*) . . . (*εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν Σίμωνα*) . . . *μὴ φοβοῦ, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν γὰρ ἀνθρώπους ἔσῃ ζωγρῶν.*

5:11 [*4.4.3*]— . . . πλοῖα . . . ἀφέντες . . . ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ.

5:12 [*5.8; 6.4.3*]— . . . *λέπρας* . . .

5:13 [*5.8; 6.4.3*]— . . . ἥψατο . . . (*λέγων· θέλω, καθαρίσθητι· καὶ εὐθέως ἡ λέπρα ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*).

5:14 [*5.8; 6.4.3*]— . . . ἀπελθὼν δεῖξον σεαυτὸν τῷ ἱερεῖ καὶ προσένεγκε *τὸ δῶρον περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ σου* καθὼς [ὅ attested by Tertullian likely is not Marcion's reading] προσέταξεν Μωϋσῆς, {ἵνα ᾖ *εἰς* μαρτύριον *τοῦτο* ὑμῖν}.

5:15–16—Unattested

5:17 [*5.9*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

5:18 [*5.9*]— . . . (*ἄνθρωπον ὅς ἦν παραλελυμένος*) . . .

5:19—Unattested

5:20 [*4.4.4*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

5:21 [*4.4.4*]— . . . τίς [δύναται likely present] {ἀφεῖναι ἁμαρτίας} εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ θεός.

5:22–23—Unattested

5:24 [*5.9; 6.4.4*]—{*ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι* ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*} . . . *ἔγειρε καὶ ἆρον τὸν κράβαττόν σου* . . .

5:25—Unattested

5:26 [*5.9*]— . . . (*εἴδομεν παράδοξα σήμερον*).

5:27 [*5.10*]— . . . *τελώνην* . . . (*εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἀκολούθει μοι*)

5:28–29—Unattested

5:30 [*5.10*]— . . . *μετὰ* τῶν *τελωνῶν* (*καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν*) . . .

5:31 [*4.4.5*]— . . . οὐ χρείαν ἔχουσιν οἱ ὑγιαίνοντες ἰατροῦ ἀλλὰ οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες.

5:32—Unattested

5:33 [*5.11; 8.5*]— . . . *οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου νηστεύουσιν πυκνὰ καὶ δεήσεις ποιοῦνται* . . . (*οἱ δὲ σοὶ*) *ἐσθίουσιν καὶ πίνουσιν.*

5:34 [*5.11; 8.5*]—*μὴ δύνανται νηστεύειν οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος, ἐφ᾽ ὅσον {μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐστιν ὁ νύμφιος}.*

5:35 [*5.11*]—*. . . ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὁ νύμφιος . . . νηστεύσουσιν . . .*

5:36–38 [*4.4.6; 6.4.5; 7.4.2; 8.6*]—[This parable is attested in multiple sources; however, the precise wording can no longer be reconstructed. It is likely that ὁ οἶνος was discussed before τὸ ἐπίβλημα and the Matthean ἐπίβλημα ῥάκους ἀγνάφου may have been present in Marcion's text. The attestation of v. 38 is uncertain]

5:39—Unattested

6:1 [*5.12*]—*. . . ἐν σαββάτῳ . . . ἐπείνασαν οἱ μαθηταί, ἔτιλλον τοὺς στάχυας ψώχοντες ταῖς χερσίν.*

6:2 [*5.12*]—*. . . τῶν Φαρισαίων . . .* [That the Pharisees voiced an objection is clear but no precise wording can be reconstructed].

6:3 [*5.12; 6.4.6*]—*. . . οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀνέγνωτε*, τί *ἐποίησε* Δαυίδ . . .

6:4 [*5.12; 6.4.6*]—[an opening conjunction or interrogative particle is unattested] *εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ . . . τοὺς ἄρτους τῆς προθέσεως . . .*

6:5 [*4.4.7; 6.4.7*]—[The location of this verse here or after Luke 6:9 is uncertain] *. . . κύριός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου και τοῦ σαββάτου.*

6:6 [*5.13*]—*. . . χείρ . . . ξηρά.*

6:7 [*5.13*]—παρετηροῦντο . . . *οἱ Φαρισαῖοι* (*εἰ ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ θεραπεύει, ἵνα εὕρωσιν κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ*).

6:8 [*7.4.3*]—[Attestation uncertain]

6:9 [*5.13*]—*. . . ἔξεστιν τοῖς σάββασιν ἀγαθοποιῆσαι ἢ μή*; *ψυχὴν σῶσαι ἢ ἀπολέσαι*;

6:10–11—Unattested

6:12 [*5.14*]—*. . . ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος . . . διανυκτερεύων ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ . . .*

6:13 [*5.14*]—*. . . ἐκλεξάμενος . . . δώδεκα . . . ἀποστόλους . . .*

6:14 [*5.14*]—*Σίμωνα . . . ὠνόμασεν Πέτρον . . .*

6:15—Unattested

6:16 [*5.14; 6.4.8*]—. . . Ἰούδαν [*Ἰσκαριώτην* or *Ἰσκαριώθ*] ὃς *ἐγένετο* προδότης.

6:17 [*5.15; 6.4.8*]—*. . . κατέβη* ἐν αὐτοῖς . . . πλῆθος . . . ἀπὸ (*πάσης τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Ἰερουσαλὴμ καί . . .*) Τύρου (*καὶ Σιδῶνος*) *καὶ τῆς περαίας.*

6:18—Unattested

6:19 [*6.4.9*]—καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος *ἐζήτει* ἅπτεσθαι αὐτοῦ . . .

6:20 [*4.4.8; 6.4.9; 8.7*]—*καὶ αὐτὸς* ἐπάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς *αὐτοῦ* . . . μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοί, ὅτι *αὐτῶν* ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.

6:21 [*4.4.9*]—μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες . . . ὅτι *χορτασθήσονται*. μακάριοι οἱ κλαίοντες . . . ὅτι *γελάσουσιν*.

6:22 [*4.4.10*]—μακάριοί ἐστε ὅταν {*μισήσουσιν* ὑμᾶς} οἱ ἄνθρωποι . . . καὶ *ὀνειδίσουσιν* καὶ *ἐκβαλούσιν* τὸ ὄνομα ὑμῶν ὡς πονηρὸν ἕνεκα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

6:23 [*4.4.11; 6.4.10*]— . . . **κατὰ** [*ταῦτα* or *τὰ αὐτά*] **ἐποίουν τοῖς προφήταις οἱ πατέρες** ***αὐτῶν***.

6:24 [*5.16; 8.7*]—[πλήν was likely present] **οὐαὶ** [ὑμῖν was likely present] **τοῖς πλουσίοις, ὅτι ἀπέχετε τὴν παράκλησιν ὑμῶν.**

6:25 [*4.4.12*]—***οὐαὶ*** [ὑμῖν may have been present] ***οἱ ἐμπεπλησμένοι*** [νῦν likely not present], ***ὅτι πεινάσετε. οὐαὶ*** [ὑμῖν may have been present] ***οἱ γελῶντες νῦν, ὅτι πενθήσετε καὶ κλαύσετε.***

6:26 [*5.17*]—***οὐαὶ*** [ὑμῖν may have been present] ***ὅταν*** {***ὑμᾶς καλῶς εἴπωσιν***} [πᾶντες may not have been present] ***οἱ ἄνθρωποι· κατὰ*** ταῦτα [γάρ may have been present] ***ἐποίουν καὶ τοῖς ψευδοπροφήταις οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν.***

6:27 [*4.4.13; 7.4.4*]—ἀλλὰ ὑμῖν λέγω τοῖς ἀκούουσιν· ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν . . .

6:28 [*4.4.13; 7.4.4*]—*εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς καὶ* ***προσεύχεσθε περὶ*** **τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς.**

6:29 [*4.4.14; 7.4.5*]— . . . (*τὴν σιαγόνα*) *πάρεχε* **καὶ τὴν ἄλλην** . . . {(*ἀπὸ τοῦ*) *αἴροντός* (*σου*) **τὸν χιτῶνά** *ἄφες αὐτῷ καὶ* **τὸ ἱμάτιον**}.

6:30a [*4.4.15*]—**παντί . . . αἰτοῦντί** σε **δίδου** . . . [6:30b is unattested]

6:31 [*4.4.16*]—**καὶ καθὼς** {ὑμῖν ***γίνεσθαι*** θέλετε} ***παρὰ*** [τῶν may have been present] ***ἀνθρώπων***, *οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε αὗτοις*.

6:32–33—Unattested

6:34a [*5.18*]—***καὶ ἐὰν*** *δανίσητε παρ' ὧν* ***ἐλπίζετε*** *ὑμεῖς* ***ἀπολαβεῖν, ποία*** {***χάρις*** ἐστὶν *ὑμῖν*} . . . [6:34b is unattested]

[6:35a is unattested] 6:35b [*5.19*]— . . . ***καὶ ἔσεσθε*** *υἱοὶ θεοῦ*, ***ὅτι αὐτὸς χρηστός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀχαρίστους καὶ πονηρούς.***

6:36 [*5.20*]—γίνεσθε [οὖν likely not present] οἰκτίρμονες, καθὼς [καί may not have been present] ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν *ᾤκτειρεν ὑμᾶς*.

6:37 [*4.4.17*]—[καί likely not present] ***μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε·*** [καί likely not present] ***μὴ καταδικάζετε, ἵνα μὴ καταδικασθῆτε·*** **ἀπολύετε, καὶ ἀπολυθήσεσθε.**

6:38 [*5.21; 7.4.6*]—***δίδοτε καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν· μέτρον καλόν, πεπιεσμένον καὶ*** [σεσαλευμένον may have been present] ***ὑπερεκχυννόμενον δώσουσιν εἰς τὸν κόλπον ὑμῶν*** τῷ . . . αὐτῷ {***μέτρῳ ᾧ*** μετρεῖτε} ***ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.***

6:39 [*4.4.18*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

6:40 [*4.4.19*]—**οὐκ ἔστιν μαθητὴς ὑπὲρ τὸν διδάσκαλον** [αὐτοῦ likely not present] . . .

6:41 [*5.22*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

6:42 [*5.22*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

6:43 [*4.4.20; 7.4.7; 8.8*]—[Variously attested and thus rendering the precise wording obscure. It is likely that the order of the elements was δένδρον *καλόν* followed by δένδρον *σαπρόν*, and it is clear that the references to the impossibility of these trees bearing bad or good fruit, respectively, was present. The verb most likely used is ποιέω.]

6:44—Unattested

6:45 [*5.23; 7.4.8; 8.9*]—*ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θησαυροῦ τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ προφέρει τὸ ἀγαθόν, καὶ ὁ πονηρὸς ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ προφέρει τὸ πονηρόν.*

6:46 [*5.24*]—***τί*** [δέ may have been present, με likely present] ***καλεῖτε· κύριε, κύριε, καὶ οὐ ποιεῖτε ἃ λέγω***;

6:47–49—Unattested

7:1—Unattested

7:2 [*4.4.21*]—[Tertullian indicates that the account involves a centurion]

7:3–8—Unattested

7:9 [*4.4.21; 6.4.11*]— . . . **λέγω** [δέ likely not present] **ὑμῖν,** *τοσαύτην* **πίστιν οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ εὗρον.**

7:10–11—Unattested

7:12 [*5.25*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

7:13—Unattested

7:14 [*5.25*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

7:15 [*5.25*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

7:16 [*5.25*]— . . . ***ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεόν*** . . . [ὅτι likely present] {***μέγας προφήτης***} *ἐγήγερται ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ* [ὅτι likely present] ***ἐπεσκέψατο ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτου.***

7:17—Unattested

7:18 [*4.4.22*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

7:19 [*4.4.22; 7.4.9*]— . . . **σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ἢ ἄλλον προσδοκῶμεν;**

7:20 [*4.4.22*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

7:21—Unattested

7:22 [*4.4.22; 8.10*]— . . . (*τυφλοὶ ἀναβλέπουσιν, χωλοὶ περιπατοῦσιν*) . . . (*νεκροὶ ἐγείρονται*) . . .

7:23 [*4.4.22; 6.4.12; 8.11*]— . . . μακάριός [ἐστιν may have been present] ὅς *οὐ* μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ ἐν ἐμοί. [the verse may have had a textual alteration so as to make explicit that it is referring to John the Baptist being scandalized]

7:24 [*5.26*]— . . . ***περὶ Ἰωάννου· τί*** ἐξήλθατε {***θεάσασθαι εἰς τὴν ἔρημον***}; . . .

7:25—Unattested

7:26 [*4.4.23*]— . . . ***προφήτην***; ναί . . . καὶ περισσότερον.

7:27 [*4.4.24; 6.4.13; 7.4.10*]—*οὗτος* **ἐστι περὶ οὗ γέγραπται· ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ὅς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδόν σου** [ἔμπροσθέν σου is unattested by Tertullian but is attested in the *Adamantius Dialogue*; Marcion's reading is uncertain].

7:28 [*4.4.25*]— . . . μείζων (*ἐν γεννητοῖς*) γυναικῶν Ἰωάννου (*οὐδείς ἐστίν*)· (*ὁ δὲ μικρότερος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ μείζων αὐτοῦ ἐστιν*).

7:29–35—Unattested

7:36 [*6.4.14*]— . . . **καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς** ***τὸν οἶκον*** **τοῦ Φαρισαίου** ***κατεκλίθη.***

7:37 [*5.27; 6.4.14*]— . . . **γυνή** . . . **ἁμαρτωλός** . . .

7:38 [*5.27; 6.4.14*]— . . . ***στᾶσα ὀπίσω παρὰ τοὺς πόδας*** . . . {τοῖς δάκρυσι ἔβρεξε . . . ταῖς θριξὶν . . . ἐξέμασσεν . . . *κατεφίλει* τοὺς πόδας . . . ἤλειφεν . . . }
7:39–43—Unattested
7:44 [*6.4.15*]— . . . ἔβρεξεν τοὺς πόδας μου . . .
7:45 [*6.4.15*]— . . . *καταφιλοῦσα* . . .
7:46 [*6.4.15*]— . . . ἤλειψε . . .
7:47 [*5.27*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
7:48 [*5.27*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
7:49—Unattested
7:50 [*5.27*]— . . . ***ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε*** . . .
8:1—Unattested
8:2 [*5.28*]— . . . ***γυναῖκες*** . . .
8:3 [*5.28*]— . . . ***γυνή*** . . . ***ἐπιτρόπου Ἡρώδου*** . . . ***αἵτινες καὶ διηκόνουν*** *αὐτῷ* ἀπὸ ***τῶν ὑπαρχόντων*** αὐταῖς.
8:4 [*5.29*]— . . . διὰ παραβολῆς.
8:5–7—Unattested
8:8 [*5.29*]— . . . *ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκουέτω.*
8:9–15—Unattested
8:16 [*5.30*]—(*οὐδείς*) . . . λύχνον . . . καλύπτει . . .
8:17 [*4.4.26*]— . . . κρυπτόν . . . φανερὸν *γενήσεται* . . .
8:18 [*4.4.27*]—**βλέπετε** . . . **πῶς ἀκούετε·** ὅς { . . . ἂν} ἔχῃ **δοθήσεται αὐτῷ·** [δέ likely not present, though *καί* may have been present] ὃς ἂν μὴ ἔχῃ, **καὶ** ὃ ***δοκεῖ ἔχειν*** **ἀρθήσεται** ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ.
8:19 [*6.4.16*]—Not Present
8:20 [*4.4.28; 6.4.16; 8.12*]—{***ἀπηγγέλω*** . . . ***αὐτῷ***} ***ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί*** σου {***ἔξω ἑστήκασιν ἰδεῖν θέλοντές σε***}.
8:21 [*4.4.29*]—***τίς μοι μήτηρ καὶ τίνες μοι ἀδελφοί***, εἰ μὴ οἱ ***τοὺς λόγους μου ἀκούοντες*** **καὶ ποιοῦντες** αὐτούς.
8:22 [*5.31*]— . . . ***διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πέραν*** . . .
8:23 [*5.31; 6.4.17*]—πλεόντων [δέ likely present] αὐτῶν ἀφύπνωσεν . . . (*λαῖλαψ ἀνέμου εἰς τὴν λίμνην*) . . .
8:24 [*5.31; 6.4.17*]— . . . ***ὁ δὲ ἐγερθεὶς ἐπετίμησε τῷ ἀνέμῳ καὶ*** *τῇ θαλάσσῃ* . . .
8:25 [*5.31*]— . . . ***τίς δὲ οὗτός ἐστιν***, *ὅς* [*καί* may have been present] ***τοῖς ἀνέμοις*** {*καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ* ***ἐπιτάσσει***};
8:26—Unattested
8:27 [*5.32*]— . . . ***ἀνήρ*** . . . ***δαιμόνια*** . . .
8:28 [*5.32*]— . . . ***Ἰησοῦ υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ*** . . . ***μή με βασανίσῃς***.
8:29—Unattested
8:30 [*5.32; 7.4.11*]— . . . τί σοί {ἐστὶν ὄνομα}; ὁ δὲ εἶπε· ***λεγεών*** . . . {δαιμόνια πολλά} . . .
8:31 [*5.32*]— . . . ***παρεκάλουν*** . . . ***εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον*** . . .

8:32 [*5.32*]—... (*ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς*).
8:33–42a—Unattested
8:42b [*6.4.18*]—... [ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν αὐτούς may not have been drawn from this verse] {συνέπνιγον αὐτόν οἱ ὄχλοι}
8:43 [*5.33; 6.4.18*]—... γυνὴ *τις* (*οὖσα ἐν ῥύσει αἵματος*)...
8:44 [*5.33; 6.4.18*]—... ἥψατο... τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ... (*ἔστη ἡ ῥύσις τοῦ αἵματος αὐτῆς*).
8:45 [*5.33; 6.4.18*]—*καὶ* εἶπεν ὁ *κύριος* τίς μου ἥψατο *οἱ μαθηταί* [perhaps Marcion read Πέτρος καὶ οἱ σύν αὐτῷ?] (*ἐπιστάτα, οἱ ὄχλοι συνέχουσίν σε καὶ ἀποθλίβουσιν;*)
8:46 [*5.33; 6.4.18*]—... ἥψατό μού τις. *καὶ* {γὰρ ἔγνων δύναμιν ἐξελθοῦσαν ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ}.
8:47—Unattested
8:48 [*5.33*]—... ***ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε***...
8:49–56—Unattested
9:1 [*7.4.12*]—*συγκαλεσάμενος δὲ τοὺς δώδεκα, ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς δύναμιν καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ νόσους θεραπεύειν*.
9:2 [*5.34; 7.4.12*]—καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς κηρύσσειν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἰᾶσθαι.
9:3 [*5.34; 7.4.13*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
9:4—Unattested
9:5 [*5.34*]... ***μὴ*** *δέξωνται* [ὑμᾶς likely present]... {***τὸν κονιορτὸν*** *ἀπὸ* ***τῶν ποδῶν*** [ὑμῶν likely present] *ἀποτινάξατε*} ***εἰς μαρτύριον***...
9:6 [*7.4.14*]—ἐξερχόμενοι δὲ διήρχοντο *κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κώμας* εὐαγγελιζόμενοι καὶ θεραπεύοντες πανταχοῦ.
9:7 [*5.35*]—... ***Ἡρῴδης***... ***ὑπό τινων*** (*ὅτι*) ***Ἰωάννης*** (*ἠγέρθη ἐκ νεκρῶν*).
9:8 [*5.35*]—***ὑπό τινων***... ***Ἠλίας***... ***ἄλλων***... (*ὅτι*) ***προφήτης*** εἷς ***τῶν ἀρχαίων*** (*ἀνέστη*).
9:9–11—Unattested
9:12 [*5.36*]—... ***ἐν ἐρήμῳ***...
9:13 [*5.36*]—... ***ἄρτοι***... ***καὶ ἰχθύες***...
9:14 [*5.36*]—... {***ἄνδρες πεντακισχίλιοι***}...
9:15—Unattested
9:16 [*6.4.19; 7.4.15*]—... ***ἀναβλέψας εἰς*** τὸν οὐρανὸν ***εὐλόγησεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς***...
9:17 [*5.36*]—... τὸ περισσεῦσαν...
9:18 [*7.4.16*]—... *τίνα με λέγουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου;*
9:19 [*7.4.16*]—(*οἱ δὲ ἀποκριθέντες εἶπαν*) Ἰωάννην τὸν βαπτιστήν, ἄλλοι δὲ Ἠλίαν, ἄλλοι δὲ ὅτι προφήτης τις τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀνέστη.
9:20 [*5.37; 7.4.16*]—*ὑμεῖς δὲ τίνα...;* {***ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Πέτρος***} *εἶπε·* σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός [a reference to Christ being “of God” or “Son of the living God” may have been missing]

9:21 [*5.37*]— . . . *παρήγγειλεν μηδενὶ* λέγειν *τοῦτο.*

9:22 [*4.4.30; 6.4.20; 7.4.17*]— . . . δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πολλὰ παθεῖν καὶ ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι *ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων* {*καὶ γραμματέων καὶ ἀρχιερέων*} καὶ ἀποκτανθῆναι καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐγερθῆναι.

9:23—Unattested

9:24 [*4.4.31*]—ὃς [γὰρ ἂν likely present] θέλῃ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ σῶσαι ἀπολέσει αὐτήν· *καὶ ὅς* ἀπολέσῃ *αὐτὴν* ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ . . . σώσει αὐτήν.

9:25—Unattested

9:26 [*4.4.32*]—ὃς [γὰρ likely present] ἂν ἐπαισχυνθῇ με {*κἀγὼ ἐπαισχυνθήσομαι*} *αὐτόν* [v. 26b may not have been present but technically it is unattested]

9:27—Unattested

9:28 [*4.4.33; 6.4.21; 8.13*]— . . . (*παραλαβὼν Πετρόν καὶ Ἰωάννην καὶ Ἰάκωβον ἀνέβη*) εἰς τὸ ὄρος . . .

9:29 [*4.4.34*]— . . . καὶ ὁ ἱματισμὸς αὐτοῦ [λευκός likely present] ἐξαστράπτων.

9:30 [*4.4.35; 6.4.21; 8.13*]—*καὶ ἰδοὺ* {*δύο ἄνδρες*} *συνελάλουν* αὐτῷ[6] . . . Μωϋσῆς καὶ Ἠλίας

9:31a [*4.4.35; 6.4.21; 8.13*]— . . . (*ὀφθέντες*) ἐν δόξῃ

9:31b [*4.4.35*]—Not Present

9:32 [*4.4.35; 8.13*]— . . . εἶδον τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ . . . [Moses and Elijah] συνεστῶτας αὐτῷ.[7]

9:33 [*5.38*]— . . . (*ἐν τῷ διαχωρίζεσθαι*) . . . ὁ ***Πέτρος . . . καλόν ἐστιν*** {*ὧδε ἡμᾶς*} ***εἶναι, καὶ ποιήσωμεν*** ὧδε τρεῖς σκηνάς, {***μίαν σοί καὶ Μωϋσεῖ μίαν καὶ Ἠλίᾳ μίαν***}, ***μή εἰδὼς ὃ λέγει.***

9:34 [*5.38*]— . . . νεφέλη . . . (*ἐπεσκίαζεν αὐτούς*) . . .

9:35 [*4.4.36; 6.4.22; 8.13*]— . . . φωνὴ [ἐγένετο may have been present] ἐκ τῆς νεφέλης οὗτός [λέγουσα may have been present]· ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε.

9:36–39—Unattested

9:40 [*6.4.23; 8.14*]— . . . *ἐδεήθην τῶν μαθητῶν σου . . . οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτό.*

9:41 [*5.39; 6.4.23*]— . . . πρὸς αὐτούς· ὦ γενεὰ ἄπιστος ἕως πότε ἔσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς; ἕως πότε ἀνέξομαι ὑμῶν . . .

9:42–43—Unattested

9:44 [*6.4.24*]— . . . ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μέλλει παραδίδοσθαι εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων.

9:45—Unattested

6 Cf. the following n. 7.

7 If the argument that Tertullian is referring to v. 32 in *Marc.* 4.22.16 is valid (cf. the discussion in chapter 4.4.35), then perhaps greater certainty could be assigned to συνελάλουν αὐτῷ in v. 30 and to the reading here.

9:46 [*5.40*]— . . . *μείζων* . . .
9:47 [*5.40*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
9:48 [*5.40*]—[Attested but no insight into wording beyond παιδίον can be gained]
9:49–53—Unattested
9:54 [*5.41*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
9:55 [*5.41*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
9:56—Unattested
9:57 [*4.4.37*]— . . . *ἀκολουθήσω σοι ὅπου ἂν ἀπέρχῃ.*
9:58 [*4.4.37*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
9:59 [*4.4.37*]— . . . *θάψαι τὸν πατέρα μου.*
9:60 [*4.4.37; 8.14*]—ἄφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς {νεκρούς ἑαυτῶν}, σὺ δὲ *ἄπελθε καὶ* διάγγελε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.
9:61 [*4.4.37*]— . . . *ἀποτάξασθαι* (*τοῖς εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου*).
9:62 [*4.4.37*]— . . . βλέπων εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω . . .
10:1 [*5.42*]— . . . *ἀνέδειξεν* . . . *ἑτέρους ἑβδομήκοντα* . . . *ἀπέστειλεν* . . . *εἰς* . . . *πόλιν* . . .
10:2–3—Unattested
10:4 [*5.42*]— . . . *μήδε ῥαβδον, μὴ ὑποδήματα* . . . *μηδένα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀσπάσησθε.*
10:5 [*4.4.38*]—εἰς ἥν . . . ἂν εἰσέλθητε οἰκίαν . . . λέγετε· εἰρήνη (*τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ*).
10:6—Unattested
10:7 [*5.42*]— . . . *ἄξιος* [γάρ may have been present] *ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ* . . .
10:8 [*5.42*]— . . . δέχωνται . . .
10:9 [*5.42*]— . . . (*λέγετε αὐτοῖς*) {*ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ* . . . *ἤγγικεν*}
10:10 [*5.42*]— . . . *μὴ* δέχωνται *ὑμᾶς* . . . (*εἴπατε*).
10:11 [*5.42*]— . . . *τὸν κονιορτόν* . . . (*ἀπομασσόμεθα*) . . . *πλήν* . . . *γινώσκετε* [ὅτι likely present] *ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.*
10:12–15—Unattested
10:16 [*5.43*]— . . . *ὁ* {*ἀθετῶν ὑμᾶς*} *ἐμὲ ἀθετεῖ* . . .
10:17–18—Unattested
10:19 [*4.4.39*]— . . . (*δίδωμι* or *δέδωκα*) . . . τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν ἐπάνω . . . ὄφεων καὶ σκορπίων . . .
10:20—Unattested
10:21 [*4.4.40; 6.4.25*]— . . . εὐχαριστῶ σοι *καὶ* ἐξομολογοῦμαι, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, *ὅτι ἅτινα ἦν κρυπτὰ σοφοῖς καὶ συνετοῖς ἀπεκάλυψας νηπίοις· ναί, ὁ πατήρ* . . .
10:22 [*4.4.41; 7.4.18; 8.15*]—*πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός* . . . οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τίς ἐστιν ὁ πατήρ εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ υἱός εἰ μὴ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ᾧ ἐὰν . . . ὁ υἱὸς *ἀποκαλύψῃ.*
10:23 [*5.44*]— . . . *μακάριοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ οἱ βλέποντες ἃ βλέπετε.*
10:24 [*5.44*]—*λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι προφῆται οὐκ εἴδαν, ἃ ὑμεις βλέπετε.*

10:25 [*4.4.42; 6.4.26*]— . . . **νομικός** . . . (*τις ἐκπειράζων αὐτόν*) . . . **τί ποιήσας ζωὴν κληρονομήσω;**
10:26 [*6.4.26*]— . . . εἶπεν . . . ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τί γέγραπται; . . .
10:27 [*4.4.43; 6.4.26*]— . . . **ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου** *ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ . . . ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος* . . .
10:28 [*6.4.26*]— . . . ὀρθῶς *εἶπες·* **τοῦτο ποίει, καὶ ζήσῃ.**
10:29–42—Unattested
11:1 [*4.4.44*]— . . . ἐν τῷ εἶναι . . . {**ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ**} προσευχόμενον . . . (*εἶπέν*) **τις τῶν μαθητῶν** (*πρὸς αὐτόν*)· **κύριε, δίδαξον** ἡμᾶς **προσεύχεσθαι, καθὼς** [καὶ may have been present] **Ἰωάννης ἐδίδαξεν τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ.**
11:2 [*4.4.45*]—**πάτερ** [ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς may not have been present] . . . ***τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα*** . . . **ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου.**
11:3 [*4.4.46; 8.16*]—**τὸν ἄρτον** *σου* **τὸν ἐπιούσιον δίδου** *ἡμῖν τὸ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν.*
11:4 [*4.4.47*]— . . . ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἁμαρτίας . . . *μὴ ἄφες ἡμᾶς εἰσενεχθῆναι* ***εἰς πειρασμόν.***
11:5 [*4.4.48; 6.4.27*]—(*καὶ εἶπεν*) . . . **τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἕξει φίλον, καὶ πορεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν μεσονυκτίου,** (*καὶ εἴπῃ αὐτῷ· φίλε, χρῆσόν μοι*) **τρεῖς ἄρτους;**
11:6—Unattested
11:7 [*5.45*]— . . . (*καὶ τὰ παιδία μου μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ εἰς τὴν κοίτην εἰσίν*) . . .
11:8 [*5.45*]— . . . (*εἰ καὶ οὐ δώσει αὐτῷ ἀναστὰς διὰ τὸ εἶναι φίλον αὐτοῦ, διά γε τὴν ἀναίδειαν αὐτοῦ*) . . .
11:9 [*4.4.49; 6.4.27*]— . . . **αἰτεῖτε καὶ** δοθήσεται . . . ***ζητεῖτε*** καὶ *εὑρήσετε*, ***κρούετε*** καὶ ἀνοιγήσεται . . .
11:10—Unattested
11:11 [*4.4.50; 6.4.27; 7.4.19*]—***τίνα*** *γὰρ* ***ἐξ ὑμῶν*** τὸν πατέρα {*υἱὸς* ***αἰτήσει***} ἰχθύν καὶ ἀντὶ ἰχθύος ὄφιν {ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ}.
11:12 [*4.4.50; 6.4.27; 7.4.19*]—*ἢ καὶ αἰτήσῃ ᾠόν, μὴ ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ* ***σκορπίον;***
11:13 [*4.4.50; 6.4.27; 7.4.19*]—***εἰ οὖν ὑμεῖς πονηροί*** . . . *οἴδατε δόματα ἀγαθὰ διδόναι τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν*, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ πατήρ . . . δώσει πνεῦμα ἅγιον . . .
11:14 [*5.46*]— . . . ***δαιμόνιον*** . . . ***κωφόν*** . . .
11:15 [*4.4.51*]— . . . **ἐν βεελζεβούλ** . . . **ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια.**
11:16–17—Unattested
11:18 [*5.46*]—(*εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁ σατανᾶς ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτὸν διεμερίσθη*) . . .
11:19 [*5.46*]—***εἰ*** [δέ likely present] ***ἐγὼ ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια,*** οἱ ***υἱοὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβαλλουσιν;*** . . .
11:20 [*5.46*]—***εἰ δ᾽ ἐγὼ ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἄρα ἤγγικεν ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεου.***
11:21 [*4.4.52*]— . . . **ὁ ἰσχυρὸς καθωπλισμένος** . . .
11:22 [*4.4.52*]— . . . **ἰσχυρότερος** . . . (*νικήσῃ* or *νικήσει*) . . .
11:23–26 Unattested

11:27 [*4.4.53; 8.17*]— . . . (*ἐπάρασα . . . φωνὴν*) *γυνὴ ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου . . . μακαρία ἡ κολία ἡ βαστάσασά σε καὶ μαστοὶ οὓς ἐθήλασας.*

11:28 [*4.4.53*]— . . . *μενοῦν* . . . μακάριοι οἱ ἀκούοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ *ποιοῦντες* . . .

11:29 [*4.4.54; 6.4.28*]— . . . *ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη* . . . σημεῖον οὐ δοθήσεται *αὐτῇ* . . .

11:30–32 [*6.4.28*]—Not Present

11:33 [*4.4.55*]— . . . λύχνον . . . (*εἰς κρύπτην*) . . . ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν . . . *ἵνα πᾶσι λάμπῃ* . . .

11:34–36—Unattested

11:37 [*5.47*]— . . . *ἐρωτᾷ αὐτὸν Φαρισαῖος . . . ὅπως* {*ἀριστήσῃ* (*παρ᾽ αὐτῷ*)} . . . *ἀνέπεσεν.*

11:38 [*5.47*]— . . . (*ἤρξατο*) {*διακρινόμενος ἐν ἑαυτῷ*} (*λέγειν*) *διά τι οὐ πρῶτον ἐβαπτίσθη* . . .

11:39 [*5.47*]— . . . (*οἱ Φαρισαῖοι*) {*τοῦ ποτηρίου καὶ τοῦ πίνακος τὸ ἔξωθεν*} *καθαρίζετε, τὸ δὲ ἔσωθεν ὑμῶν γέμει ἁρπαγῆς καὶ πονηρίας.*

11:40 [*5.47*]— . . . *οὐχ ὁ ποιήσας τὸ ἔξωθεν καὶ τὸ ἔσωθεν ἐποίησεν;*

11:41 [*5.47*]— . . . *δότε τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἐλεημοσύνην . . . πάντα καθαρὰ* {*ἔσται ὑμῖν*}.

11:42 [*5.47; 6.4.29*]— . . . (*ὅτι ἀποδεκατοῦτε τὸ ἡδύοσμον καὶ τὸ πήγανον καὶ πᾶν λάχανον καὶ*) *παρέρχεσθε τὴν κλῆσιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ θεοῦ* . . .

11:43 [*5.47*]— . . . *πρωτοκαθεδρίαν . . . ἀσπασμούς* . . .

11:44–45—Unattested

11:46 [*5.48*]— . . . (*καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς νομικοῖς οὐαί*) *ὅτι φορτίζετε* (*τοὺς ἀνθρώπους*) *φορτία δυσβάστακτα . . . τῷ δακτύλῳ* . . . (*οὐ*) *προσψαύετε* . . .

11:47 [*5.48; 6.4.30*]—οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, ὅτι οἰκοδομεῖτε *τὰ μνήματα* τῶν προφητῶν *καὶ οἱ* πατέρες ὑμῶν ἀπέκτειναν αὐτούς.

11:48 [*5.48*]— . . . μαρτυρεῖτε μὴ συνευδοκεῖν τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν πατέρων ὑμῶν . . .

11:49–51 [*6.4.31*]—Not Present

11:52 [*4.4.56; 7.4.20*]— . . . τοῖς νομικοῖς . . . τὴν κλεῖδα τῆς γνώσεως (*αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰσήλθατε καὶ τοὺς εἰσερχομένους ἐκωλύσατε*).

11:53–54—Unattested

12:1 [*5.49*]— . . . (*ἤρξατο λέγειν*) πρὸς τοὺς μαθητάς . . . *προσέχετε . . . ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης* {*τῶν Φαρισαίων, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὑπόκρισις*}.

12:2 [*4.4.57*]—οὐδὲν *δὲ συ*(*ν/γ*)κεκαλυμμένον [ἐστίν likely present], ὃ οὐκ *ἀποκαλυφθήσεται*, καὶ *οὐδὲν* κρυπτὸν ὃ οὐ γνωσθήσεται.

12:3 [*4.4.58*]— . . . (*πρὸς τὸ οὖς ἐλαλήσατε*) . . . (*κηρυχθήσεται*) . . .

12:4 [*4.4.59; 6.4.32*]—λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν τοῖς φίλοις μου· μὴ φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ τῶν *ἀποκτενόντων τὸ σῶμα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα* (*μὴ ἐχόντων περισσότερόν τι ποιῆσαι*).

12:5 [*4.4.59; 6.4.32*]—*ὑποδείξω δὲ ὑμῖν τίνα φοβηθῆτε·* φοβήθητε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι {ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν} βαλεῖν εἰς γέενναν. *ναὶ λέγω ὑμῖν, τοῦτον φοβήθητε.*

12:6 [*6.4.32*]—Not Present

12:7—Unattested

12:8 [*4.4.60; 6.4.33*]—**λέγω** *γὰρ* **ὑμῖν πᾶς ὅς** ὁμολογήσει [uncertainty in the manuscript tradition of *Adversus Marcionem* renders a decision between the reading μέ and ἐν ἐμοί impossible] [Tertullian's *coram* does not reveal the preposition used] **τῶν ἀνθρώπων**, *ὁμολογήσω ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνώπιον* **τοῦ θεοῦ**.

12:9 [*4.4.60; 7.4.21*]—***ὁ δὲ ἀρνησάμενος με ἐνώπιον*** **τῶν ἀνθρώπων**, ***ἀπαρνηθήσεται ἐνώπιον*** **τοῦ θεοῦ**.

12:10 [*4.4.61*]—[καὶ πᾶς may have been present] ὅς ἂν εἴπῃ [λόγον likely present] **εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ**, ὃς δ᾽ ἂν εἴπῃ **εἰς** {**τὸ πνεῦμα** *τὸ* **ἅγιον**}, οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ.

12:11 [*5.50*]— . . . *προσφέρωσιν* . . . ἐπί . . . τὰς ἀρχάς . . . (*μὴ μεριμνήσητε πῶς ἢ τί ἀπολογήσησθε ἢ τί εἴπητε*).

12:12 [*5.50*]—***τὸ γὰρ ἅγιον πνεῦμα διδάξει ὑμᾶς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ, ἃ δεῖ εἰπεῖν.***

12:13 [*5.51*]— . . . τις . . . εἰπὲ τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου μερίσασθαι μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ τὴν κληρονομίαν.

12:14 [*5.51*]— . . . ***τίς με κατέστησεν*** κριτὴν [ἢ μεριστήν may not have been present] ***ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς.***

12:15—Unattested

12:16 [*4.4.62*]— . . . **παραβολήν** . . . (*ἀνθρώπου τινὸς*) **πλουσίου** . . .

12:17–18—Unattested

12:19 [*4.4.62*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

12:20 [*4.4.62*]—**εἶπεν** [δέ likely present] **αὐτῷ ὁ θεός· ἄφρω/ον, ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ τὴν ψυχήν** *σου ἀπαιτοῦσιν* [ἀπὸ σοῦ may have been present]· **ἃ δὲ ἡτοίμασας**, τίνος **ἔσται;**

12:21—Unattested

12:22 [*5.52*]— . . . (*μὴ μεριμνᾶτε*) ***τῇ ψυχῇ*** (*τί φάγητε, μηδὲ*) ***τῷ σώματι*** (*τί ἐνδύσησθε*).

12:23 [*5.52*]—ἡ . . . ***ψυχή*** (*πλεῖόν ἐστιν*) τῆς ***τροφῆς*** . . . τὸ ***σῶμα*** τοῦ ***ἐνδύματος.***

12:24 [*4.4.63*]— . . . ***κόρακας*** . . . ***οὐ*** **σπείρουσιν** ***οὐδὲ*** **θερίζουσιν** *οὐδε συνάγουσιν εἰς ἀποθήκας* [καὶ ὁ θεὸς τρέφει αὐτούς attested though likely not present] . . .

12:25–26—Unattested

12:27 [*4.4.64*]— . . . τὰ κρίνα . . . {***οὐχ ὑφαίνει οὔδε νήθει***} . . . **οὐδὲ** Σολομὼν (*ἐν πάσῃ τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ περιεβάλετο ὡς ἓν τούτων*).

12:28 [*4.4.64; 6.4.34*]—[. . . τὸν χόρτον . . . ὁ θεός ἀμφιέζει attested by Tertullian though likely not present] . . . ***ὀλιγόπιστοι.***

12:29—Unattested

12:30 [*5.53; 6.4.35*]—***ταῦτα γὰρ*** [πάντα may not have been present] ***τὰ ἔθνη τοῦ κόσμου*** *ἐπιζητοῦσιν* {οἶδεν δὲ ὁ πατήρ} [ὑμῶν may not have been present] ὅτι χρῄζετε τούτων.

12:31 [*4.4.65; 6.4.36*]— . . . **ζητεῖτε** *δὲ* **τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ** ***καὶ*** **ταῦτα** [πάντα is attested by Epiphanius, but may not have been present] **προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν.**

12:32 [*6.4.37*]— . . . ὁ πατήρ [ὑμῶν attested as missing] . . .

12:33–34—Unattested

12:35 [*5.54*]— . . . *αἱ ὀσφύες περιεζωσμέναι . . . οἱ λύχνοι καιόμενοι.*

12:36 [*5.54*]— . . . *προσδεχομένοις τὸν κύριον* . . . ἀναλύσῃ *ἐκ τῶν γάμων* . . .

12:37 [*5.54*]— . . . δοῦλοι . . . *κύριος* . . .

12:38 [*6.4.38*]— . . . *ἑσπερινῇ φυλακῇ* . . .

12:39 [*5.55*]— . . . *εἰ ᾔδει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης ποίᾳ ὥρᾳ ὁ κλέπτης* (*ἔρχεται*), [ἐγρηγόρησεν ἂν καί possibly not present] *οὐκ* ἂν *ἀφῆκεν* διορυχθῆναι *τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ.*

12:40 [*5.55*]— . . . *γίνεσθε ἕτοιμαι, ὅτι ᾗ ὥρᾳ οὐ δοκεῖτε ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται.*

12:41 [*5.55*]— . . . *ὁ Πέτρος . . . πρὸς ἡμᾶς* {*ἢ καὶ πρὸς πάντας τὴν παραβολήν . . . λέγεις*};

12:42 [*5.55*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

12:43 [*5.55*]— . . . ἐλθὼν ὁ *κύριος* . . .

12:44 [*5.55*]— . . . ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν [αὐτοῦ likely present] *καταστήσει αὐτόν.*

12:45 [*5.55*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

12:46 [*5.55; 6.4.39; 7.4.22*]—ἥξει ὁ *κύριος τοῦ δούλου ἐκείνου . . . ἡμέρᾳ . . . οὐ προσδοκᾷ . . . ὥρᾳ . . . οὐ γινώσκει, καὶ* διχοτομήσει αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων θήσει.

12:47 [*5.55; 7.4.23*]— . . . *δοῦλος ὁ γνούς . . . καὶ μὴ ποιήσας . . . δαρήσεται πολλά,*

12:48 [*5.55; 7.4.23*]—*ὁ δὲ μὴ γνούς, ποιήσας δὲ ἄξια πληγῶν, δαρήσεται ὀλίγα* (*παντὶ δὲ ᾧ ἐδόθη πολύ, πολὺ ζητηθήσεται παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ᾧ παρέθεντο πολύ, περισσότερον αἰτησουσιν αὐτόν*).

12:49a [*5.56; 7.4.24*]—*πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν* εἰς *τὴν γῆν* . . . [12:49b is unattested]

12:50—Unattested

12:51 [*5.56; 7.4.24*]—*δοκεῖτε* [ὅτι likely present] {*παρεγενόμην εἰρήνην βαλεῖν*} *ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν*; *οὐχί, λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ διαμερισμόν.*

12:52—Unattested

12:53 [*5.56*]—*διαμερισθήσεται πατὴρ ἐπὶ* υἱῷ *καὶ υἱὸς ἐπὶ πατρί, καὶ μήτηρ ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ καὶ θυγάτηρ ἐπὶ μητρί, καὶ* πενθερὰ *ἐπὶ* τὴν νύμφην . . . *καὶ νύμφη ἐπὶ* τὴν πενθεράν . . .

12:54–55—Unattested

12:56 [*5.57*]—*ὑποκριταί, τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς δοκιμάζετε,* {*τὸν* δὲ *καιρὸν*} *τοῦτον* [πῶς may not have been present] *οὐκ οἴδατε δοκιμάζειν.*

12:57 [*4.4.66*]— . . . *καὶ ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν οὐ κρίνετε τὸ δίκαιον.*

12:58 [*4.4.67; 6.4.40*]— . . . *μήποτε κατασύρῃ σε πρὸς τὸν κριτὴν καὶ ὁ κριτὴς παραδώσει σε τῷ πράκτορι* . . . βαλεῖ *εἰς φυλακήν.*

12:59 [*4.4.67*]— . . . οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃς ἐκεῖθεν *ἕως καὶ ἀποδῷς τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην.*

13:1–9 [*6.4.41*]—Not Present

13:10–13—Unattested

13:14 [*5.58*]— . . . (*τῷ σαββάτῳ ἐθεράπευσεν*) . . .

13:15 [*5.58*]— . . . *ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τοῖς σάββασιν οὐ λύει* {*τὸν ὄνον ἢ τὸν βοῦν αὐτοῦ*} *ἀπὸ τῆς φάτνης καὶ* ἀπαγαγὼν ποτίζει;
13:16 [*6.4.42*]—*ταύτην δὲ θυγατέρα Ἀβραάμ* . . . *ἔδησεν ὁ Σατανᾶς* . . .
13:17–18—Unattested
13:19 [*5.59*]—*ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ κόκκῳ σινάπεως, ὃν λαβὼν ἄνθρωπος ἔσπειρεν ἐν τῷ κήπῳ ἑαυτοῦ.*
13:20 [*5.60*]— . . . τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.
13:21 [*5.60*]—*ὁμοία ἐστὶν ζύμῃ* . . .
13:22–24—Unattested
13:25 [*5.61*]—*ἀφ᾽* οὗ ἂν *ἐγερθῇ ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης καὶ ἀποκλείσῃ τὴν θύραν* . . . *κρούειν* . . . *ἀποκριθεὶς* (*ἐρεῖ*) . . . *οὐκ οἶδα* [ὑμᾶς likely present] *πόθεν ἐστέ.*
13:26 [*5.61*]— . . . *ἐφάγομεν ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ ἐπίομεν καὶ ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις ἡμῶν ἐδίδαξας.*
13:27 [*5.61; 7.4.25*]— . . . *ἀπόστητε ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ πάντες ἐργάται ἀνομίας.*
13:28 [*4.4.68; 6.4.43*]—**ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων**, (*ὅταν ὄψεσθε*) *πάντας* **τοὺς δικαίους** *εἰσερχομένους* (*ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ*) **τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑμᾶς δὲ κρατουμένους ἔξω.**
13:29–35 [*6.4.44*]—Not Present
14:1–11—Unattested
14:12 [*5.62*]— . . . *ἄριστον ἢ δεῖπνον* . . . *φώνει* . . .
14:13—Unattested
14:14 [*4.4.69*]— . . . **οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἀνταποδοῦναι** . . . **ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει** . . .
14:15—Unattested
14:16 [*5.63*]— . . . *ἄνθρωπός τις ἐποίησε δεῖπνον* [μέγα may have been present] *καὶ ἐκάλεσεν πολλούς.*
14:17 [*5.63*]— . . . *ἀπέστειλεν* . . .
14:18 [*5.63*]— . . . (*ἤρξαντο*) . . . *παραιτεῖσθαι* . . . *ἀγρὸν ἠγόρασα* . . .
14:19 [*5.63*]— . . . (*ζεύγη*) *βοῶν ἠγόρασα* . . .
14:20 [*5.63*]— . . . *γυναῖκα* ἔγημα . . .
14:21 [*5.63*]— . . . *ἀπήγγειλεν* . . . τότε *ἐπαρθεὶς ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης* . . . *ἔξελθε* . . . *εἰς τὰς πλατείας καὶ ῥύμας τῆς πόλεως* . . .
14:22 [*5.63*]— . . . *ἔτι τόπος ἐστίν.*
14:23 [*5.63*]— . . . *εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ φραγμούς* . . .
14:24 [*5.63*]— . . . *οὐδείς* . . . γεύσεται . . .
14:25–35—Unattested [concerning 14:26 cf. chapter 3, n. 74]
15:1–2—Unattested
15:3 [*4.4.70*]— . . . **παραβολήν** . . .
15:4 [*4.4.70*]— . . . **πρόβατα** . . . ἀπολέσας . . .
15:5 [*4.4.70*]— . . . εὑρών . . .
15:6 [*4.4.70*]— . . . συγχάρητέ . . .

15:7 [*4.4.70*]—[the allusion to χαρά . . . ἐπί . . . ἁμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντι may have come from this verse]

15:8 [*4.4.70*]— . . . **δραχμάς** . . . ἀπολέσῃ . . . ζητεῖ . . .

15:9 [*4.4.70*]— . . . εὑροῦσα . . . συγχάρητέ . . .

15:10 [*4.4.70*]—[the allusion to χαρά . . . ἐπί . . . ἁμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντι may have come from this verse; τῶν ἀγγέλων may not have been present]

15:11–32 [*6.4.45*]—Not Present

16:1—Unattested

16:2 [*5.64*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

16:3—Unattested

16:4 [*5.64*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

16:5 [*5.64*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

16:6 [*5.64*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

16:7 [*5.64*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

16:8—Unattested

16:9a [*4.4.71*]—(*καὶ ἐγὼ* or *κἀγὼ*) {**λέγω ὑμῖν**}, {**ποιήσατε** *ὑμῖν*} **φίλους ἐκ τοῦ μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας** . . . [16:9b is unattested]

16:10—Unattested

16:11 [*5.65*]—***εἰ*** [οὖν may have been present] ***ἐν τῷ {μαμωνᾷ ἀδίκῳ} πιστοὶ οὐκ ἐγένεσθε, τὸ ἀληθινὸν τίς ὑμῖν πιστεύσει;***

16:12 [*5.65*]—[καί likely present] ***εἰ ἐν τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ πιστοὶ οὐχ εὑρέθητε, τὸ ἐμὸν τίς {δώσει ὑμῖν};***

16:13 [*4.4.72; 7.4.26*]—οὐδεὶς . . . δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν . . . {ἑνὸς καταφρονήσει καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀνθέξεται}· οὐ δύνασθε θεῷ δουλεύιν καὶ μαμωνᾷ.

16:14 [*5.66*]— . . . ***οἱ Φαρισαῖοι φιλάργυροι . . . ἐξεμυκτήριζον*** . . .

16:15 [*5.66*]— . . . ὑμεις ἐστὲ οἱ δικαιοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . ***ὁ δὲ θεὸς γινώσκει τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν***, *τὸ ὑψηλὸν ἐστιν παρὰ ἀνθρώποις βδέλυγμα ἐστιν τῷ θεῷ.*

16:16 [*4.4.73; 6.4.46*]—**ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται** ἕως Ἰωάννου· (*ἐξ* or *ἀφ'*) οὗ ***ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγελίζεται καὶ πᾶς εἰς αὐτὴν βιάζεται.***

16:17 [*5.67*]—***εὐκοπώτερον . . . τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν παρελθεῖν ἢ*** τῶν λόγων μου ***μίαν κεραίαν*** *παρελθεῖν.*

16:18 [*5.68*]—[πᾶς likely present] ***ὁ ἀπολύων τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ*** [πᾶς may have been present] ***γαμῶν ἑτέραν*** μοιχεύει, καὶ . . . ***ὁ ἀπολελυμένην ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς γαμῶν*** *ὁμοίως μοιχός ἐστιν.*

16:19 [*6.4.47; 7.4.27*]—ἄνθρωπός τις ἦν **πλούσιος** καὶ ἐνεδιδύσκετο πορφύραν καὶ βύσσον, εὐφραινόμενος καθ' ἡμέραν λαμπρῶς.

16:20 [*6.4.47; 7.4.27*]—**πτωχὸς** δέ τις ὀνόματι **Λάζαρος** ἐβέβλητο *εἰς* τὸν πυλῶνα . . . *ἡλκωμένος.*

16:21 [*7.4.27*]—καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν χορτασθῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν πιπτόντων ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης τοῦ πλουσίου· ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ κύνες ἐρχόμενοι ἔλειχον τὰ *τραύματα* αὐτοῦ.

16:22 [*4.4.74; 6.4.47; 7.4.27*]—ἐγένετο . . . ἀποθανεῖν **τὸν πτωχὸν** καὶ ἀπενεχθῆναι αὐτὸν **ὑπὸ** τῶν **ἀγγέλων εἰς τὸν κόλπον** *τοῦ* **Ἀβραάμ**. ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ ὁ πλούσιος καὶ ἐτάφη.

16:23 [*5.69; 7.4.27*]— . . . **ἐν τῷ** ᾅδῃ [in the *Adamantius Dialogue* this element immediately follows ἐτάφη] **ἐπάρας** *οὖν* **τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ**, *ὑπάρχων ἐν* **βασάνοις**, ὁρᾷ Ἀβραὰμ **ἀπὸ μακρόθεν** καὶ Λάζαρον **ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ** αὐτοῦ,

16:24 [*6.4.47; 7.4.27*]—καὶ αὐτὸς φωνήσας εἶπεν· πάτερ Ἀβραάμ, ἐλέησόν με καὶ πέμψον Λάζαρον, ἵνα βάψῃ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ δακτύλου αὐτοῦ ὕδατος καὶ καταψύξῃ τὴν γλῶσσάν μου, ὅτι ὀδυνῶμαι ἐν τῇ φλογὶ ταύτῃ.

16:25 [*6.4.47; 7.4.27*]—{Ἀβραάμ δὲ εἶπεν·} τέκνον, μνήσθητι ὅτι ἀπέλαβες σὺ τὰ ἀγαθά . . . ἐν τῇ ζωῇ σου καὶ Λάζαρος ὁμοίως τὰ κακά. **νῦν δὲ** *ὧδε* **παρακαλεῖται**, σὺ δὲ ὀδυνᾶσαι.

16:26 [*5.69; 7.4.27*]—καὶ *ἐπὶ* πᾶσιν τούτοις μεταξὺ {ὑμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν} χάσμα μέγα ἐστήρικται, ὅπως οἱ *ἐνταῦθα* διαβῆναι . . . πρὸς ὑμᾶς μὴ δύνωνται, μηδὲ ἐκεῖθεν ὧδε διαπερῶσιν.

16:27 [*7.4.27*]— . . . ἐρωτῶ οὖν σε, πάτερ, ἵνα πέμψῃς αὐτὸν εἰς *τὴν οἰκίαν* τοῦ πατρός μου·

16:28 [*7.4.27*]—ἔχω γὰρ *ἐκεῖ* πέντε ἀδελφούς· ὅπως διαμαρτύρηται αὐτοῖς . . . μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔλθωσιν εἰς {τοῦτον τὸν τόπον} τῆς βασάνου.

16:29 [*4.4.75; 6.4.47; 7.4.27*]—λέγει αὐτῷ . . . **ἔχουσι** ἐκεῖ **Μωσέα καὶ τοὺς προφήτας, ἀκουσάτωσαν αὐτῶν.**

16:30 [*7.4.27*]—ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· οὐχί, πάτερ . . . ἀλλ᾽ ἐάν τις *ἐκ νεκρῶν* πορευθῇ πρὸς αὐτούς, μετανοήσουσιν.

16:31 [*6.4.47; 7.4.27*]—*ὁ δὲ εἶπεν·* εἰ Μωϋσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν οὐκ *ἤκουσαν*, οὐδ᾽ ἄν τις ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀπέλθῃ ἀκούσουσιν αὐτοῦ.

17:1 [*5.70; 7.4.28*]— . . . ***τὰ σκάνδαλα . . . οὐαί*** . . .

17:2 [*5.70*]—*συνέφερεν αὐτῷ, εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη ἢ εἰ {μυλικὸς λίθος} {περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ περιέκειτο}* ***καὶ ἔρριπτο εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἢ {ἵνα ἕνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων σκανδαλίσῃ}***.

17:3 [*5.70*]— . . . ἁμαρτῃ . . . *ὁ ἀδελφός . . . ἐπιτίμησον* . . .

17:4 [*4.4.76*]— . . . **ἐὰν ἑπτάκις** [τῆς ἡμέρας likely present] **ἁμαρτήσῃ εἴς σε** . . . (*ἀφήσεις* or *ἄφες*) . . .

17:5–10a—Unattested

17:10b [*6.4.48*]—Not Present

17:11 [*5.71*]— . . . *Σαμαρείας* . . .

17:12 [*5.71; 6.4.49*]— . . . **δέκα λεπροί** . . . [the final phrase of v. 12 is not present]

17:13 [*6.4.49*]—Not Present

4:27 [*5.2; 6.4.2*]—[ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς λέγων from Luke 17:14 perhaps stood here] **πολλοὶ λεπροὶ ἦσαν** ***ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ*** **ἐν ἡμέραις Ἐλισ[σ]αίου τοῦ προφήτου καὶ** ***οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν*** **ἐκαθαρίσθη εἰ μὴ Νε[ε]μὰν ὁ Σύρος.**

17:14 [*5.71; 6.4.49*]— . . . πορευθέντες *δείξατε* ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν . . . *ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν* ***ἐκαθαρίσθησαν.***

17:15 [*5.71*]—***εἷς*** [δέ likely present] ***ἐξ αὐτῶν*** . . .

17:16 [*5.71*]— . . . (*αὐτὸς ἦν*) ***Σαμαρίτης.***

17:17 [*5.71*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

17:18 [*5.71*]— . . . ***δοῦναι δόξαν τῷ θεῷ*** . . .

17:19 [*5.71*]— . . . ***ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε.***

17:20 [*5.72*]—ἐπερωτηθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Φαρισαίων πότε ἔρχεται ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ . . . ***οὐκ ἔρχεται ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ παρατηρήσεως.***

17:21 [*5.72*]—***οὐδὲ λέγουσιν· ἰδοὺ ὧδε . . . ἰδοὺ ἐκεῖ· ἰδοῦ γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστίν.***

17:22 [*6.4.50*]— . . . ***ἐλεύσονται ἡμέραι***, ὅταν ἐπιθυμήσητε {ἰδεῖν} ***μίαν τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*** . . .

17:23–24—Unattested

17:25 [*5.73*]—***πρῶτον*** [δέ may have been present] *δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου* ***πολλὰ παθεῖν καὶ ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι*** . . .

17:26 [*5.73*]— . . . (*ἐν*) ***ταῖς ἡμέραις Νῶε*** . . .

17:27—Unattested

17:28 [*5.73*]— . . . (*ἐν*) ***ταῖς ἡμέραις Λώτ*** . . .

17:29–31—Unattested

17:32 [*5.73*]—μνημονεύετε ***τῆς γυναικὸς Λώτ.***

17:33–37—Unattested

18:1 [*5.74*]— . . . παραβολήν . . . (*πρὸς τὸ δεῖν πάντοτε προσεύχεσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ ἐγκακεῖν*)

18:2 [*5.74*]— . . . κριτής . . .

18:3 [*5.74*]—χήρα . . .

18:4—Unattested

18:5 [*5.74*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

18:6—Unattested

18:7 [*5.74*]—***ὁ*** [δέ likely present] ***θεός*** . . . *ποιήσει* ***τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν βοώντων*** πρὸς αὐτὸν ***ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός*** . . .

18:8–9—Unattested

18:10 [*4.4.77*]—{**ἄνθρωποι δύο**} . . . εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν προσεύξασθαι . . . Φαρισαῖος . . . τελώνης.

18:11 [*4.4.77*]—[An arrogant prayer attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

18:12 [*4.4.77*]—[An arrogant prayer attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
18:13 [*4.4.77*]—[A humble prayer attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
18:14 [*4.4.77*]— . . . **κατέβη** (*οὗτος*) **δεδικαιωμένος** . . . (*παρ' ἐκεῖνον*) . . .
18:15—Unattested
18:16 [*7.4.29*]— . . . *ἄφετε τὰ παιδία ἔρχεσθαι πρός με . . . τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.*
18:17—Unattested
18:18 [*5.75; 6.4.51; 7.4.30*]—(. . . *τις αὐτόν . . . λέγων*) **διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω;**
18:19 [*5.75; 6.4.51; 7.4.30; 8.18*]—(*εἶπεν . . . Ἰησοῦς*) τί με λέγεις [Epiphanius attests μή με λέγε/ λέγετε] ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς [Epiphanius attests εἷς ἐστιν ἀγαθὸς] *ὁ θεὸς ὁ πατήρ* [Tertullian may have read only ὁ θεός in Marcion's Gospel. The differences may be due to variation in copies of Marcion's Gospel].
18:20 [*5.75; 6.4.51; 7.4.30*]—[Various openings to the verse are attested: Tertullian attests τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας; Epiphanius attests τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδα; and the *Adamantius Dialogue* attests ὁ δὲ ἔφη· τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας. The differences may have resulted from variation in copies of Marcion's Gospel.] ***μὴ φονεύσῃς, μὴ μοιχεύσῃς, μὴ κλέψῃς, μηδὲ ψευδομαρτυρήσῃς, τίμα τὸν πατέρα*** *σου* ***καὶ τὴν μητέρα*** *σου.*
18:21 [*5.75; 7.4.30*]— . . . *ταῦτα πάντα ἐφύλαξα ἐκ νεότητος.*
18:22 [*4.4.78; 7.4.30*]—*ἀκούσας . . . ταῦτα ὁ Ἰησους εἶπεν αὐτῷ·* **ἕν σοι λείπει· πάντα ὅσα ἔχεις πώλησον, καὶ δὸς πτωχοῖς, καὶ ἕξεις** θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ· **καὶ δεῦρο, ἀκολούθει μοι.**
18:23 [*5.75*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
18:24–30—Unattested
18:31–33 [*6.4.52*]—Not Present
18:34—Unattested
18:35 [*5.76; 6.4.53; 7.4.31*]—***ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν αὐτὸν*** εἰς Ἰεριχώ, *καί* [Rufinus *ἰδού*] *τις* **τυφλὸς** ἐπαιτῶν ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν.
18:36 [*7.4.31*]—ἀκούσας δὲ ὄχλου διαπορευομένου ἐπυνθάνετο τί ἂν εἴη τοῦτο.
18:37 [*5.76; 7.4.31*]—*ἀπηγγέλθη* δὲ αὐτῷ ὅτι Ἰησοῦς [ὁ Ναζωραῖος may have been missing] παρέρχεται.
18:38 [*4.4.79; 6.4.53; 7.4.31*]—καὶ ἐβόησεν λέγων· **Ἰησοῦ υἱὲ Δαυΐδ, ἐλέησόν με.**
18:39 [*5.76*]—*οἱ δὲ* ***προάγοντες ἐπετίμων*** *τῷ* ***τυφλῷ*** [likely αὐτῷ] *ἵνα* σιγήσῃ . . .
18:40 [*7.4.31*]—σταθεὶς δὲ . . . ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀχθῆναι . . . ἐγγίσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτόν·

18:41 [*7.4.31*]—τί σοι θέλεις ποιήσω; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· κύριε, ἵνα ἀναβλέψω.

18:42 [*4.4.80; 6.4.53; 7.4.31*]—*καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς·* **ἀνάβλεψον· ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε.**

18:43 [*5.76; 6.4.53; 7.4.31*]—καὶ παραχρῆμα ἀνέβλεψεν . . . ***καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς*** . . . {***αἶνον ἔδωκεν***} *τῷ θεῷ.*

19:1—Unattested

19:2 [*5.77*]— . . . ***Ζακχαῖος*** . . .

19:3–5—Unattested

19:6 [*5.77*]— . . . ***ὑπεδέξατο αὐτόν*** . . .

19:7—Unattested

19:8 [*5.77*]— . . . ***τὰ*** ἡμίσια . . . ***τῶν ὑπαρχόντων*** . . . {(*τοῖς πτωχοῖς*) ***δίδωμι***}, ***καὶ εἴ τινός τι ἐσυκοφάντησα***, {***τετραπλοῦν ἀποδίδωμι***}.

19:9 [*5.77*]— . . . ***σήμερον σωτηρία*** {***τούτῳ τῷ οἴκῳ***} . . .

19:10 [*4.4.81*]—ἦλθεν γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου [ζητῆσαι *καί* may not have been present] **σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός.**

19:11 [*5.78*]— . . . παραβολήν . . .

19:12—Unattested

19:13 [*5.78*]— . . . δούλους . . . ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς . . . μνᾶς . . .

19:14–21—Unattested

19:22 [*5.78*]— . . . ***αὐστηρός*** . . . ***ἄιρων ὃ οὐκ ἔθηκα καὶ θερίζων ὃ οὐκ ἔσπειρα.***

19:23 [*5.78*]— . . . (*σὺν τόκῳ*) . . .

19:24–25—Unattested

19:26 [*5.78*]— . . . ***καὶ*** *ὃ δοκεῖ ἔχειν ἀρθήσεται* . . .

19:27–28—Unattested

19:29–46 [*6.4.54*]—Not Present

19:47–48—Unattested

20:1 [*4.4.82*]— . . . *οἱ Φαρισαῖοι* . . .

20:2–3—Unattested

20:4 [*4.4.82*]—**τὸ βάπτισμα** [the presence or absence of τό cannot be determined] **Ἰωάννου ἐξ οὐρανοῦ** (*ἦν ἤ*) **ἐξ ἀνθρώπων.**

20:5 [*5.79*]— . . . ***ἐξ οὐρανοῦ*** . . . ***διὰ τί*** . . . ***οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε αὐτῷ.***

20:6 [*5.79*]— . . . ***ἀνθρώπων*** . . . καταλιθάσει ἡμᾶς . . .

20:7 [*5.79*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

20:8 [*5.79*]— . . . ***οὐδὲ ἐγὼ λέγω ὑμῖν ἐν ποίᾳ*** ἐξουσίᾳ ***ταῦτα ποιῶ.***

20:9–17 [*6.4.55*]—Not Present

20:18—Unattested

20:19 [*6.4.56*]—*ἐγένετο ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν διδάσκοντος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ*, ***καὶ ἐζήτησαν*** . . . ***ἐπιβαλεῖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν τὰς χεῖρας*** . . . ***καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν*** . . .

20:20–23—Unattested

20:24 [*5.80*]— . . . δηνάριον . . . Καίσαρος.

20:25 [*4.4.83*]— . . . **ἀπόδοτε** [τοίνυν may have been present here or before the verb] **τὰ** [the presence or absence of τοῦ cannot be determined] **Κάσαρος** [the presence or absence of τῷ cannot be determined] **Καίσαρι καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ.**
20:26—Unattested
20:27 [*5.81*]— . . . (*τινες τῶν Σαδδουκαίων, οἱ λέγοντες ἀνάστασιν μὴ εἶναι*) . . .
20:28 [*5.81*]— . . . (*Μωϋσῆς ἔγραψεν*) . . .
20:29 [*5.81*]—{***ἑπτὰ . . . ἀδελφοί***} . . . (*λαβὼν*) ***γυναῖκα*** . . .
20:30 [*5.81*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
20:31 [*5.81*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
20:32—Unattested
20:33 [*5.81*]— . . . {***ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει*** (*τίνος αὐτῶν γίνεται γυνή*)} . . .
20:34 [*5.81*]— . . . ἀποκριθείς . . . ***οἱ υἱοί*** {***τούτου τοῦ αἰῶνος***} ***γαμοῦσιν καὶ*** *γαμίσκονται.*
20:35 [*4.4.84*]—οὓς [δέ likely present] *κατηξίωσεν* ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκείνου τῆς *κληρονομίας καὶ* τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῆς *ἐκ νεκρῶν* **οὔτε γαμοῦσιν οὔτε** *γαμίζονται.*
20:36 [*4.4.84*]—***οὐδὲ*** **γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν** ἔτι μέλλουσιν, **ἰσάγγελοι γὰρ εἰσιν** [καὶ υἱοί εἰσιν may have been present] . . . **θεοῦ, τῆς ἀναστάσεως υἱοὶ** ὄντες.
20:37–38a [*6.4.57*]—Not Present
20:38b—Unattested
20:39 [*5.81*]— . . . (*τινες τῶν*) ***γραμματέων εἶπαν· διδάσκαλε, καλῶς εἶπας.***
20:40—Unattested
20:41 [*5.82*]— . . . (*πῶς λέγουσιν τὸν χριστὸν εἶναι Δαυὶδ υἱόν;*)
20:42–43—Unattested
20:44 [*5.82*]—***Δαυίδ . . . κύριον αὐτὸν καλεῖ*** . . .
20:45–47—Unattested
21:1–6—Unattested
21:7 [*4.4.85*]—**ἐπηρώτησαν** [δέ likely present] **αὐτὸν** *οἱ μαθηταί* . . .
21:8 [*4.4.86*]— . . . **πολλοὶ** [γάρ likely present] **ἐλεύσονται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί** [μου likely present], **λέγοντες** [ὅτι may have been present]· **ἐγώ εἰμι** *ὁ Χριστός* . . . [the final element in the verse may be attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
21:9 [*4.4.87*]— . . . **πολέμους** . . . **δεῖ** [γάρ likely present] {**ταῦτα γενέσθαι**} . . .
21:10 [*4.4.87*]— . . . {**βασιλεία ἐπὶ βασιλείαν καὶ ἔθνος ἐπ' ἔθνος**}.
21:11 [*4.4.87*]—{**λοιμοὶ καὶ λιμοὶ σεισμοί τε**} . . . {**φόβητρά** *τε* **καὶ σημεῖα ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ**} . . .
21:12 [*5.83*]—***πρὸ δὲ τούτων . . . διώξουσιν*** . . . (*ἀπαγομένους ἐπὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ ἡγεμόνας*) . . .
21:13 [*5.83*]—(*ἀποβήσεται ὑμῖν*) ***εἰς μαρτύριον.***
21:14 [*5.83*]— . . . ***μὴ προμελετᾶν ἀπολογηθῆναι.***
21:15 [*5.83*]— . . . ***σοφίαν, ᾗ οὐ δυνήσονται*** {*ἀντιστῆναι* ***οὐδὲ*** *ἀντειπεῖν*} (*πάντες*) . . .

21:16 [*5.83*]—(*παραδοθήσεσθε δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ γονέων καὶ ἀδελφῶν καὶ συγγενῶν καὶ φίλων*) . . .
21:17 [*5.83*]— . . . μισούμενοι . . . διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου.
21:18 [*6.4.58*]—Not Present
21:19 [*5.83*]—***ἐν τῇ ὑπομονῇ*** *σώσετε ἑαυτούς.*
21:20 [*5.84*]— . . . κυκλουμένην ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων Ἰερουσαλὴμ . . . ἡ ἐρήμωσις αὐτῆς.
21:21–22 [*6.4.59*]—Not Present
21:23–24—Unattested
21:25 [*4.4.88*]— . . . {*ἐν ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ ἄστροις σημεῖα*}, ***καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς συνοχὴ ἐθνῶν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ*** *ὡς ἤχους θαλάσσης κυμαινούσης*
21:26 [*4.4.88*]— . . . ***προσδοκίας τῶν ἐπερχομένων τῇ οἰκουμένῃ*** *κακῶν·* {*αὐταὶ* γὰρ *αἱ*} ***δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν σαλευθήσονται.***
21:27 [*4.4.89*]—**καὶ τότε ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον** *ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν* **μετὰ δυνάμεως** [καὶ δόξης likely not present] **πολλῆς.**
21:28 [*4.4.89*]—*τούτων δὲ γινομένων* ***ἀνακύψατε καὶ ἐπάρατε τὰς κεφαλάς*** [ὑμῶν likely not present], ***διότι*** *ἐγγίζει* **ἡ ἀπολύτρωσις ὑμῶν.**
21:29 [*5.85*]— . . . ***παραβολήν*** . . . ***ἴδετε τὴν συκῆν καὶ*** {*τὰ δένδρα πάντα*}.
21:30 [*5.85*]—*ὅταν προβάλωσιν τὸν καρπὸν, γινώσκουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ὅτι τὸ θέρος ἤγγικεν.*
21:31 [*4.4.90*]—**οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὅταν ἴδητε ταῦτα γινόμενα, γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐγγύς ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.**
21:32 [*5.85*]— . . . *οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ εἰ μὴ πάντα γένηται.*
21:33 [*4.4.91*]—{**ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ**} *παρελεύσεται, ὁ* **δὲ** *λόγος* **μου** *μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.*
21:34 [*5.86*]—(*προσέχετε δὲ ἑαυτοῖς*), ***μήποτε βαρηθῶσιν*** {***αἱ καρδίαι ὑμῶν***} (*ἐν*) ***κραιπάλῃ καὶ μέθῃ καὶ*** {***βιωτικαῖς μερίμναις***} ***καὶ*** {ἐπιστῇ ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς αἰφνίδιος} [ἡ may not have been present] ***ἡμέρα ἐκείνη***
21:35a [*5.86*]—***ὡς παγίς*** . . . [21:35b is unattested]
21:36—Unattested
21:37 [*5.87*]— . . . τὰς ἡμέρας {*ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διδάσκων*}, τάς . . . νύκτας ***ἐξερχόμενος*** . . . ***εἰς*** . . . ***Ἐλαιών.***
21:38 [*5.87*]— . . . ὤρθηριζεν . . . ἀκούειν αὐτοῦ.
22:1 [*5.88*]— . . . ***πάσχα.***
22:2—Unattested
22:3 [*5.89*]—[Εἰσῆλθεν δὲ σατανᾶς εἰς was not present] Ἰούδαν . . . (*ὄντα ἐκ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν δώδεκα*).
22:4 [*5.89; 6.4.60*]— . . . ***συνελάλησε τοῖς*** . . . ***στρατηγοῖς τὸ πῶς αὐτὸν*** **παραδῷ** ***αὐτοῖς.***
22:5 [*5.89*]— . . . ἀργύριον . . .
22:6–7—Unattested
22:8 [*6.4.61*]—*καὶ εἶπεν τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς· ἀπελθόντες ἑτοιμάσατε* {*ἵνα φάγωμεν τὸ Πάσχα*}.

22:9–13—Unattested
22:14 [*6.4.62*]—*καὶ . . . ἀνέπεσε καὶ οἱ* δώδεκα *ἀπόστολοι σὺν αὐτῷ*
22:15 [*4.4.92; 6.4.62; 8.19*]—*καὶ εἶπεν . . .* ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν.
22:16 [*6.4.63*]—Not Present
22:17 [*7.4.32*]—[If the *Adamantius Dialogue* is attesting Marcion's Gospel, ποτήριον is attested]
22:18—Unattested
22:19 [*4.4.93; 7.4.32*]— *. . . λαβὼν ἄρτον . . . ἔδωκεν* (*αὐτοῖς*) *. . . τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου* (*τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον*) *. . .*
22:20 [*5.90*]— . . . τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ . . . διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματι μου . . .
22:21—Unattested
[22:22a is unattested] 22:22b [*5.90*]— *. . . οὐαί . . . δι᾽ οὗ παραδίδοται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.*
22:23–32—Unattested
22:33 [*5.91*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
22:34 [*5.91*]— . . . ἀπαρνήσῃ . . .
22:35–38 [*6.4.64*]—Not Present
22:39–40—Unattested
22:41 [*6.4.65*]— . . . ἀπεσπάσθη ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὡσεὶ λίθου βολὴν καὶ θεὶς τὰ γόνατα προσηύχετο.
22:42–46—Unattested
22:47 [*6.4.66*]— . . . (*Ἰούδας*) *. . . καὶ ἤγγισε . . . καταφιλῆσαι αὐτόν καὶ εἶπεν*
22:48 [*5.92*]— *. . . φιλήματι . . . παραδίδως*
22:49—Unattested
22:50–51 [*6.4.67*]—Not Present
22:52–62—Unattested
22:63 [*6.4.68*]— *. . . οἱ συνέχοντες . . . ἐνέπαιζον . . . δέροντες*
22:64 [*6.4.68*]— . . . (*ἔτυπτον*) *. . . λέγοντες· προφήτευσον, τίς ἐστιν ὁ παίσας σε;*
22:65—Unattested
22:66 [*5.93*]— . . . ἀπήγαγον . . . *εἰς τὸ συνέδριον . . .*
22:67 [*5.93*]— *. . . σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστός . . . ἐὰν* {*εἴπω ὑμῖν*}, *οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε.*
22:68—Unattested
22:69 [*4.4.94*]—ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν [δέ may have been present] ἔσται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθήμενος ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ θεοῦ.
22:70 [*5.93*]— *. . . σὺ οὖν εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ . . . ὑμεῖς λέγετε . . .*
22:71 [*5.93*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
23:1 [*5.94*]— . . . ἤγαγον *αὐτὸν ἐπί τὸν Πιλᾶτον.*
23:2 [*5.94; 6.4.69*]—*ἔρξαντο . . . κατηγορεῖν . . . τοῦτον εὕρομεν διαστρέφοντα τὸ ἔθνος . . . καὶ καταλύοντα τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας . . .* (*κωλύοντα*

φόρους . . . διδόναι) ***καὶ ἀποστρέφοντα τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα*** . . . λέγοντα ἑαυτὸν {βασιλέα Χριστόν} . . .

23:3 [*5.94*]—*ὁ* [δέ likely present] ***Πιλᾶτος*** *ἠρώτησεν* . . . *σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός*; . . . ***σὺ λέγεις***.

23:4–5—Unattested

23:7 [*5.95*]— . . . ***ἀνέπεμψεν αὐτὸν πρὸς Ἡρῴδην*** . . .

23:8 [*5.95*]—***ὁ δὲ Ἡρῴδης ἰδὼν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐχάρη λίαν*** . . .

23:9 [*5.95*]— . . . (*αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ*).

23:10–17—Unattested

23:18 [*5.96*]— . . . ***βαραββᾶν***.

23:19 [*5.96*]— . . . (*διὰ στάσιν . . . καὶ φόνον βληθεὶς ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ*).

23:20–21—Unattested

23:22 [*5.96*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

23:23 [*5.96*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

23:24—Unattested

23:25 [*5.96*]—***ἀπέλυσεν*** . . .

23:26–31—Unattested

23:32 [*5.97*]— . . . {***κακοῦργοι δυό***} . . .

23:33 [*5.97; 6.4.70*]—*καὶ ἐλθόντες εἰς* ***τόπον*** *λεγόμενον* ***Κρανίον*** *τόπος* ***ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτὸν*** (*ὃν μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν ὃν δὲ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν*)

23:34a [*8.20*]—[Attested by Ephrem and unattested by Tertullian and Epiphanius]

23:34b [*5.97; 6.4.70*]—[Attested as not present by Tertullian but present by Epiphanius]

23:35–42 Unattested

23:43 [*6.4.71*]—Not Present

23:44 [*4.4.95; 8.21*]— . . . ***ὥρα ἕκτη, καὶ σκότος*** . . . ***ἐφ'*** . . . ***τὴν γῆν*** . . .

23:45 [*4.4.95; 6.4.70; 8.21*]— . . . ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος . . . {*καὶ* ἐσχίσθε} **τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ** . . .

23:46 [*4.4.96; 6.4.72; 7.4.33; 8.21*]—**καὶ φωνήσας** {**φωνῇ μεγάλῃ**} *ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπε· πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παραθήσομαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου, τοῦτο* . . . ***εἰπὼν*** **ἐξέπνευσεν**.

23:47–49—Unattested

23:50 [*5.98; 6.4.73; 7.4.33*]—*καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ ὀνόματι* Ἰωσήφ . . .

23:51 [*5.98*]— . . . ***οὐκ ἦν*** συγκατατεθειμένος (*τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ πράξει αὐτῶν*) . . .

23:52 [*5.98; 7.4.33*]— . . . ***τῷ Πιλάτῳ ᾐτήσατο τὸ σῶμα*** . . .

23:53 [*5.98; 6.4.73; 7.4.33*]— . . . ***καθελὼν*** *τὸ σῶμα* ***ἐνετύλιξε*** . . . ***ἐν*** *σινδόνι* ***καὶ ἔθηκεν*** . . . ***ἐν καινῷ*** μνήματι ***λαξευτῷ*** . . .

23:54—Unattested

23:55 [*5.98*]— . . . ***αἱ γυναῖκες*** . . .

23:56 [*6.4.74*]—***ὑποστρέψασαι*** . . . {*ἡσύχασαν τὸ* . . . *σάββατον*} ***κατὰ*** *τὸν νόμον*.

24:1 [*5.99*]— . . . {ὄρθρου βαθέως ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα} (*φέρουσαι ἃ*) ***ἡτοίμασαν ἀρώματα***.

24:2—Unattested

24:3 [*5.99*]— . . . *οὐχ εὗρον τὸ σῶμα* . . .

24:4 [*5.99; 6.4.75*]— . . . (*ἐν τῷ ἀπορεῖσθαι αὐτὰς περὶ τούτου*) . . . {δύο *ἄγγελοι* [the reading was likely ἄνδρες]} . . . (*ἐν ἐσθῆτι ἀστραπτούσῃ*)

24:5 [*6.4.75*]— . . . τί ζητεῖτε τὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν.

24:6 [*5.99; 6.4.75*]— . . . ἠγέρθη, μνήσθητε ὅσα ἐλάλησεν *ὑμῖν ἔτι ὢν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ*.

24:7 [*5.99; 6.4.75*]— . . . ὅτι δεῖ {τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδοθῆναι} . . . *καὶ σταυρωθῆναι καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστῆναι*.

24:8—Unattested

24:9 [*5.99*]— . . . *ὑποστρέψασαι ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου ἀπήγγειλαν* (*ταῦτα πάντα*) . . .

24:10—Unattested

24:11 [*5.99*]— . . . (*καὶ ἠπίστουν αὐταῖς*).

24:12—Unattested

24:13 [*5.100; 6.4.76*]— . . . δύο *ἐξ αὐτῶν* . . . [Their travelling attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

24:15 [*5.100; 6.4.76*]— . . . Ἰησοῦς ἐγγίσας . . .

24:16 [*5.100*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

24:17—Unattested

24:18 [*6.4.76*]— . . . Κλεοπᾶς . . .

24:19 [*5.100*]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

24:20—Unattested

24:21a [*5.100*]—*ἤμεις δὲ ἐνομίζομεν*, [ὅτι likely present] *αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ λυτρωτὴς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ* . . . [24:21b is unattested]

24:22–24—Unattested

24:25 [*5.100; 6.4.76; 7.4.34*]— . . . ὦ ἀνόητοι καὶ βραδεῖς *τῇ καρδίᾳ* τοῦ πιστεύειν *ἐπὶ* πᾶσιν οἷς *ἐλάληθη* πρὸς ὑμᾶς [for this final element Epiphanius (ἐλάλησα ὑμῖν) and the *Adamantius Dialogue* (ἐλάλησα πρὸς ὑμᾶς) may attest other Marcionite readings].

24:26 [*6.4.76; 7.4.34*]—*οὐχὶ* ταῦτα ἔδει παθεῖν *τὸν Χριστόν* . . .

24:27–29—Unattested

24:30 [*6.4.76*]— . . . (*τὸν ἄρτον*) . . . (*κλάσας*) . . .

24:31 [*6.4.76*]—(*αὐτῶν δὲ διηνοίχθησαν*) οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν (*αὐτόν*) . . .

24:32–36—Unattested

24:37 [*4.4.97; 7.4.35*]— . . . (*ἐδόκουν*) *φάντασμα* (*θεωρεῖν*).

24:38 [*4.4.97; 6.4.77; 7.4.35*]— . . . τί τεταραγμένοι ἐστέ *καὶ* . . . *τί διαλογισμοὶ ἀναβαίνουσιν εἰς τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν*.

24:39 [*4.4.97; 6.4.77; 7.4.35*]—ἴδετε τὰς χεῖράς *μου* καὶ τοὺς πόδας *μου ὅτι* {*ἐγώ εἰμι αὐτός*} [ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε may not have been present] ὅτι πνεῦμα [σάρκα καί may not have been present] ὀστέα οὐκ ἔχει καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα.

24:40—Unattested
24:41 [*5.101*]—*ἔτι* [δὲ likely present] {*ἀπιστούντων αὐτῶν*} . . . *τι βρώσιμον* . . .
24:42 [*8.22*]— . . . (*ἰχθύος*) . . .
24:43 [*8.22*]— . . . (*ἔφαγεν*).
24:44–46—Unattested
24:47 [*5.102*]— . . . *κηρυχθῆναι* . . . *εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη* . . .
24:48–53—Unattested

CHAPTER 10

Initial Conclusions and Avenues for Future Research

As noted in the opening pages of this monograph, a significant number of NT scholars and textual critics had expressed the view that a new and more precise reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel was an important scholarly *desideratum*. The reconstruction presented here has sought to make this important contribution to scholarship by offering a significantly more rigorous and methodologically controlled reconstruction of the text of Marcion's Gospel. Despite the tremendously valuable contributions of previous scholars working on this text, the discussion in the previous chapters has revealed how, at nearly every point, greater precision resulting in more nuanced insight into Marcion's readings was possible. At the same time, the text reconstructed here is by no means considered to be the "last word" in reconstructions of Marcion's Gospel; rather, it is an attempt to move scholarly debate and discussion forward on firmer ground in the hopes that it may engender further consideration of the readings of this text. At the same time, however, the attempt was made to offer a reconstructed text with varying levels of certainty so as to provide the basis for considering the implications of the text of Marcion's Gospels for other areas of NT textual and canonical studies. The introduction mentioned several such areas where it is not simply the text of Marcion's Gospel, but its significance for gaining further insight into early Christianity that has kept this text at the crossroads of scholarly interest. Various issues discussed only *in nuce* in the course of this volume deserve their own book-length treatment in the light of this new reconstruction, and the following observations and examples are intended to highlight both a few initial conclusions and their impact upon possible avenues of further research.

First, concerning the renewed interest in the question concerning the relative priority of Luke or Marcion's Gospel, one example of verses relevant for the discussion is Luke 4:43 and 16:16. In both instances I have argued that it is very likely that Marcion read ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγελίζεται.[1] As Michael Wolter also noted in his commentary on Luke, this turn of phrase appears only in Luke-Acts and thus may be an example of a redactional phrase attributable

1 Cf. the reconstruction of these verses in the previous chapter and the discussions in chapter 4.4.73 and chapter 5.6.

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to the author of Luke-Acts being found in the text Marcion used.[2] If further comparison of the reconstructed text of Marcion with Luke reveals additional examples of apparent Lukan style or redaction present in the text that formed the basis for Marcion's Gospel, this would indeed be a vital and important piece of evidence for the likely priority of a text very similar to our canonical Luke.

Second, the above reconstruction has shed further light on the question of points of contact between readings in Marcion's Gospel and "Western" readings. Though striking instances of similarities between the readings were often already noted by Harnack, e.g., in Luke 11:38 where the "Western" reading is ἤρξατο διακρεινόμενος ἐν ἑαυτῷ λέγειν διά τι, there are also notable divergences. For example, though the precise wording is only probable, Marcion's text clearly included Luke 22:20, part of the famous "Western non-interpolation" in vv. 19b–20. In addition, there are omissions attested by some witnesses to the "Western" text in. e.g., 8:28, 24:1, and 24:9, of elements very likely to be present in Marcion's text. Such observations confirm the potential complexity of understanding Marcion's Gospel within the "Western" textual tradition and highlight the need to consider this relationship anew.[3]

Third, concerning the question of Marcion and the fourfold Gospel, it has often been noted that one of the primary ways in which the emerging fourfold Gospel began influencing the text of the Synoptic Gospels is through harmonization. In regards to Marcion's Gospel, Harnack stated that the "two to three hundred variants" which Marcion's Gospel has in common with the "Western" text, reveal a strong influence of the Matthean or Markan texts.[4] In a footnote, Harnack then made a one-sentence statement recognizing that though one could debate individual such instances of harmonization, the secure harmonizations are of great significance for the history of the canon.[5] Following Harnack's reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel, A.J.B. Higgins furthered the

2 Cf. chapter 4, n. 367.

3 Cf. the comments in chapter 1, n. 4.

4 Harnack, *Marcion*, 243*. Of course, the variants thus evaluated by Harnack are the variants as he reconstructed them.

5 See Harnack, *Marcion*, 243* n. 2 where he writes, "In einzelnen Fällen kann man streiten, ob überhaupt eine Konformierung vorliegt (s. Pott, Zeitschr. f. KGesch. S. 208f.)—in zahlreichen Fällen aber stehen Konformierungen fest. Für die Kanonsgeschichte ist die Beobachtung von großer Bedeutung: der in Rom um die Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts gültige Text des Lukas war schon mit Matth. (Mark.) konformiert.—Die Konformationen sind gewiß mit vollem Bedacht unternommen." Though Harnack believed that Marcion's version of the Gospel of Luke had been selected out of the four handed down to him (*Marcion*, 40–2) and that the fourfold Gospel thus existed before Marcion, he did not argue extensively how Marcion's text might provide evidence for these views.

argument that "the Western text of Lk. which was known to Marcion had already been influenced by Mt. and Mk."[6] With a point of contact to the above-noted question concerning the relationship between Marcion's Gospel and Luke, Leland Wilshire picked up on, in his view, thirty such harmonizations and referred to them in his critique of John Knox's arguments that the canonical Gospel of Luke reached its final form after Marcion.[7] David S. Williams stated that "scholars have often failed to take note of the high incidence of Matthean and/or Marcan readings in Marcion's Gospel," using this contention to argue that many assumptions about Marcion's theology or editorial goals may be incorrect because of the positing of "omissions" that may be better explained as textual corruptions influenced by Matthew or Mark.[8] Though the sources for Marcion's Gospel do indeed attest Matthean readings in multiple places, it has been seen that a significant challenge in evaluating such readings is the possibility that the author of a source himself is responsible for the harmonization.[9] Revisiting the issue of the extent to which Marcion's Gospel contained harmonized readings based on the here offered reconstruction may be able to shed additional light upon the weight that this argument has, or does not have, for questions surrounding the formation of the fourfold Gospel.

Finally, it is interesting to consider the apparatus for Luke in NA^{28} in the light of the findings of this study and to note where some references to readings in Marcion's Gospel are misleading, or at least potentially problematic. To highlight simply a few examples involving different sources: (1) in Luke 5:38, readings in the *Adamantius Dialogue* that face multiple difficulties of both context and content as related to readings in Marcion's Gospel are listed as Mcion^{A};[10] (2) in Luke 6:16, Mcion^{E} is listed as attesting the reading Ισκαριωτην; however, the variation within the manuscript tradition of Epiphanius reveals this reference as perhaps overly dependent on Harnack's reconstruction;[11] and (3) in the Lord's Prayer (Luke 11:2), there are several difficulties with the manner in which Mcion^{T} is listed as supporting the reading of 700 and GrNy and the related reading in 162.[12]

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6 Higgins, "The Latin Text of Luke," 15. Cf. also the comments of Wilson referenced in chapter 1, n. 124.

7 Cf. Wilshire, "Was Canonical Luke Written in the Second Century?," 246–53.

8 Williams, "Reconsidering Marcion's Gospel," 482–3.

9 Cf. the comments in chapter 4.3.5; chapter 6.3; and chapter 7.3.

10 Cf. the discussion in chapter 7.4.2.

11 Cf. the comments in chapter 6.4.8.

12 Cf. Roth, "Text of the Lord's Prayer," 54–59.

Undoubtedly, the text of Marcion's Gospel remains crucial for scholarly knowledge and insight into Luke and the Gospels during the second century. In laying the groundwork for future work on the relationship between Marcion's Gospel and Luke, the text of Luke and its transmission in the second century, and the developing fourfold Gospel collection, the results of this volume contribute to the possibility of more precisely considering the full scope of the contribution of Marcion's Gospel to our knowledge of second century Christianity. Thus, it is hoped that this monograph may have provided not only a new reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel, but also the encouragement for future work on this Gospel text and its place in multiple areas of NT research.

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